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# THE EXPOSITOR'S GREEK TESTAMENT

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## INTRODUCTION.

THE AUTHOR OF THE BOOK. Whoever wrote the Acts wrote also the Gospel which bears the name of St. Luke. We find writers far removed in standpoint from each other, *e.g.*, H. Holtzmann, *Einleitung*<sup>3</sup>, p. 391, and Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 128, agreeing in this conviction, and appealing to the same work, Friedrich's *Das Lukas Evangelium und die Apostelgeschichte, Werke desselben Verfassers* (1890; see commentary), in support of it. In recent years the philologist Gercke seems to be almost the only convert to the opposite view who, with Sorof, regards the author of Acts as the reviser of the δεύτερος λόγος of Luke; but his efforts in promulgating his views cannot be said to have met with any success (see Zöckler, *u. s.*; *Theologische Rundschau*, pp. 50, 129: 1899; and Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 4, 1899).

Friedrich's pamphlet, which contains a useful summary of the whole evidence on the subject, much of which had been previously collected by Zeller and Lekebusch (although their readings, like those too of Friedrich, sometimes require careful testing), gives instances of language, style, and treatment of various subjects which place the identity of authorship beyond reasonable doubt (see instances noted in commentary).<sup>1</sup> At the same time it would be misleading to say that recent critics have been unmindful of the linguistic differences which the two books present, although a candid examination shows that these differences are comparatively slight (*cf.* Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 140; Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 381, 1899). In earlier days Zeller had not lost sight of those peculiarities which are entirely linguistic, and he maintains that they are not of a nature to prove anything against the same origin of the two writings, *Acts*, vol. ii., p. 243, E.T.

<sup>1</sup> Amongst recent writers, Blass, in his Index ii., *Acta Apostolorum*, marks fifty-six words as peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts; *cf.* also the list in Plummer's *St. Luke*, lii., liii. The instances of words and phrases characteristic of St. Luke's Gospel in Sir J. Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*, 1899, pp. 29-41, will enable any one to see at a glance by the references how far such words and phrases are also characteristic of, or peculiar to, Acts: see also in commentary.



Who is the early Christian writer thus able to give us not only such an account of the Life of our Lord that Renan could describe it as the most beautiful book in the world (*Les Evangiles*, p. 283), but also an account of the *origines* of the Christian Church which Jülicher regards as an ideal Church history, *Einleitung*, p. 270, and of which Blass could write "hunc libellum non modo inter omnes Novi T. optima compositione uti, sed etiam eam artem monstrare, quæ Græco Romanove scriptore rerum non indigna sit"? One thing seems certain, that the writer, whoever he was, represents himself in four passages, xvi. 10-17, xx. 5-15, xxi. 1-18, xxvii. 1-xxviii. 16 inclusive, *cf.* also Acts xi. 28, Codex D (on which see below, and *in loco*), as a companion of St. Paul. If we examine the phraseology of these sections (ninety-seven verses in all), we find that it is in many respects common to that employed in the rest of the book (Klostermann, *Vindiciæ Lucanæ*, p. 46 ff.; Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 15, 16; Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 10; Vogel, *Zur Charakteristik des Lukas nach Sprache und Stil*, p. 41; Hawkins, *u. s.*, p. 149; Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 235, 257).<sup>1</sup>

Those who deny this identity of authorship are not only obliged to face the difficulty of accounting for this similarity of style and language, but also to account for the introduction of the "We" sections at all. If the writer of the rest of the book had wished to palm himself off at a later period as a companion of St. Paul, he would scarcely have sought to accomplish this on the strength of the insertion of these sections alone, as they stand. It may be fairly urged that he would at least have adopted one of the unmistakable

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Hawkins not only gives us, p. 151, seventeen words and phrases found only in the "We" sections and in the rest of Acts; twenty-seven words and phrases found in the "We" sections and Luke, with or without the rest of Acts also; thirty-seven words and phrases found in the "We" sections, and also used predominantly, though not exclusively, in the rest of Acts or Luke or either of them; but he remarks that out of the eighty-six Matthæan words and phrases, ten, or rather less than *one eighth* occur in the "We" sections; out of the thirty-seven Marcan words and phrases, six, or about *one sixth*; out of the 140 Lucan words and phrases, less than *one third*, p. 14, ff.: "Is it not utterly impossible," he asks, p. 150, "that the language of the original writer of the 'We' sections should have chanced to have so very many more correspondences with the language of the subsequent compiler than with that of Matthew or Mark?" The expressions peculiar to the "We" sections are for the most part fairly accounted for by the subject-matter, p. 153, *e.g.*, εὐθυδρομέω, κατάγεσθαι, παραλέγομαι, πλός, ὑποπλέω. Part iii., C, Section iv., of the same book should also be consulted where the identity of the third Synoptist with a friend and companion of St. Paul is further confirmed by the similarities between his Gospel and St. Paul's Epistles.



methods of which a Thucydides, a Polybius, a Josephus availed themselves to make their personal relation to the facts narrated known to their readers (Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., pp. 387, 426, 435).

This unknown author of Acts, moreover, whoever he was, was a man of such literary skill that he was able to assimilate the "We" sections to the rest of his book, and to introduce cross references from them to other parts of his work, e.g., xxi. 8 and vi. 5; and yet, with all this, he is so deficient in literary taste as to allow the first person plural in the "We" sections to remain, a blunder avoidable by a stroke of his pen.

The German philologist, Vogel, who cannot be accused of speaking with a theological bias, states the common-sense view of the matter in pointing out that when an author of such literary skill as the author of Acts undoubtedly possessed passes without a break from the third to the first person in his narrative, every unprejudiced reader will explain it on the ground that the author thus wished modestly to intimate his own personal presence during certain events. This is the one natural explanation, and to this Vogel determines to adhere, until it is shown to be untenable; and he justly pours ridicule upon the notion that the author of Acts would have interwoven into a work written in such a delicate and finished style the travel-diary of some other person without altering the pronouns (*Charakteristik des Lukas nach Sprache und Stil*, pp. 12, 13).

If we are asked to believe that this first person plural was introduced from time to time merely for the purpose of giving an air of verisimilitude to the narrative (or in imitation of certain passages in Ezra and Nehemiah, or Tobit),<sup>1</sup> why should we not find it in the account, e.g., of St. Peter's escape from prison, chap. xii., where Wendt maintains that the author probably had possession of a narrative full of details, derived probably from John Mark himself? There can be no doubt that the "We" sections are introduced for the definite purpose of marking the writer's presence with St. Paul; we cannot, e.g., conclude that there is any other reason for the circumstance that the "We" section of chap. xvi. breaks off at Philippi, and that the following "We" section, chap. xx., commences again at Philippi. But if this is so, how again could a later unknown writer have gained possession of a document of such high value as that comprising or embodying these "We" sections? A day-journal

<sup>1</sup> See Weiss, *Einleitung*, p. 583, and Overbeck (De Wette, 4th edition), p. xliv., who both point out that the cases are not analogous, although, on the other hand, Hilgenfeld and Wendt have recently pressed them into service.

left behind by an intimate companion of St. Paul must have been preserved long enough for this unknown writer to have incorporated it, or at least some of it, into his own work, and it must then have vanished altogether out of sight, although one would have supposed that a treasure so valuable would have been preserved and guarded in some Christian circle with the greatest care.<sup>1</sup>

But if we further ask who amongst the companions of St. Paul speaks to us in these "We" sections, the testimony of critics of various schools—of critics who draw a distinction between the authorship of the "We" sections and the rest of the book—may be quoted in favour of St. Luke as the author of the former, if not, as we believe, of the latter also. Thus Holtzmann, *Einleitung*<sup>3</sup>, pp. 394, 395, examines the question, and decides in favour of St. Luke as against the claims of Timothy, Silas, or Titus (so Overbeck (De Wette, 4th edit.), pp. l., li.; Mangold, *Einleitung* (Bleek), p. 445; Spitta, *u. s.*, p. 312). Acts xx. 5, 6 may be fairly quoted as decisive against Timothy, to say nothing of the impossibility that the author of Acts should assume the character of a person in the "We" sections, and by naming this same person elsewhere should thus distinguish him from himself (Overbeck). For Silas nothing can be said, and the advocacy of his claims is the most groundless of any of the three. He appears nowhere in the third missionary journey, an absence which would be fatally inconsistent with his presence in the "We" sections, and he is nowhere named in any of the letters of the First Imprisonment, whereas the narrator of xxvii. 1-xxviii. 16 would naturally be found amongst the companions of the Apostle during that period (of course, if xi. 27, 28 in  $\beta$ -text be taken into account, both Timothy and Silas are thereby excluded, Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 425). The same objection may be made to Titus, since there is no hint that he was with St. Paul at Rome (even if we allow that he may have been included in the ἡμεῖς at Antioch, xi. 27, and that, as he is not mentioned at all in Acts, the difficulties which are presented by the names of Timothy and Silas do not occur in his case). Moreover, the travel-journey of Silas would have commenced rather with xv. 1, as Holtzmann urges; nor is there any reason to suppose that Silas was at Philippi during the time required (Holtz-

<sup>1</sup> This, no doubt, presents less difficulty to advanced critics who find it apparently easy to credit that the Pastoral Epistles contain fragments of genuine letters of St. Paul, and that these letters having supplied the fragments to the Pastorals were themselves no longer cared for or regarded (McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 407, 408, and, on the other hand, Dr. Salmon. *Introd.*, p. 408).



mann, *u. s.*, p. 395). See further Zahn, *u. s.*, pp. 351, 388, 425; Lightfoot, B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., 32.

But if the author of these sections is to be found amongst the intimate companions of St. Paul, and amongst those who were with him in Rome, no one fulfils the conditions better than St. Luke. Even Jülicher, who declines to decide positively which of the four companions, Silas, Timothy, Titus, Luke, was the author, considers that if it was St. Luke, we have in that fact the best explanation that his name remained attached to the Third Gospel and Acts alike, *Einleitung*, p. 269. The writer of Acts xxvii. 1-xxviii. 16 evidently accompanied St. Paul to Rome, and that St. Luke was with the Apostle at the time of his first captivity we learn on the authority of two Epistles which very few of the best critics would now care to dispute, Col. iv. 14, Philem. ver. 24.

But the writer of Acts has not felt the need of using the Epistles of St. Paul as sources for his work, although they were the most weighty documents for the history which he professes to describe. There are numbers of undesigned coincidences between the letters and the history, and Paley, in his *Horæ Paulinæ*, has done invaluable service in drawing attention to them. But still Acts is written independently of the Epistles, and it cannot be said that any one letter in particular is employed by the writer. Yet this would be inconceivable if the former work was composed 100-120 A.D., especially when we remember the knowledge of the Epistles displayed by the writer of the Epistle of Barnabas, by St. Ignatius or St. Polycarp (Harnack, *Chron.*, i., 249). Moreover the writer, whoever he was, was beyond all doubt intensely interested in St. Paul, and it is strange that he should not have made use of his letters, when we remember the impression which they made upon those contemporary with the great Apostle, *cf.* 2 Cor. x. 10, 2 Pet. iii. 15 (Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 412).

But this relation between Acts and the Pauline Epistles not only shows that the former was written before the close of the first century, but that the author stood sufficiently near to St. Paul to be able to write without enriching his knowledge by references to the Apostle's letters. This, however, becomes natural enough on the supposition that the writer was a Timothy, or a Titus, or a Luke. If, however, the two former are excluded, probabilities again point to Luke (Zahn). (For recent writers who deny the acquaintance of the author of Acts with St. Paul's Epistles we may refer to Wendt, Felten, McGiffert, Harnack, Zahn, Jülicher, Rackham.) And we thus come into line with early Church tradition which referred the third

Gospel and the Acts to Luke, the beloved physician, the friend of St. Paul, *cf. Frag. Murator.*, and *Iren., Adv. Hær.*, iii., 14.

But Luke, we have been recently reminded, was not an uncommon name, and many Christians may have borne it in the latter part of the first century (McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 435). But not only is the above tradition precise in its mention of Luke as a physician; the writings attributed to him bear upon the face of them indications of the hand of a medical man. No reference, however, to the possibility of this is made by Dr. McGiffert. He tells us, p. 239, that nowhere is the source used by the author of Acts marked by anything like the vividness, preciseness, and fulness of detail that characterise the "We" sections.<sup>1</sup> The writer of these sections was not Silas or Timothy, but "the unknown author of the 'We' passages," p. 239. This unknown author was evidently the intimate companion of St. Paul, and of his other companions in Rome none is more likely to have written the personal notes of travel than Luke, who seems indeed to have been the nearest and dearest to the Apostle of all his friends (pp. 434, 435). The inference from all this, coupled with the tradition of

<sup>1</sup> "If there is one narrative of the N.T. which more than another contains internal proof of having been related by an eye-witness, it is the account of the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul," Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 5, and this judgment based upon the valuable monograph of James Smith (himself a Fellow of the Royal Society) of Jordan Hill, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 4th edit., revised and corrected, 1880, has received fresh and remarkable confirmation, not only from English but from German and French sources of a technical and professional kind: *e.g.*, Dr. Breusing, Director of the Seefahrtsschule in Bremen, published in 1886 his *Die Nautik der Alten* with a close examination verse by verse of the narrative in Acts xxvii., and he has been followed precisely on the same lines by J. Vars, Professor in the Lycée of Brest in his *L'Art Nautique dans l'antiquité*, 1887. Both writers make constant reference to Smith's work, although they often differ from him in *technical* details, and references to Breusing will be found in Blass and Wendt (1899). The latter writer also refers to a thoughtful article with a similar testimony to St. Luke's accuracy by Von Goerne in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, p. 352, 1898, and allusions will be found to this, as to the above-mentioned works, in the commentary. Breusing's testimony is very striking, p. xiii.: "The most valuable nautical document of antiquity which has come down to us is the account of the voyage and shipwreck of the Apostle Paul. Every one can see at a glance that it could only have been composed by an eye-witness." The strangest exception perhaps to this almost universal recognition of the value of the narrative in Acts xxvii. (*cf.*, *e.g.*, the remarkable testimony in its favour by Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, ii., p. 126 ff., E.T.) is Mommsen's attack upon it in *Sitzungsber. d. berl. Ak.*, 1895, p. 503; but, as Zahn justly remarks, Mommsen has not increased his reputation by alleging that "Luke speaks of the Adriatic Sea by Crete and of the barbarians of Malta"; see answers to these objections in Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 421, and also in commentary, Acts xxvii. 27, and xxviii. 2.



the Church, would seem to be quite plain, but Dr. McGiffert declines to draw it, and falls back upon the belief that some other person named Luke was the writer of the third Gospel and Acts, p. 433. But if there had been such a person there would have been no need for tradition to identify him with Luke the beloved physician, since his own intrinsic merits as an author and historian would have been amply sufficient to secure him an undying recognition.

Here comes in the value of the argument from the medical language employed in the third Gospel and the Acts. The Church in identifying the writer with St. Paul's beloved friend was not following some fanciful or unreliable tradition, but a tradition amply supported by an examination of the language of the books in question; language which not only witnesses to the truth of the tradition, but also to the unity of Acts, since this medical phraseology may be traced in every part, and not in the "We" sections alone. The present Introduction, which must of necessity be brief, does not allow of any lengthy examination of this important subject (to which the writer hopes to return), but in a large number of passages in the commentary notes are given with special reference to indications of medical phraseology. But one or two remarks may be added here. In the first place, it is well to bear in mind that St. Luke's medical phraseology was fully recognised before Dr. Hobart's interesting and valuable book, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, 1882 (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Dr. Belcher's *Our Lord's Miracles of Healing*, 1st edit., with Preface by Archbishop Trench, 1871, 2nd edit., 1890). The *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1841, containing a short article of some two and a half pages, pp. 585-587, is often referred to as a kind of starting-point for this inquiry, but it should not be forgotten that the great names of Wetstein and Bengel may be quoted as fully recognising the hand of a medical writer; thus in commenting not only on Luke xiv. 2, but also on Acts xxviii. 8, Wetstein makes the same remark: "Lucas qui medicus fuerat morbos accuratius describere solet," *cf.* Bengel on Acts iii. 7, "Proprie locutus est *medicus* Lucas," and Luke viii. 43, where the disputed reading does not interfere with the force of the comment: "Lucas medicus ingenue scribit". Indeed it is not too much to say that the main position taken up by Hobart has been abundantly recognised both in France and Germany, and not always in quarters where such a recognition might have been anticipated, *cf.*, *e.g.*, Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 133, 12th edit.; J. Weiss, *Evangelium des Lukas*, 1892, with reference to Dr. Hobart's book, and with quotations from it, although with the qualification that many of the instances require careful sifting,

p. 274 ff. More recently the German philologist Vogel, 1897, *Zur Charakteristik des Lukas nach Sprache und Stil*, p. 17, draws attention to the fact that a large number of words peculiar to the Acts are found in Luke's contemporary, the physician Dioscorides of Anazarbus in Cilicia, not far from Antioch, and he speaks of the use of Dioscorides by the Evangelist as highly probable. But the fullest recognition of Dr. Hobart's work comes to us even more recently by Zahn: "Dr. Hobart has proved for every one for whom anything can be proved, that the author of the Lucan work (by which Zahn means both the third Gospel and Acts) is a Greek physician, acquainted with the technical terms of the medical art," *Einleitung*, ii., pp. 427, 435 (1899). The language is strong, and it may perhaps be fairly contended that some of the instances cited by Dr. Zahn may well have been subjected to the cross-examination instituted so carefully and fully by Dr. Plummer, *St. Luke*, pp. lii., lxiii.-lxvi., in his inquiry into the validity of Dr. Hobart's position.<sup>1</sup> The evidence in favour of this position must be cumulative, but it depends not merely upon the occurrence of technical medical terms in St. Luke's writings, but also upon his *tendency* to employ medical language more frequently than the other Evangelists, upon the passages in his Gospel in which we come across medical terms which are wanting in the parallel passages in St. Matthew and St. Mark, upon the account which he gives of miracles of healing not only in comparison with the other Evangelists, but also of the miracles peculiar to his own narratives; upon the way in which he *abstains from using* in a medical sense words which medical writers abstain from so using, although employed in this sense elsewhere in the Gospels; upon the frequency with which he uses medical language and phraseology in a secondary sense. Illustrations of some of these characteristic peculiarities are noted in the commentary, and a passing reference (space allows this only) may be made to two others. Each of the Synop- tists gives our Lord's comparison between the passage of a camel through the eye of a needle and the entrance of a rich man into the kingdom of heaven, St. Matt. xix. 24, St. Mark x. 25, St. Luke xviii. 25. St. Matthew and St. Mark have the same word for

<sup>1</sup> Whatever strictures may be passed upon Dr. Hobart's book, it must not be forgotten that the following authorities amongst others are persuaded that the author's main thesis has been abundantly proved: Bishop Lightfoot, "Acts," B.D.<sup>3</sup>, i., p. 31; Dr. Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 129; Professor Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 205; Dr. Plummer, *St. Luke*, u. s. (cf. Sir J. Hawkins, *Horæ Synoptica*, p. 154, 1899); and it is significant that Dr. B. Weiss in the 3rd edit. of his *Einleitung* refers to the book, and no longer speaks of the argument as mere "trifling".



needle *ραφίδος*: διὰ τρυπήματος ραφίδος, Matt., T.R.; but W.H. τρήματος in text, τρυπήματος in margin, διὰ (τῆς) τρυμαλίας (τῆς) ραφίδος, Mark. But when we turn to St. Luke, he introduces at least one different word (if we adopt W.H. for St. Matt.), and a combination peculiar to himself, διὰ τρήματος βελόνης (W.H. and R.V.). It cannot be said that the words used by St. Luke occur in LXX, since neither of them is found there (although St. Mark's τρυμαλία occurs in LXX possibly six and at least three times). But both words used by St. Luke were in technical medical use, τρήμα being the great medical word for a perforation of any kind, βελόνη being the surgical needle; and not only so but the two words are found combined as here by Galen: διὰ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν βελόνην τρήματος and again τοῦ διατρήματος τῆς βελόνης (*cf.* Hobart, p. 60, J. Weiss, *u. s.*, p. 567, Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 436, and Nestle, *Einführung in das G. N. T.*, p. 228).

Dr. Plummer points out that τρήμα is not peculiar to St. Luke (see W.H. above), but the combination is peculiar to St. Luke, and the force of this fact and of the combination of undoubted medical terms is not lessened by Grimm's description of βελόνη as a more classical word than ραφίς.

Once again: St. Luke's characteristic medical style shows itself in abstention as well as in employment. In three passages, *e.g.*, μαλακία is used by St. Matthew to denote disease, but in medical language it is used as in its primary classical sense of delicacy, effeminacy, and St. Luke never uses it in St. Matthew's sense, although he employs the cognate adjective μαλακός of "soft" raiment in vii. 25. But this non-usage of the noun by the medical Luke is all the more significant, since in the LXX it is found at least a dozen times to denote sickness and disease.

In St. Matt. iv. 24, viii. 6, both βασανίζειν and βάσανος are used of bodily sickness, but in medical writers the words are not employed in this sense, and St. Luke refrains from so employing them (Hobart, p. 63, and Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 435). But here again significance is added to this non-usage by St. Luke when we remember that βάσανος is not only used of the torments after death in Wisd. iii. 1, 4 Macc. iii. 15, *cf.* Luke xvi. 23, 28, but also of the pain of bodily disease, 1 Macc. ix. 56.

THE AIM OF THE BOOK. Not only the aim but the purpose and contents of the book are set forth, according to Lightfoot, in the Preface, chap. i. 1-8. The prophetic words of the Lord in ver. 8 implicitly involve a table of contents: "Ye shall receive power when the Holy Ghost," etc., ii. 1-13; "witnesses unto me" (1) "in Jerusalem," ii. 14-viii. 1, and (2) "in all Judæa and Samaria," viii. 2-xi. 18, (3) "and to the uttermost part of the earth," xi. 19-xxviii.

31 (on the latter expression see comment. *in loco* and reference to *Psalms of Solomon*, viii. 16). The writer closes with the event which his aim required, the preaching of the Gospel in Rome, the capital of the world, the metropolis of the human race, without hindrance; and the fulfilment of the third section mentioned above is thus given, not actually, but potentially, while an earnest is afforded of its ultimate accomplishment; *Philippians*, p. 3; B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., p. 26; cf. also Weiss, *Einleitung*, p. 562, Blass, *Acta Apost.*, Proleg., p. 3: "At hic liber non est imperfectus, cum longi cursus evangelii Roma terminus sit". But starting from the distinction which Lightfoot himself thus draws between the potential and actual, is it not quite possible that there may thus be room for the *τρίτος λόγος* for which Lightfoot, it is true, saw no conceivable place, cf. Harnack, *Chron.*, i., p. 248, but for the purpose of which Professor Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 380, and others, notably Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 380, have so strongly argued (see list of earlier advocates in Bleek-Mangold, *Einleitung*, p. 462, and note in comment. on xxviii. 31)? It is perhaps worth noting that Bengel, to whom we owe the oft-quoted words, *Victoria verbi Dei, Paulus Romæ, apex evangelii, Actorum Finis*, reminds us on the same page of the words of Estius: "Fortasse Lucas meditabatur *tertium librum*, in quo repeteret acta illius biennii; sicut, *Act. i.*, quædam exposuit tacita ultimo capite evangelii". Moreover, if we take Acts i. 8 as giving us in outline the programme of the book, it seems that its purpose would have been fulfilled not so much in the triumph of the Gospel, but in the bearing witness to Christ in Jerusalem, Samaria, and to the end of the earth: the Apostles were to be witnesses, i. 8; St. Paul was told that he was "to bear witness" in Rome, *μαρτυρήσαι* xxiii. 11, cf. xxviii. 23; the triumph would succeed the witness, and the keynote of victory is struck in the word *ἀκωλύτως*.

Nothing, it is true, is said in Acts of the beginnings of Christianity in Rome, or as to how the Church was first founded in that city; but when we consider the importance that St. Paul plainly attached to his seeing for himself the metropolis of the world, cf. xix. 21, and when his Epistle addressed to the Roman Church indicates how clearly he foresaw the importance which that Church would have for Gentile Christianity in the future, it is quite conceivable that the universalist Luke would draw his second treatise to a fitting close by showing that blindness in part had happened to Israel that the fulness of the Gentiles might come in. "We are not told," says Holtzmann, quoting Overbeck, "how the Gospel came to Rome, but how Paul came to Rome": but this objection, which



Overbeck considered the greatest against the view that the contents of Acts were summed up in chap. i. 8, is obviated by the above considerations; St. Paul was to bear witness in Rome as he had at Jerusalem, but the result of his final witness in Jerusalem, xxiii. 1 ff., resulted in a division among the Jews, and a similar result followed his first testimony in Rome. The Gospel had come to Rome already, but those who accepted it were only a sect everywhere spoken against; now its foremost representative gains it a hearing from the Gentiles, and that too without interruption or prohibition.

But this recognition of the importance of St. Paul's witness and work in Rome, and of their subsequent development, by no means excludes other purposes which may have been present to the mind of St. Luke. "No other N.T. writer," says Zahn, "mentions a Roman emperor by name," and he proceeds to point out the significance of this fact in connection with the whole design of St. Luke to show that Christianity was an historical religion; how the edicts of Augustus, Luke ii. 1, and of Claudius, Acts xviii. 2, had their influence on the new faith (*cf.* Luke iii. 1), how in comparison with the other Evangelists St. Luke constantly introduces the names of those who were connected indirectly as well as directly with political events (*Einleitung*, ii., p. 375, and *cf.* Ramsay, *St Paul*, p. 385, Friedrich, *u. s.*, p. 53 ff.). Not only would notices of this kind impress a reader of the type of Theophilus with a sense of the certainty of those things in which he had been instructed, but they are also of importance in that they indicate that a writer, who thus took pains to gain accurate information with regard to events in the Roman world, would naturally be interested in tracing carefully the relations between the empire and the infant Church, and all the more so if it was important to show his readers that Christianity stood in no hostile relationship to the imperial government (*cf.* Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 379).

But it is one thing to describe one of the objects of the book in this way, *viz.*, as an attempt to reassure those who had been already instructed in the *origines* of the Christian Faith, and to emphasise its evident power and rectitude at the bar of the rulers of this world, and to maintain that all this was done with a political-apologetic aim, regardless of truthfulness to fact, and only concerned with representing Christianity in a favourable light before magistrates and kings. No doubt we are repeatedly told how St. Paul took shelter in an appeal to Roman law and Roman authority, and how much more justly and calmly the Roman authorities judged of his case than the fanatical and insensate Jews; "but," says Wendt with

admirable candour (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 17), "there is no reason to doubt that this representation simply corresponded to historical truth" (see the whole paragraph in Wendt, 1899, and *cf.* Weiss, *u. s.*, p. 569 as against Overbeck and Mangold, *u. s.*, p. 427, following Schneckenburger and Zeller). Moreover, when we remember that the writer of Acts deliberately enters upon a field of history "where perhaps beyond all others there was room for mistake and blunder, the administration of the Roman Empire and its provinces," nothing is more surprising than the way in which his accuracy is confirmed by every fresh and searching investigation.<sup>1</sup>

But if there is no reason to attribute a political tendency (see further below) to the writer, still less is there room for the attribution of a doctrinal tendency. The earlier representatives of this latter view of the book, Baur and Zeller, started with insisting upon the fundamental opposition which prevailed between the view of the relationship of St. Paul with the primitive Apostles as set forth in those Epistles which these critics accepted, and in the Acts: to St. Paul a Judaising tendency was ascribed in the latter which was not in harmony with his statements in his own writings, whilst, on the other hand, to St. Peter especially a liberal standpoint was ascribed, which was not to be expected in view of the utterances of St. Paul in his Epistles, a standpoint which would make Peter, not Paul, the originator of Gentile Christianity. On the whole the Acts represented an idealised and harmonising view of the relation of parties in the primitive Church, and its object as the work of a Pauline Christian was to reconcile the Jewish and Pauline parties. Schneckenburger had previously emphasised the supposed parallel in Acts between Peter and Paul (see further below), and had represented the book as written with the apologetic aim of defending Paul against the misrepresentation of the Judaisers; but it must always be remembered that Schneckenburger, although emphasising the apologetic tendency of St. Luke, never denied

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.*, e.g., the notes on xvii. 6, xxviii. 7, etc., the references to the invaluable and epoch-making works of Professor Ramsay, and Vogel, *Zur Charakteristik des Lukas nach Sprache und Stil*, p. 28, 1897, on the remarkable degree of confidence with which military, political, and judicial terms are employed in Acts. Professor Schmiedel in his review of Professor Ramsay's *St. Paul* describes it as the work on the whole not of the historian or archæologist, but of the narrow apologist, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1897, No. 23, and more recently, Professor H. Holtzmann, characterises Professor Ramsay's description and illustration of the scene, Acts xvi. 25-34, as "humbug"! *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, No. 7; such remarks are ill calculated to promote candid and respectful criticism.



his historical truthfulness, whilst Baur fastened upon Schneckenburger's view, and further developed his own previous attack on the historical character of Acts (Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 393, Lightfoot, B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., 41). But Baur's theory in its extreme form could not maintain its ground, and various modifications of it took place within his own school. Certainly, to take an illustration, it must always remain a strange fact that, if Acts was written with the conciliatory tendency alluded to, only one indirect mention in it is found, xxiv. 17, of the collection for the poor Saints at Jerusalem, which played so prominent a part in St. Paul's work and writings, and which was in itself such a palpable proof of the Apostle's love for his Jewish brethren. The tendency view adopted by some of the writers succeeding Baur, *e.g.*, Reuss, Keim, Weizsäcker, regards the author of Acts as not intentionally departing from the historical relations between the two parties, but as forming his judgment of the relations between them from the standpoint of his own time. One of the most recent attempts to represent the conciliatory tendency of Acts as an apology for the Christian religion before Gentiles, *i.e.*, before a heathen public, against the charges of the Jews, and to show how Judaism, through Christianity, broke up into its world-wide mission, is that of J. Weiss, *Über die Absicht und den literar. Charakter der A. G.*, 1897 (see further below); but whatever amount of correctness there may be in this view we may frankly adopt, without committing ourselves to the very precarious explanations and deductions of the writer; St. Luke's own prologue, and the dedication of his two writings to the Gentile Theophilus, are in themselves sufficient to lead us to expect that the design accentuated by J. Weiss would not be altogether absent from his mind in composing his history (see the remarks of Zahn, *u. s.*, ii., p. 393).

But if there is no satisfaction in the more recent attempts to represent Acts as written mainly with a conciliatory "tendency," still less can satisfaction be found in the view, older in its origin, of a supposed *parallelism* between St. Peter and St. Paul, drawn out by a writer who wished in this way to reconcile the Petrine and Pauline parties in the Church, by placing the leaders of each in a position of equal authority. That there are points of similarity in the life and work of the two Apostles may be readily admitted, but these likenesses are of the most general kind, and only such as we might expect in cases where two men work in the same calling at the same period and under the same conditions, *cf.* to this effect Clemen, *Die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe*, pp. 17, 18, and Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas*, p. 214. The parallel can

only be extended to a few instances such as the healing of the lame man by Peter at Jerusalem, iii. 2, and by Paul at Lystra, xiv. 8, but there is no real ground for the institution of a parallel between the worship paid to Peter by Cornelius, x. 25, and by the inhabitants of Lystra to St. Paul, xiv. 11, or between the judgment inflicted on Ananias and Sapphira by Peter, v. 1, and on Elymas by St. Paul, xiii. 6. The position thus advocated by Clemen is taken up by B. Weiss, *Einleitung*, p. 540, 3rd edit., 1897, no less than by earlier writers like Lekebusch and Nösger (cf. too Sanday, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 327, and Salmon, *Introduction*, p. 310). But whether we consider that the parallel was instituted to place Paul on an equality with Peter, or, as Van Manen has recently urged, *Paulus I.: De handeligen der Apostelen*, p. 126, 1890, that the writer wished to represent Peter in accordance with the delineation of Paul, there is one fact fatal to both points of view, viz., that if either of these purposes had been in the mind of the author of Acts, we cannot account for his omission of the crowning point to the parallel between the two Apostles, viz., their martyrdom in the same city, and in the same persecution. An already discredited theory can scarcely survive the ridicule of Dr. Blass, *Proleg.*, p. 8, and of Dr. Salmon, *u. s.*, pp. 310, 311: in all true history we may expect to find parallelisms, and these parallels exist in the lives of nations no less than of individuals. When we consider the various attempts which have been made to describe the aim of Acts, it is something to find that a critic who does not hesitate to regard the book as written to some extent with an idealising and harmonising purpose, should nevertheless be constrained to reckon it, on account of its many trustworthy traditions, as an historical work of invaluable worth, see Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 33, 1899.

SOURCES. If St. Luke is acknowledged as the writer of Acts, we can understand the remark of Blass that in this case the question of sources for the greater part of the book need not be raised, Blass, *Acta Apost.*, *Proleg.*, p. 10; cf. Zahn, *u. s.*, pp. 404, 412; Knabenbauer, *Actus Apostolorum*, p. 8, 1899. It is plain from the narrative that a man in St. Luke's position would be brought into contact with many persons from whom he could have obtained rich and varied information, and in many cases the details of his narrative point unmistakably to the origin of the information. A good example may be seen in chap. xii. (see commentary), in which the vivid and circumstantial details of St. Peter's escape from prison are best accounted for on the supposition that the narrative comes from John Mark: to the house of the mother of Mark St. Peter makes his



way, ver. 12, and not only does later history associate St. Mark with St. Peter, but also with St. Luke and St. Paul, inasmuch as he is with the latter in Rome, Col. iv. 10, Philem., ver. 24 (*cf.* 2 Tim. iv. 11), to say nothing of an earlier association, *cf.* Acts xiii. (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 385; Blass, *u. s.*, p. 11; Belser, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, p. 62, 1895); and even Wendt, p. 31 (1899), sees no other way of accounting for the contrast between the brief notice of the death of St. James, xii. 1, and the lengthy account of the liberation of St. Peter than the probability that the latter was derived from John Mark, whilst more exact information was wanting for the former.

But John Mark was not the only member of the Jerusalem Church from whom, or through whom, St. Luke could have obtained information as to the origin of the Christian community. Barnabas, the cousin of John Mark, was in a position to know accurately the same events, in some of which he had shared, iv. 36, and if St. Luke was a member of the Church at Antioch when Barnabas settled there (*cf.* note on xi. 28) he would have learnt from the lips of Barnabas the early history of the Jerusalem Church; and it would have been strange if amongst the men of Cyprus and Cyrene who fled from Judæa to Antioch, xi. 19, there had been none who were baptised at the first Christian Pentecost, *cf.* ii. 10, 41 (Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 414).

For the same series of events St. Luke had access also to the information preserved by Mnason, a disciple ἀρχαῖος, *i. e.*, from the first Pentecost, *cf.* xi. 15, xxi. 16, from whom likewise he may have learnt the account given in ix. 31-43. In chap. xxi. we are also told how Luke was a guest for several days in the house of Philip the Evangelist, vv. 8-12, an intercourse which could have furnished him with the information narrated not only in viii. 4-40, but in vi. 1-viii. 3, x. 1-xi. 18. And from Jerusalem itself, no less than from Cæsarea, information might have been acquired, for Luke, xxi. 18, had intercourse not only with the elders but with no less a person than St. James, the head of the Church at Jerusalem, and at an earlier period he must have shared at Philippi, xvi. 19 ff., the company of Silas, who is mentioned as one of the chief among the brethren of the mother city, xv. 22. In this connection we may note that St. Luke alone gives us two incidents connected with Herod Antipas, Luke xiii. 31-33, xxiii. 6-12, 15, *cf.* Acts iv. 27, which are not narrated by the other Evangelists, but this intimate acquaintance of St. Luke with the court of Herod is in strict harmony with the notice of Manaen the foster-brother of Herod, Acts xiii. 1, *cf.* Luke viii. 3, a teacher of the Church at Antioch when St. Luke may

himself have been there, and from whom the Evangelist may at all events have learnt much of the information about other members of the Herodian family which comes to us from him only (Plumptre, Zahn, Belser, Feine). It may no doubt be contended, with considerable plausibility, that St. Luke must have had at his command written documents as well, *e.g.*, in his account of the speeches of St. Peter and St. Stephen, and it is quite possible that he might have obtained such documents from the Church at Jerusalem. One thing is quite certain, that these addresses like all others throughout the book are in striking harmony with the circumstances and crises to which they relate (see further below): "quo intentius has orationes inspexeris," writes Blass, "eo plura in eis reperies, quæ cum sint temporibus personisque egregie accommodata, ad rhetoricam licentiam scriptoris referri se vetent" (*Proleg.*, p. 11). But at the same time it requires no great stretch of imagination to conclude with Zahn (ii., p. 412) that such a man as Luke required no other sources of information for the composition of Acts, or at least for a great portion of that work, than his own recollections, partly of the narratives of St. Paul, partly of the events in which he himself had shared, *cf.* vi. 8-viii. 3, ix. 1-30, xiii.-xxviii. There is abundant proof in St. Paul's Epistles that the Apostle must have constantly referred to his earlier experiences in way of conversation, or in the delivery of his discourses, *cf.* 2 Cor. i. 8-10, xi. 22, xii. 9, Gal. i. 11-ii. 14, Phil. iii. 3-7, Rom. xv. 16-32, xvi. 7, and during periods of enforced inactivity, while Luke was with him at Cæsarea, or during the winter months at Malta, or later in Rome, nothing was more natural, as Zahn urges, than that the great missionary should communicate to his beloved friend the records of his work and experience in great heathen centres of commercial or intellectual life, like Corinth, Ephesus, Athens. After his return from his travels, and on many other occasions, Zahn points out that it was St. Paul's habit to relate minutely καθ' ἐν ἑκάστον, xxi. 19, what God had wrought by him, xiv. 27, xv. 3, 12, 26, Gal. ii. 2, 7-9, and there is no reason whatever to suppose that such recitals were withheld from St. Luke. No doubt it may be urged that the style in the second part of the book is less Hebraistic than in chaps. i.-xii., but this may be fairly accounted for if we remember that St. Luke would often obtain his information for the earlier events from Jewish Christians, and on the soil of Palestine, and that he may have purposely retained the Hebraistic colouring in his embodiment of these narratives, *cf.* Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xlix.; Zahn, *u. s.*, ii.,



pp. 414, 423; Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 31, 1898.<sup>1</sup> If it be maintained that the earlier chapters of Acts, i.-v., were incorporated from some earlier document, it is admitted that this was of Jewish-Christian origin, derived from the Jewish Church through an eye-witness (*cf.* B. Weiss, *Einleitung*, p. 549, 3rd edit.; Feine, *u. s.*, p. 233). Thus in these chapters, *e.g.*, the Sadducees appear as the chief opponents of the new faith, *cf.* note on iv. 1, and the members of the hierarchy are represented as in the main members of the same sect, a fact which strikes us as strange, but which is in strict accordance with the testimony of Josephus. A careful consideration of the speeches and of their appropriateness to their various occasions tends more and more surely to refute the notion that they are fictitious addresses, the work of a writer of the second century. The testimony of Dr. McGiffert may be cited as bearing witness to the primitive character of the reports of the speeches of St. Peter in the early chapters of Acts, and for the truthful manner in which they represent a very early type of Christian teaching (see comment., p. 119), and *cf.* also the remarks of Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.*, i., 48, 1899.

At the delivery of St. Stephen's speech Paul himself was present, xxvi. 10, *cf.* vi. 12, and there is good reason for thinking that the speech made a deep impression upon him (see, *e.g.*, Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 31), while the many Lucan expressions and turns of thought which it contains (*cf.* Zeller, *Acts*, ii., p. 313, E.T., and Overbeck, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 93) are natural enough if the address comes to us through the medium of a translation (see commentary for the speech and its meaning).

For the second part of the book we perceive that St. Luke might have easily obtained accurate reports of the speeches even in cases where he was not present; *e.g.*, the speech at the Pisidian Antioch, chap. xiii., gives us what we may well regard as a familiar example of St. Paul's teaching on many similar occasions (*cf.* also in commentary the striking resemblances recently noted by Professor Ramsay between this speech and the Galatian Epistle). The addresses at Lystra and at Athens delivered to heathen, so wonderfully adapted to the audience in each place, in the one instance appealing to a more popular and ruder, in the latter to a more learned and philosophic class of hearers ("ita sunt omnia et loco et

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Dalman's sharp distinction between Aramaisms and Hebraisms should be noted, p. 16 ff., whilst he allows that the pure Hebraisms in the Gospels are almost exclusively peculiar to that of St. Luke, and that by these peculiarities of diction Acts is also marked, p. 29; see further in commentary.

audientibus accommodata," says Blass); in both cases starting from truths which some of the Greek philosophers might themselves have pressed home, but in each case leading up to and insisting upon the need and necessity of repentance for wise and simple alike; were eminently characteristic of a man who became as a Jew to the Jews, as without law to those without law, as a Greek to the Greeks, and such discourses in the brief form in which they have reached us in Acts may well have expressed the actual teaching delivered by St. Paul in Lystra and in Athens (see for these speeches especially Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 146 ff., and for the speech at Athens, Curtius, "Paulus in Athen," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii., pp. 527-543, and references in commentary<sup>1</sup>): "there is no reason," writes McGiffert, "for questioning the trustworthiness of the discourse at Athens as a whole . . . in fact such a discourse as that ascribed to Paul is exactly what we should expect from him under the circumstances" (*u. s.*, p. 260).

The speech to the Ephesian elders at Miletus, xx. 18-35, is constantly marked by St. Paul's characteristic words and phrases, and its teaching is strikingly connected with that of the Ephesian Epistle (see notes in commentary, and *cf.* Page, *Acts*, p. xxxvi.; Lock, "Ephesians," Hastings' B.D.; Cook, *Speaker's Commentary*, p. 342, and also Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 336-339; Nösgen, *u. s.*, p. 53; Felten, *u. s.*, p. 33). No one has affirmed the historical truthfulness of this address more strongly than Spitta, and in this instance also we may again conclude with McGiffert, p. 339, that "we shall be safe in assuming that the account of Paul's meeting with the elder brethren of Ephesus, and the report of the words which he uttered are substantially accurate". We may well feel this security when we recall that St. Luke would be himself a hearer of St. Paul's pathetic farewell.

The three remaining speeches contain three ἀπολογίαι of St. Paul, one before the Jews and the chiliarch in Jerusalem, xxii. 1-21, the second before Felix, xxiv. 10-21, and the third before Festus and Agrippa, xxvi. The first reaches us through the medium of a Greek translation, and it is noticeable that the speech in this form contains no Pauline words or expressions, although some words remind us of him, *e.g.*, ἀπολογία, ἀπολοῦειν, παρα-

<sup>1</sup> Hilgenfeld blames Curtius because he has not explained the source of information for St. Paul's address, since the Apostle was at Athens alone, but Knabenbauer writes, *Actus Apostolorum*, p. 308, "Probabilissime is cum aliis id plane superfluum reputavit, quia Paulus post eam orationem neque memoriam neque loquelam amisit; unde ipse potuit narrare quid Athenis egerit".



δέχομαι, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι and τὸ ὄνομα (Nösgen, Felten), while it contains several peculiar to St. Luke. But if the Evangelist was present at the delivery of the defence, he would have been able to reproduce the speech himself, or at least its substance, and we have an explanation of the fact just mentioned (see Salmon, *Introd.*, pp. 317, 318; Page, *Acts*, p. xxxvi.; Alford, *Proleg.*, pp. 13-15).

The vivid description, xxi. 30-40, and especially the local details, vv. 34, 35, point to the presence of an eye-witness, who was in possession of information which he could use with accuracy, and at the same time with discrimination, limiting himself to the requisites of his narrative (Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden*, p. 174). It is difficult to understand why Blass should say that although Luke may have heard the speech, it is doubtful if he understood it. In his *Præf.* to his *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, pp. xxi.-xxiii., he not only adopts Nestle's theory that an Aramaic document underlies the first part of Acts, i.-xii., but amongst the few Aramaisms from chap. xiii. onwards he notes especially, p. xxi., two from the chapter before us, xxii., viz., ver. 19, ἡμὴν φυλακίζων "periphrasis illa aramaica imperfecti futurique, quæ fit per participium et verbum ἡμὴν (ἔσομαι)," and ver. 14, φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, cf. i. 16, iii. 18, 21 for στόμα. We must also bear in mind the strictures of Dalman upon Blass in this connection: cf. *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 28, 1898.

In the apology before Felix, xxiv. 10-21, we have traces of St. Paul's diction (see commentary, and cf. Nösgen, *u. s.*, p. 54, Felten, *u. s.*, p. 34), and although it would be rash to affirm that St. Luke was present at the delivery of this defence, yet, if he was with St. Paul during any of the time of the Apostle's imprisonment at Cæsarea, it is surely not difficult to suppose that he would have received from the prisoner's own lips a summary of his ἀπολογία before Felix. The same remark might account for St. Luke's information as to the longer ἀπολογία before Agrippa, chap. xxvi., and it is specially noteworthy that in this speech, which may easily have been reproduced exactly as it was delivered, cf. Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 5, and *Proleg.*, p. 13, we have Greek phrases and words of a more cultured and literary style, such as would be more suited to the most distinguished audience before which the Apostle had yet pleaded (see commentary). At the same time we may note that while the speech has many points of contact with St. Paul's peculiar language and favourite words, there are other expressions which may be described as Lucan, to which we may appeal as justifying the belief that if St. Luke was present at the hearing, he reproduced the speech not immediately, but after an interval, when it had passed through his

own mind, Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden*, pp. 259, 260. That the speeches in Acts bear the impress of St. Luke's own style and revising hand is freely admitted by conservative critics (*cf.* Lightfoot, B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., p. 36; Headlam, "Acts," Hastings' B.D., i., p. 34; Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 317), and we may thus unhesitatingly account for the combination in them of peculiar Pauline expressions with those which may be classed as Lucan or Lucan-Pauline. These linguistic phenomena by no means destroy the substantial accuracy of the report; rather they are exactly what we should expect to find. It is admitted on all sides that by comparing the language of St. Paul's speeches in Acts with the language of his Epistles a striking amount of similarity is evident. But if the writer of Acts was not acquainted with St. Paul's Epistles, we cannot account for this similarity of diction on the ground of literary dependence. If, however, the writer of Acts was a constant and frequent companion of St. Paul the explanation is easy enough, and we can readily believe that whilst in his report or revision of a speech words of the disciple might sometimes be found side by side with those of the master, yet the influence of the latter would nevertheless make itself felt in the disciple's thoughts and language (*cf.* Salmon, *u. s.*, p. 315 ff., and Felten, *u. s.*, p. 32). In many cases it is perfectly obvious that the account of the speeches in Acts is an abridged account—the longest of them would not take more than some five or six minutes in delivery—and therefore, as a matter of necessity, such an abridgment would bear upon it, in a sense, the impress of St. Luke's own style. Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 191, in speaking of St. Paul's address at Athens expresses the belief that it has come down to us "*fideliter etsi brevissime: ita sunt omnia et loco et audientibus accommodata*," and he adds a remark applicable to all the Apostle's speeches: "*Tum quilibet qui paullo recentiore ætate orationes Pauli conficturus esset, usurus erat Pauli epistolis; quarum in hac non magis quam in ceteris orationibus (c. 13, 20, 22, 24, 26) ullus usus comparet*".

It cannot be said that the recent and frequent attempts to multiply and differentiate sources in Acts, to assign them to various revisers or redactors, have met with any degree of real success. If Holtzmann and Wendt (see also a description of these attempts in *Theologische Rundschau*, Feb., March, April, 1899) contend that they have done so, and that with regard to the first few chapters of Acts some consensus of opinion has been gained, we may set against such contentions not only the opinion of Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., pp. 414, 424, who maintains that none of these repeated attempts



has attained any measure of probability (so too Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 154, 2nd edit., and Knabenbauer, *Actus Apostolorum*, p. 9 ff., 1899), but also the opinion of Wendt, who, after a careful and on the whole sympathetic review, is obliged to confess that one must limit oneself in any attempt to discover the sources of the book to what is attainable and provable in the circumstances, and that the more complicated the hypothesis suggested, the more difficult it is to make it intelligible to others, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 17, 1899. In his own examination of the problem he limits himself to one great source, p. 30, and plainly declares that it does not seem to be possible to discover others, although he enumerates various passages in which old and trustworthy traditions were combined; but whether these were derived from written documents or from one and the same source he declines to say, and he is evidently inclined to admit that in many cases oral tradition may also have been at work. Thus whilst iv. 1-22, v. 17-42, are regarded as parallel pieces of information of what was in reality the same event, or whilst again the liberation of St. Peter in chap. xii. is a parallel to the release of the Apostle in chap. v. 18-20, the work of St. Philip and the death of St. James rest upon good and trustworthy tradition. The source to which Wendt attaches such importance includes the "We" sections, and the whole of the book from xiii. onwards, with the exception of xv. 1-33, the source continuing with ver. 35, whilst it can be traced further back to xi. 19, 27, and to viii. 1-4. But this large source is full of traces of revision and redaction, which mark not only the narratives but also the addresses. Its interest centred chiefly in the person of St. Paul and in his work, and it gave no history of the *origines* of the Church or of the missionary journeys of the other Apostles, although it introduced its account of St. Paul by tracing the foundation of the Church in Antioch from the mother Church in Jerusalem as a result of the death of St. Stephen and the subsequent persecution, and by showing how that same Church of Antioch became the starting-point for St. Paul's missionary labours.

This view of the sources adopted by Wendt contrasts favourably with some of the extraordinary and complicated theories which from time to time have been advocated in Germany, more especially during the last few years.

As early as 1845 Schleiermacher's published lectures referred the authorship of the "We" sections not to Luke but to Timothy, and some two years before this E. M. Mayerhoff had suggested that the same hypothesis might be extended to all parts of Acts, not

however without the opposition of Bleek and Ulrich, the former of whom supported Schleiermacher. But Schleiermacher's view of the part played by Timothy had already met with the strong opposition of Schneckenburger, 1841, and Swanbeck, 1847, attacked it by means of his own more complicated and more hazardous attempt to solve the sources of Acts. According to Swanbeck, the book is made up of a biography of Peter, a source containing the death of Stephen, a biography of Barnabas, the memoirs of Silas including the "We" sections. But the theory gained no acceptance, and most critics will probably agree with Lekebusch (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 188) that Swanbeck in his attempt to avoid the misleading theory as to Timothy involved himself in a still greater error by his advocacy of Silas.

For the Tübingen school the question of sources occupied a less important place than the question of "tendency," and more weight was attached to the imaginative power of the author than to the possibility of his possession of any reliable tradition; and consequently for a time the attempts to discriminate and estimate various sources sank into abeyance. It was, however, supposed by some critics that in the first part of Acts either a pentateuch source or an Hellenistic history of Stephen had been worked up (Zeller, Overbeck), or that some old *πράξεις Παύλου* formed a foundation for the narrative. Hilgenfeld (see also below) maintained the probable existence of this latter document, and Holsten thought that he could discover traces of a Judaistic source in the speeches of the first part of the book. B. Weiss, as long ago as 1854, had referred the speeches of St. Peter to a written source, but the speeches were closely connected with the historical episodes, and so in his *Einleitung*, 2nd and 3rd editions, Weiss has attempted to trace throughout the whole first part of the book, *i.e.*, from i. 15-xv., a Jewish-Christian source, whilst Feine, 1891, has maintained that the Jewish-Christian source already employed in the third Gospel was also the source of the history of the Jerusalem Church in Acts i.-xii., and he gives, *n. s.*, p. 236 ff., many verbal likenesses between this source in St. Luke's Gospel and in the earlier portion of Acts. Feine's handling of the whole question is much more conservative than that of the other attempts to which allusion will be made, especially as he regards St. Luke as the author of the third Gospel and the Acts, and claims a high historical value for the episodes and speeches in the source.

But the interest in the hypothesis of a source or sources chiefly centres around the second rather than the first part of Acts. For here the "We" sections are concerned, and when the view was



once started that these sections, although not the work of St. Luke, were the work of an eye-witness (since their vividness and circumstantiality could not otherwise be accounted for), and so derived from a source, the whole question of the authorship of this source was revived, and the claims of Timothy, Silas, Titus, again found advocates; and not only so, but the further question was debated as to how far this source extended. Was it limited to the "We" sections only? But the view which prevailed (and which still prevails, *cf.*, *e.g.*, Holtzmann, *Einleitung*<sup>3</sup>, p. 393, and see above) makes Luke the author of the "We" sections, although not of the whole book, which was referred to the close of the first, and even to the second century. This latter date (amongst the supporters of which may be included H. Holtzmann, Pfeiderer, Jülicher (100-105), Weizsäcker, to say nothing of earlier critics, or of those mentioned below) finds no support in the general character of the book, and it depends upon other very precarious arguments, *e.g.*, the dependency of the author upon Josephus. But if it cannot be substantiated, it is in itself fatal to the partition theories put forward by Van Manen (125-150), Clemen (60-140), and Jüngst (110-125).

With Van Manen we mark one of the earliest of the many complicated attempts, to which reference has been already made, in proof of the use of sources throughout the whole of Acts. According to him, *Acta Petri* and *Acta Pauli* form the two sources, of which the final redactor, writing about the middle of the second century, availed himself. In the *Acta Pauli*, H. Pa., which fill the second half of the canonical book of Acts, with the exception of xv. 1-33 and some other passages due to the reviser (although some of the incidents of these *Acta* which refer to Barnabas, Stephen, Paul, find a place in the first half of the book), a Gentile Christian, the first redactor, writing at the end of the first, or beginning of the second century, has embodied the Lucan Travel-Document, probably written by Luke himself, consisting of the "We" sections and the bare recital of one of Paul's voyages from Jerusalem to Rome. This document is, however, much revised, and according to it the Apostle travels to Rome not as a prisoner, but as a free man. The final redactor, moreover, seems to have forgotten that such a document had ever existed, and to have depended upon the Epistles of St. Paul and the notices of Josephus. The second source, *Acta Petri*, H. Pe., chaps. i.-xii., is of very small historical value; it was composed later than the *Acta Pauli*, and aimed at placing Peter on a level with Paul. It is not perhaps to be wondered at that Van Manen himself seems to hesitate about the exact details of his

partitions, that even Heitmüller cannot give anything but modified commendation to his theory, *Theol. Rundschau*, p. 87, 1899, and that a still severer condemnation is inflicted by Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 114, cf. Knabenbauer, p. 11.

In the same year, 1890, Sorof published his *Die Entstehung der Apostelgeschichte*. He too has his two written sources. Of the first the physician Luke was the author; this source runs through the book, and has for its purpose to represent the missionary spread of Christianity from Jerusalem to Rome, making prominent the figure of Paul. But this source was revised by another disciple of Paul, Timothy, who as the son of a Jewish mother stood nearer than Luke to Jewish-Christian interests. Timothy, to magnify Peter, introduced much legendary matter relating to him in the first portion of St. Luke's account, and also revised and corrected the record of St. Paul's missionary activity on the strength of his authorship of the "We" sections and his own eye-witness. (It is no wonder that Heitmüller, *u. s.*, p. 85, again welcomes this theory with qualified praise, and considers the division of the parts of the book assigned to Luke and Timothy as improbable, if not impossible.) Another attempt in the succeeding year by Spitta gained much more notice than that of Sorof. He also has his two sources—A, an older source including the "We" sections, probably the work of Paul's companion, Luke: a very valuable and erudite source containing the speeches of the book (see references in commentary); and B, a secondary source, unhistorical, depending on popular traditions, with a great tendency to introduce miraculous embellishments. B is the work of a Jewish Christian who writes with a desire to magnify Peter by miracles which equal those of the great Gentile Apostle. Spitta has further to suppose that these two sources, the one Pauline-Lucan and the other Jewish-Christian, were combined by a Catholic-Christian redactor R, with some additions of his own. Here again Heitmüller, p. 91, sees no hope of a satisfactory solution of the problem under investigation, and can only wonder at the manner in which two sources of a directly opposite tendency can be so simply interwoven by the redactor; the part played by the latter is altogether unsatisfactory, as he does little else than effect this combination of the two sources, with an occasional interpolation of his own. Spitta's attempt was also sharply criticised by Jülicher, *Einleitung*, p. 270, and by Von Soden, *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 26, 1892, and its value will be seen by references in the commentary.

The most complicated of all these recent attempts at the



reconstruction of Acts is that of Dr. C. Clemen. His three chief sources (with which he closely connects other shorter sources, *e.g.*, a source for vi. 1-6) are named (1) *Historia Hellenistarum*, H.H., vi. 9, 10, vii. 1-36, 35-58<sup>a</sup>, 59<sup>b</sup>, viii. 1<sup>b</sup>, xi. 19-21, 24<sup>a</sup>, 26: this source Clemen regards as very old and trustworthy; (2) *Historia Petri*, H.Pe., consisting chiefly of i.-v., and of some passages inserted in H.H., *viz.*, vi. 7, 8, 11-15, vii. 37, 60, viii. 2, viii. 4-13, 18-24, the account of Simon Magus; viii. 26-40, the conversion of the Ethiopian; (3) *Historia Pauli*, H.Pa., xiii. 1-xxviii. 30, 31, a source which may have originated in a diary kept by Luke on a journey to Rome called (4) *Itinerarium Pauli*, I.Pa., containing the "We" sections, and combined with (3) by the first of the three redactors. The first redactor is simply R., and to him are attributed other additions besides the "We" sections to the *Historia Pauli*, although no "tendency" can be assigned to him, *cf.*, *e.g.*, xiv. 8-18, xvi. 23<sup>b</sup>-34, xvii. 19-33, the Athenian discourse, etc. The two other redactors are much more pronounced: one, Redactor Judaicus, R.J., writing 93-117 A.D., compiled and revised the above sources, making many additions, *e.g.*, the miracles at Lydda and Joppa, ix. 23-43, and for the most part the Cornelius history, x. 1-xi. 18; xvi. 1-3, xxi. 20<sup>b</sup>-26, etc.; and finally, the third redactor, Redactor Antijudaicus, R.A., writing probably in the time of Hadrian, with the object of counterbalancing the wrong tendencies of his predecessor; to him we owe, before all, ix. 1-31, Paul's conversion, xii. 1-25, xv. 5-12, 19, 23-33, 41, and additions to the speech at Miletus, xx. 19<sup>b</sup>, 25-35, 38<sup>a</sup>. Other instances will be found in the commentary of the manner in which the additions of "these two antipodes," R.J. and R.A., are given precisely by Clemen, even to parts of verses, and it is no unfriendly critic (Heitmüller, *u. s.*, p. 128) who points out that of the five journeys of Paul to Jerusalem mentioned in Acts no less than four are referred by Clemen to his redactors, which is fatal to the historical character of these visits: ix. 26, R.A.; xi. 30, R.A.; xv. 1-33, R.J. and R.A.; and xviii. 22<sup>b</sup>, R.; the last journey, xxi., is found in the source H.Pa., and this according to Clemen is a journey identical with Gal. ii. 1. There is indeed no occasion to look to a conservative critic like Zöckler for a sharp criticism of the ingenious but purely subjective theory of Clemen; the latter's immediate successor in the same attempt to split up Acts into its component parts not only describes Clemen's theory as over-ingenious, but speaks of the somewhat mechanical way in which his Redactor Judaicus brings Paul into the synagogue, only to allow the Apostle to be at once expelled therefrom by the

Redactor Antijudaicus, Jüngst, *Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 9. Whether we view it from its critical or from its chronological standpoint, Clemen's theory has not gained favour in England; for the former, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 11, and for the latter, Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxxviii. But further, it cannot be said that Jüngst's own theory is likely to find wider acceptance than that of his predecessor. To say nothing of the difficulties of the date which he proposes, and his advocacy of St. Luke's dependence on Josephus, in which he is at one with Clemen (see further below), we find ourselves, as in dealing with Spitta's theory, face to face with two sources, A and B. The Paulinist of the second half of Acts is A, and the simplest and most natural view, according to Jüngst himself, is to identify this A with the beloved physician Luke, Col. iv. 14, Philem. ver. 24, 2 Tim. iv. 11, who was with Paul during his imprisonment at Cæsarea and Rome; B represents the Petrine-Jewish Christian mainly of the first half, but whose hand may be seen in xiii. 40 f., xv. ver. 13 ἀπεκρίθη to ver. 19 κρίνω, and in ver. 20 ἐπιτεῖλαι το αἵματος, whose name and date remain unknown, and whose narrative is full of miraculous events and legendary stories. Jüngst's redactor has an important part to play, and whilst on the one hand he advocates the abrogation of the Mosaic law (Jüngst does not hesitate to attribute to him ver. 39, xiii.), on the other hand he allows Paul to circumcise Timothy, xvi. 2, to undertake a Nazarite vow, xxi. 20<sup>b</sup>-26, and to acknowledge himself a Pharisee, xxiii. 6. The redactor's aim was to represent Christianity as a *religio licita*, and he thus endeavours to bring it by a conciliatory process into close connection with the Jewish religion. It would be difficult to find in the range of criticism anything more purely arbitrary than Jüngst's arrangement of his sections chronologically, see Table, p. 225, at the end of his book (and notes in commentary), and the instances given above are sufficient to show how he does not hesitate to split up a verse amongst his various sources: we cannot be surprised that Clemen retorted upon him the charge of overingeniousness with which Jüngst had greeted Clemen's own subtle endeavours.

In the same year as Jüngst's publication, the veteran Hilgenfeld explained his own views of the sources of Acts, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, 1895, 1896, following partly the lines upon which he had previously worked twenty years before in his *Einleitung*, but also taking into account either adversely or with different degrees of agreement, the theories since propounded. According to him the sources are three in number: (1) πράξεις Πέτρου,



A, a Jewish-Christian source, i. 15-v. 42, describing the origin and development of the mother-Church; from it were also derived ix. 31-42, xi. 2, Cod. D, a passage relating a missionary circuit, xii. 1-23; (2) *πράξεις τῶν ἐπτά*, a Jewish-Christian document hellenised, commencing with vi. 1, and continuing to viii. 40, including the choice of the Seven, and describing what was known of two of them, St. Stephen and St. Philip; (3) *πράξεις Παύλου*: this C source commences with (vii. 58<sup>b</sup>, viii. 1<sup>a</sup>, 3) ix., and includes nearly the whole of that chapter, xi. 27-29, and the greater portion of xiii.-xxviii., with the "We" sections. But it will be noticed that, according to Hilgenfeld, we owe this source C probably to one of the early Christians of Antioch (xi. 28 D), and that it affords us a trustworthy account, and partly that of an eye-witness, of the missionary work of St. Paul begun at Antioch and spread over the heathen world. Each of the three sources is revised and added to by the "author to Theophilus," who as a unionist-Pauline makes it his chief aim to represent the origin of the Gentile Church as essentially dependent upon the mother-Church of Jerusalem, and Paul as in full agreement with the primitive Apostles, and as acting after the precedent of St. Peter; thus to C is referred the whole episode of Cornelius and the account of the Church in Antioch, x. 1-xi. 18 (except xi. 2 β text), xi. 19-26, 30, xii. 24, 25. Hilgenfeld is not only often greatly dependent upon the Western text (see below and in commentary), but it will be seen that the reference of large sections to his "author to Theophilus" is often quite arbitrary (*cf.* notes in comment.).

One more well-known name follows that of Hilgenfeld—the name of J. Weiss. In 1893, *Studien und Kritiken*, Weiss had already to some extent given in his adhesion to Spitta's theory, and had treated Clemen's redactors R.J. and R.A., one of whom always follows the other to undo the effects of his working, with little ceremony; but in opposition to Spitta he sees in i.-v. only source B, a strong Jewish-Christian document, and in this respect he approaches more nearly to B. Weiss and Feine, although he does not attach equal weight to the historical value of the document in question. Unlike Spitta, he refers the speech of Stephen (upon the unity of which Spitta so strongly insists) not to A, but to B. In 1897 J. Weiss admits only A as the source for the second half of Acts, except in some passages in which he cannot refrain from introducing a redactor, *Über die Absicht und den literarischen Charakter der A. G.*, 1897, p. 38. The view taken by J. Weiss certainly has the merit of appearing less complicated than that of Jüngst and Clemen.

Heitmüller, *u. s.*, pp. 94, 139, highly commends the service rendered by J. Weiss in insisting upon the fact that, even if it is derived from sources, the book of Acts forms a whole, written with a definite purpose and aim, and it is no doubt true that the more we recognise this, the more readily shall we recognise parts or sources which are inconsistent with a unity of aim, whether we derive them from oral or written traditions. But what kind of man must the final reviser have been in that he was entirely unaware of the discrepancies and difficulties which the sharp eyes of modern critics have discovered, and allowed them to remain instead of dismissing or explaining them with a few strokes of his pen? Or if he was so skilful as to be able to combine together sources often so unlike, how is it that he was notwithstanding so unskilful as to leave such patent and glaring discrepancies? And if the final revision took place in the second century, how is it that we have no colouring, not even in the speeches, of second-century ideas? (See especially Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 10.) In other respects it will be noticed that these theories, far from possessing even the recommendation of novelty, are nothing but a rehabilitation of the exploded "tendency" theories of Baur and Zeller, or of the discredited "parallelism" between Peter and Paul (see above); in numberless cases one critic flatly contradicts another in the details of his confident partition of sources into verses, or even portions of verses. At the same time hardly any of the writers in question seem able to separate themselves entirely from the traditional view that Luke, the companion of Paul, was more or less concerned in the composition of the book, which, as we believe, is so justly ascribed to him.

Before we pass from this question of sources, a few words must be said as to the alleged dependence of St. Luke upon Josephus. A century and a half ago points of contact between the two historians were collected by Ott and Krebs (see Wendt, *u. s.*, p. 36, and Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 1). But only in comparatively recent times has the question been seriously discussed as to whether the author of the third Gospel and of Acts was dependent in a literary sense upon Josephus. At the outset it is well to bear in mind that both men were historians, writing at the same period, and often of necessity referring to the same events. A certain amount, therefore, of parallel description and even of similarity of diction might fairly be expected.<sup>1</sup> But that the author of Acts often showed a know-

<sup>1</sup> Amongst recent critics who have rejected the idea of St. Luke's dependence on Josephus may be mentioned Reuss, Schürer, Gloël, Harnack, Belser, Bousset, and in England, Salmon, Sanday, Plummer (in his review of the latter's *St. Luke* Weiss, however, now inclines to the opposite view).



ledge of independent tradition is admitted even by those who maintain the dependence in question; see, *e.g.*, Krenkel, *u. s.*, p. 207, Clemen, *Die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe*, p. 68 (see further in commentary, v. 36, xii. 19, xxi. 38, and Zahn's instances of this independent knowledge of events and persons, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 416).

But more extraordinary than the variations of certainty and uncertainty in these critics is the position taken up by Wendt in his latest edition (1899) of Meyer's Commentary. In his former edition (1888) he maintained that the points of contact between Josephus and Luke were too general in their character to justify the notion of literary dependence, and that the author of Acts would naturally possess independent knowledge of contemporary events and personalities, and he still admits this general similarity and the want of proof in many of the dependencies alleged by Krenkel in his lengthy examination of the question: *e.g.*, the fact that both writers speak of Porcius Festus as the *διάδοχος* of Felix is no proof of literary dependence (Acts xxiv. 27, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 8, 9). But Wendt fastens on the one passage, v. 36, *cf.* Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 5, 1, as proving a real dependence (see notes in commentary), and argues that if this is so, the same dependence may be naturally expected in other places. Thus, in what appears to be quite an arbitrary manner, he asserts that some notices in Acts are dependent upon Josephus, whilst some may be taken by the author of the book out of his own chief source, *e.g.*, the account of the Egyptian, xxi. 38, and of the high priest Ananias, xxiii. 2, xxiv. 1, etc. But having said all this, Wendt proceeds to point out that we must not measure too highly the influence of Josephus on Acts; even the passage v. 36, in which that influence is most marked, proves to us at the same time the nature of the influence in question: it did not consist in an exact familiarity with the words of Josephus, and in a careful employment of his material, but in a superficial reminiscence of an earlier reading of the Jewish historian; thus the deviations side by side with the likenesses are explained. But the most conservative critic might allow as much as this.

Wendt further admits that this dependence cannot extend to the later works of Josephus, *c. Apion.* and his *Vita*. This last work, which must have been written after the year 100 A.D. (see "Josephus" (Edersheim), *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, iii., p. 448), contains the expression, c. 29, *θανεῖν μὲν, εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι*, and Krenkel maintains that there is a clear trace of dependence upon this in the words used in Acts xxiv. 11 (pp. 255, 256, so Holtzmann and Steck). But in the first place the supposed dependency is not admitted by Wendt,

and not only may parallels be found to a similar use of the verb *παραιτοῦμαι* in other Greek writers (Wetstein), but it is also noticeable that in the same speech of St. Paul Krenkel discovers, xxv. ver. 9, what he calls "the most striking reference" to the language of Josephus in the phrase *χάριτα, χάριν κατατίθεσθαι τινι* (*cf.* also xxiv. 27, Jos., *B. J.*, vi., 3, and commentary, *in loco*). But the phrase is distinctly classical, *cf.* Thuc., i., 33, 138, and if Josephus was acquainted with Thucydides (see Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, p. 56) why not St. Luke? (*Cf.* Belser, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, p. 653, 1895.)

But what can we think of these supposed dependencies upon a book of Josephus written in the early years of the second century, when we read further that St. Paul's account of his dream, xxiii. 11, is modelled upon the dream in Josephus, *Vita*, 42? In the former passage we read *σε δεῖ καὶ εἰς ῥώμην μαρτυρῆσαι*, and in the latter *ὅτι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις δεῖ σε πολεμῆσαι*, in each case the dream takes place in the night, and in each case some one stood over the dreamer (*ἐπιστάς*) (see Bousset's review of Krenkel, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, p. 392, 1895, No. 15). The alleged similarity between the introduction to the third Gospel and the Acts, and the introduction to the *Ant.* of Josephus and to his book, *c. Apionem*, is of the slightest when compared with the likeness between the language of St. Luke in his preface to his Gospel and the introduction of Dioscorides of Anazarbus to his *Materia Medica*, *cf.* Bousset, *u. s.*, Vogel, *Zur Charakteristik des Lukas*, p. 17, and J. Weiss, Meyer's Commentary, *Evangelium des Lukas*, p. 286; indeed much more might be said for an imitation by St. Luke in his preface of the introduction to the history of Thucydides (*cf.* Belser, *u. s.*, pp. 642, 658, 659, etc.). It would have been very advantageous if Krenkel in his long list of words common to Josephus and Luke, p. 304 ff., had not only given us references in classical writers to the use of the words which he adduces (*e.g.*, the phrase *πυρετῷ συνέχεσθαι*, Luke iv. 38, *Ant.*, xiii., 15, 5, finds frequent parallels in Plato and Thucydides), but also to the authors whose books form the Apocrypha, and especially to 1 Macc. and 2 Macc. It is also noteworthy that no mention whatever is made of Polybius (Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 414). The whole list requires revision, and it is preposterous to class amongst literary dependencies technical terms like *ἀνθύπατος*, *κολωνία*, *νεωκόρος*, *ναύκληρος*, *σικάριος*, *στρατοπεδάρχης*, *τετραρχέω*, or ordinary words which since Homer had been common to all Greek literature, *e.g.*, *ἐκεῖσε*, *μόγισ*, *πλοῦς*, *παροίχομαι*, *παραπλέω*. So far as language is concerned, what is more improbable,



as Zahn points out, than that the man who wrote Luke i. 1-4 should go to school and learn from Josephus? (*Cf. C. Apion.*, i., 9; *Ant.*, xx., 12.) But again what can we expect from an author who can find a parallel between Luke ii. 42 and Jos., *Vita*, 2? (See Gloël, *Die jüngste Kritik des Galaterbriefes*, p. 65.) The "We" sections equally with the other parts of the book contain many points of contact with Josephus, and Krenkel is somewhat puzzled to explain this, p. 281; but when we consider that Josephus has given us a long description of his own voyage to Rome, and of his shipwreck on the way, *Vita*, 3, it was only to be expected that similar nautical terms would be found in the two narratives, and some similarity of description, and the two accounts help to show us how easily and naturally two writers narrating the same experiences would express themselves in the same style and language.

But this question of the author's relation to Josephus is also important in its bearing upon the date of Acts.

The *Antiquities* of Josephus are placed at 93, 94 A.D., and if it could be proved that traces of dependence on the Jewish historian may be found in the third Gospel, those who maintain that a considerable period of time elapsed between the writing of that book and of Acts would be obliged to place the latter work some few years later still. But here again we may see the uncertainty which prevails when conclusions are built upon such *data*. Wendt (p. 40) can find no sure traces of any acquaintance with Josephus in the third Gospel, and so he inclines to date Acts in the interval between 95 and 100 A.D. (although he admits the possibility of a later date still). But 95, 96 A.D. would place the book under Domitian, and the question arises as to whether it can be said with any certainty that Acts was composed at a time when the Christians had gone through such a period of persecution as marked the close of that emperor's reign. Harnack decides without hesitation in the negative, *Chron.*, i., pp. 248-250, and whilst he gives 93 as the *terminus ad quem*, it is satisfactory to find that he holds that the book may have been composed between 80 and 93 A.D. The limit which he thus fixes Harnack regards as in approximate agreement with his other argument (see above) against the later date of Acts, *viz.*, its non-use of St. Paul's Epistles, a fact which alone would prevent us from dating the book in the second century (p. 249). So far as date is concerned, Ramsay would seem to occupy to some extent the same position, at least approximately, for he maintains that the book could not possibly have been written as late as the reign of Trajan, when the Church had long suffered persecution from the State, or even by

a writer who had passed through the reign of Domitian, *St. Paul*, p. 387, and he dates its publication in the year immediately following 81 A.D., *i.e.*, in the early years of Domitian. But whilst Harnack's language might be employed by one who even dated the book *before* the persecution of Nero, Ramsay maintains that there runs through the entire work a purpose which could hardly have been conceived before the State had begun to persecute on political grounds (p. 388). But *when* did this kind of persecution begin? The evidence for the origin of a definite State policy against the Christians points presumably to Nero, and not to Vespasian, *cf.* Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, p. 80 (1890), Mommsen's letter, *Expositor*, July, 1893, Hort, *First Epistle of St. Peter*, p. 3, Pullan, *Early Christianity*, p. 106 ff., 1898. Professor Ramsay speaks of the Flavian policy as declaring Christianity illegal and proscribing the Name, but the first of the three Flavian emperors was Vespasian, and there is no positive evidence to refer the adoption of a definite State policy against the new religion to him (*cf.* Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 256).

But if, from this point of view, there is nothing in the book itself to militate against an earlier date even than that mentioned by Ramsay and Harnack, are we justified in placing it, with Blass, before the fall of Jerusalem? Blass indeed would place it as early as 57-59 A.D., following St. Jerome, and the Gospel in 56, *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, p. lxxix., *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 33 ff. But however this may be, Blass has done invaluable service by pointing out that there is nothing in St. Luke's words, Luke xxi. 20 ff., which can give colour to the theory which regards them as a mere *vaticinium post eventum*, by showing that Daniel ix. 36 ff. already contained much which Luke is alleged to have added from his own knowledge of events already fulfilled, and by adding from modern history at least one remarkable prophecy and its fulfilment. Savonarola foretold as early as 1496 the capture of Rome, which happened in 1527, and he did this not merely in general terms but in detail; his words were realised to the letter when the sacred Churches of St. Peter and St. Paul became, as the prophet had foretold, stables for the conquerors' horses. The difficulties of foreseeing this capture of the Holy City at all by an army which would not have refrained from such an act of sacrilege are vividly depicted by Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 42 ff.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, p. viii., where he adds: "Major utique Christus propheta quam Savonarola; hujus autem vaticinium longe difficilior fuit quam illius; nam hostis Romanus praevideri poterat, exercitus Lutheranus non poterat".



But if on other grounds, *e.g.*, on account of the prologue to St. Luke's Gospel (Harnack, *u. s.*, p. 248, Sanday, *B.L.*, p. 278, Page, *Acts*, p. xviii.), we are asked to place that book after the destruction of Jerusalem, it is further maintained by Harnack that some considerable interval must have elapsed after that event before Acts was written; for if it had been composed immediately after the destruction, the writer would have mentioned it as useful for his aim; and so the book must have been composed at a time, *c.* 80, when the overthrow of the Holy City no longer stood, as it were, in the foreground of events. But it may be doubted if this is a very convincing argument, for the Epistle of Barnabas, written, as Harnack holds, between the wide limits of 80 and 132 A.D., does refer to the destruction, and for the writer of this Epistle equally as for the writer of Acts the event would have been a *fait accompli*. It is doubtful whether, in fact, anything can be gained as to the fixture of date from this omission of any reference to the fate of the Holy City; if anything, the omission would point to the years *before* the destruction for the composition of the book, as Harnack himself allows, if we were not obliged, according to the same writer, by the date of the Gospel to place Acts also after the overthrow. Both in England and in Germany representative writers can be named in support of the earlier and of the later date, Dr. Salmon maintaining that Acts was written a little more than two years after St. Luke's arrival in Rome (*cf.* also Rackham, *Journal of Theol. Studies*, i., p. 77), whilst Dr. Sanday would apparently place Acts about 80 A.D., and the Gospel 75-80, *B. L.*, p. 279, so too Dr. Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xxxi., both being influenced to a great extent by the presumption that the Gospel followed the fall of Jerusalem. In this the English critics are in interesting agreement with Zahn in his recent volume, *Einleitung*, ii., pp. 433, 434, so far as date is concerned, in that he too regards 80 A.D. as the *terminus ad quem* for both Gospel and Acts, assigning them probably to 75 A.D., but unable to find a place for them before the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir J. Hawkins in his valuable *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 143, has recently drawn attention to the *difference* of vocabulary between the third Gospel and Acts, and whilst maintaining that it is quite insufficient to destroy the argument for the identity of authorship, he thinks that it points to a considerable lapse of time between the two works. But we are dealing with a versatile author acquainted apparently with many writers, Vogel, *Zur Charakteristik des Lucas nach Sprache und Stil*, pp. 15, 17, 38, and the differences in question cannot have weighed with Blass, inasmuch as he places the completion of Acts three years after the Gospel, and still less with Zahn, who still maintains that the two books were published

It would appear then that the date of Acts must be determined to a great extent by the date assigned to the third Gospel; and this apparently was the view of Bishop Lightfoot (*cf.* Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. xxix., and Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 163, 2nd edit.), inasmuch as he leaves the question of the date of Acts undetermined, and refers for its solution to the date assigned to St. Luke's Gospel; although it should be noted that he does not attach any weight to the argument which finds in Luke xxi. 20-24 a proof that the Gospel was written after Jerusalem had fallen (*cf.* also Headlam, "Acts," Hastings' B.D., p. 30, and Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 40, for various dates).

As in the case of the Gospel, so in that of the Acts, it is impossible to say at what *place* it was written. The traditional view since the days of St. Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, 7, has favoured Rome (although elsewhere Jerome refers the writing of the Gospel to parts of Achaia and Boeotia, *Præf. to Comm. in Matt.*), *cf.* Schneckenburger, Lekebusch, Godet, Felten, Blass, amongst others (Wendt, 1899, although rejecting the traditional account of St. Jerome, adds that he knows of no decisive grounds *against* Rome, p. 40). Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 393, 429, in supporting the claims of Rome argues for the probability that St. Luke, like many medical men at the time, would be likely to find in Rome a good field for his professional work. Achaia, Macedonia, Asia Minor, Alexandria have all been mentioned, and Lightfoot also mentions Philippi. Pfeiderer has supported Ephesus on the ground that the writer manifests a special interest in that city, whilst Zöckler thinks that something may be said for Antioch in Syria, owing to St. Luke's traditional connection with the place, *Eus., H. E.*, iii., 4; Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.*, 7, *cf.* Acts xi. 28, D., if there was the slightest ground for supposing that Luke at the period when the book was written had any residence in the Syrian town. On the whole it seems best with Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 42; Lightfoot, *u. s.*, p. 40; Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., pp. 337, 439, to leave the locality undetermined; see especially the latter as to the bearing on the question of the mention of insignificant places such as Tres Tabernæ, Appii Forum, in the

in the same year, 75. It is remarkable no doubt that *τε* is used so often in Acts in all parts of the book: nevertheless it occurs also in the third Gospel nine or ten times, but in St. Mark not at all, and in St. Matthew and St. John only three times in each; *μὲν οὖν*, although no doubt frequent in Acts, does not occur at all in St. Matthew and St. Mark, although it is found once in St. Luke, iii. 18 (twice in St. John); and *καὶ αὐτός*, although occurring very frequently in the third Gospel, is not dropped in Acts, although proportionately it is rarely found (eight times).



neighbourhood of Rome, and on the evident ignorance of Theophilus as to the localities of Palestine, and apparently also in some respects, and in comparison with the author, of Macedonia and Greece (*cf.* xvi. 12; xvii. 19, 21).

If we turn to external testimony in favour of the book we find it full and satisfactory (*cf.* Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 160, Headlam, "Acts," Hastings' B.D., i., p. 26, and Gore on the points of contact between the earlier chapters and the *Didache*; see *Church and the Ministry*, p. 416). To Wendt in his latest edition, p. 41 (1899), we again owe much that is of value, both in what he allows, and in what he declines to recognise. One very important point calls for determination at the outset. The likeness between the language of Acts xiii. 22 and Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xviii., 1, in relation to Ps. lxxxviii. 20 (LXX) cannot, as both Clemen and Wendt admit, be accidental. Indeed Wendt is of opinion that it is no more probable that Clement depends upon Acts than Acts upon Clement, while at the same time he holds that a third alternative is possible, *viz.*, that both writings may be dependent on some common third source. But there is no evidence forthcoming as to the existence of this common source, and Lightfoot rightly presses the significance of the threefold coincidence between the language of Acts and Clement, which cannot easily be explained away (*u. s.*, p. 120). In Acts we have three features introduced which are not found in the original of the Psalm, *viz.*, the mention of the "witness," and the addition (a) of "a man after my heart," *cf.* 1 Sam. xiii. 14, and (b) of "the son of Jesse," but all these are also found in the passage in St. Clement. So again Wendt with many other critics would explain the words ἡδίων διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες, Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, ii., 1, *cf.* Acts xx. 35, not by dependence upon Acts, but by a common tradition of the words of the Lord. But Wendt admits, although very guardedly, the use of Acts in Polycarp, *Phil.*, i., 2, *cf.* Acts ii. 34, Ignat., *Ad Smyrn.*, 3, Acts x. 41, and he does not deny the connection between Ignat., *Ad Magn.*, 5, and Acts i. 25, whilst he admits that in Justin Martyr the references become more clear and frequent (see, for a full and good estimate of the references to Ignatius and Polycarp, Headlam, "Acts," Hastings' B.D., i., p. 26).

But it is most important to observe that Wendt fully recognises the influence of the Canonical Acts upon the Apocryphal Acts of the second century, although he points out that of this literature we only possess a small portion, and he expects great things from the recently discovered fragments of the *Acta Pauli* of the middle of



the second century; cf. *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* (apparently a part of the *Acta Pauli*), which are frequently dependent upon our Acts for their notices of persons and places, and also *Acta Petri* dependent again upon our Acts, as in the notice of the meeting of Peter and Simon Magus, cf. Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 159, and Harnack, *Chron.*, i., pp. 498 and 554 (although Harnack places the *Acta Petri* as late as the middle of the third century, whilst Zahn takes 170 as the *terminus ad quem*). From other writings and documents of the second century the testimony to our book is clear, cf. *Epist. ad Diognetum*, 3, cf. Acts xvii. 24; the *Epistle of Vienne and Lyons*, cf. Acts vii. 59 ff. (Euseb., *H.E.*, v., 2; *Didache*, iv. 8, Acts iv. 32), and two other references to St. Paul's address at Athens, in Tatian, *Orat. ad Græc.*, 4, and Athenagoras, *Legat.*, 13 (Wendt) (cf. possibly Dionysius of Corinth, Euseb., *H.E.*, iv., 23); so too in Justin Martyr, references to the book are found in *Apol.*, i. and ii., and *Dial. cum Tryph.*, cf., e.g., Acts i. 8, 9, ii. 2, *Apol.*, i., 50; Acts xvii. 23, *Apol.*, ii., 10; Acts xxvi. 22 f., *Dial.*, 36 (Wendt, Zöckler, Headlam); and not only so, but it is definitely assigned to St. Luke and treated as Scripture in the Muratorian Fragment, l. 34; cf. Iren., *Adv. Hær.*, iii., 14, 15, Tertull., *C. Marcion.*, v., 2; *De Jejuni.*, 10; Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v., 12. Moreover, we must not lose sight of the fact that "all the evidence which testifies to the authorship of the third Gospel is available also for Acts, and conversely, and that the early testimony in favour of St. Luke as the author of the third Gospel is absolutely unbroken and undisputed for nearly eighteen centuries," Lightfoot, *u. s.*, p. 30; Plummer, *St. Luke*, pp. xiv., xvi.

Space forbids us to enter into the many vexed questions which surround the *chronology* of Acts, but an attempt is made to discuss some of them in the pages of the commentary. A glance at the various tables given us in Meyer-Wendt (1888), p. 31, or in Farrar's *St. Paul*, ii., p. 624, is enough in itself to show us the number and complexity of the problems raised. But fresh interest has been aroused not only by Professor Ramsay, but by the recent return of Harnack and O. Holtzmann (cf. also McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 359; Blass, *Proleg.*, p. 22) to the earlier chronology of Eusebius (although O. Holtzmann does not mention him, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 128, 132), formerly advocated by Bengel. According to Eusebius the recall of Felix must be dated between October 55 and 56. Harnack places the entry of Festus upon office in the summer of 56, since Paul embarks for Rome some few months after the arrival of Festus in the autumn, *Chron.*, i., p. 237. The

Apostle would thus arrive in Rome in the spring of 57, and his release follows in 59. (O. Holtzmann from other *data* places the arrival of Festus in Palestine in the summer of 55, and both he and McGiffert place Paul's arrival in Rome in 56, and his imprisonment 56-58.)

This chronology has been severely criticised by Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 57 (1899), and it fails to commend itself to Ramsay, *Expositor*, March, 1897, as also more recently to Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 626. It has been objected to it, *inter alia*, that its supporters, or at all events Harnack and O. Holtzmann, place the conversion of Paul so soon after the death of our Lord that it is doubtful whether sufficient time is allowed for the events recorded in Acts i.-vi. (*cf.* xxvi. 10), although Holtzmann, p. 133, sees no difficulty in placing the conversion in 29, the date of the death of Jesus, as the events in Acts i.-viii. in his view follow quickly upon one another. (Ramsay thinks that the interval before Stephen's murder was short, but he allows two and a half or three years for the event after the great Pentecost; see notes in commentary for the difficulties connected with the martyrdom.) Harnack places the date of the conversion in 30, *i.e.*, according to him, either in the year following, or in the year of, the death of Jesus. On the other hand the chronology in question allows some considerable time for Paul's release from his first captivity (a release admitted by Harnack and Spitta, as earlier by Renan), and for his subsequent journeys east and west, if Mr. Turner, "Chronology," Hastings' B.D., i., 420, is right in placing the death of both Peter and Paul in 64-65 (Harnack placing the death of St. Paul in 64 and of St. Peter in 67, Eusebius, however (so Blass), from whom Harnack here departs, placing the former event in 67 (68)). The received chronology, making 60, 61, the date for the arrival of Festus in Judæa, allows but little interval between the close of St. Paul's first imprisonment and his death, if his martyrdom was in 64. The difficulty is met by Mr. Turner, *u. s.*, p. 421, by assigning 58 (Ramsay 59) as the precise year for the accession of Festus to office, placing the close of the Acts, after the two years' captivity in Rome, early in 61, and so allowing an interval of three years between St. Paul's first and second imprisonment. Unfortunately it must be admitted that we cannot positively fix 58 as the year for the event in question, and this uncertainty sadly interferes with the adoption of any precise chronology for Acts, although on all sides the importance of the date of Festus' arrival is recognised—"the crucial date," Mr. Turner calls it; all depends upon ascertaining it, says Harnack (*cf.* also Wendt, *u. s.*, p. 56;



Page, *Acts*, xxxviii.; Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 639; Lightfoot, B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., 42).

If we adopt Mr. Turner's date for Festus—a date intermediate between the earlier and later dates assigned above—and work back, we get 56 as the date for St. Paul's arrest in Jerusalem and imprisonment in Cæsarea, 55 for his leaving Ephesus, 52 for the commencement of his third missionary journey (for he stayed at Ephesus considerably over two years; Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, p. 310, says three), 50 for his reaching Corinth (late in the year), where he sojourned eighteen months, 49 for Council at Jerusalem and second missionary journey. But if we identify the Council at Jerusalem, Acts xv., with the second visit to Jerusalem according to Gal. ii. 1, but the third visit according to Acts, the question arises as to whether the notices in Gal. i. 18 and ii. 1 involve seventeen years as an interval between the Conversion and the Council (with Lightfoot, Harnack, Zahn), or whether the fourteen years, Gal. ii. 1, should be reckoned from the Conversion, *i.e.*, eleven years from the first visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem, including the three in the fourteen (with Ramsay, Turner, McGiffert).<sup>1</sup>

Against the former view Mr. Turner urges the objection that in this case the first visit to Jerusalem would be carried back to 35-36, whereas in all probability Aretas was not ethnarch of Damascus until 37 (2 Cor. xi. 32, Acts ix. 25, 26; see commentary), and he therefore includes the three years in the fourteen, and thus gets 35-36 for the conversion, and 38 (under Aretas) for the first visit. As Mr. Turner places the Crucifixion 29 A.D., his scheme is thus free from the objection referred to above as against Harnack and O. Holtzmann, since it allows some six or seven years for the events in the early chapters of Acts (see further on the whole question of chronology Mr. Turner's full and valuable article already mentioned; Zahn, *u. s.*, ii.; *Excursus*, ii.; Professor Ramsay, "Pauline Chronology," *Expositor*, March, 1897; Professor Bacon (Yale), "Criticism of the New Chron. of Paul," *Expositor*, February, 1898; Wendt, *u. s.* (1899), p. 53 ff.; *Biblical World*, November, 1897; Mr. Vernon Bartlet's article on "Pauline Hist.

<sup>1</sup> But Professor Ramsay, it must be remembered, identifies Gal. ii. with Acts xi. 30, xii. 25 (see notes in commentary), and an interval of fourteen years between St. Paul's conversion and the famine would be more probable than an interval of seventeen, which would throw the conversion back too early, and Dr. McGiffert identifies the accounts of both visits in Acts xi. and xv.—the former for famine relief and the latter for the settlement of the controversy with the Judaisers—with the visit mentioned in Gal. ii. 1, *Apostolic Age*, p. 208.



and Chron.," *Expositor*, October, 1899, written too late for more than a brief mention here, as also Professor Bacon's more recent contribution, *Expositor*, November, 1899).

But although there are so many points of contact between secular history and the Acts, it seems that we must still be content with what Harnack describes as a relative rather than an absolute Chronology. We cannot say, *e.g.*, that we can fix precisely the date of the famine, or the edict of Claudius, or the proconsulship of Gallio, or the reign of Aretas, to take the four events mentioned by Lightfoot, "Acts," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., p. 4, as also by Harnack, *Chron.*, i., p. 236, *cf.* Zahn, *u. s.*, ii.; *Excursus* ii. But in this respect no blame attaches to St. Luke as an historian. His object was to connect the history of the rise and progress of the Christian Faith with the course of general imperial history around him, and if his chronological sense seems deficient to modern judgment, it was a deficiency in which he was by no means peculiar, but which he shared with his contemporaries and his age, *cf.* Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 18, 23, and *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 204, 256.

STATE OF THE TEXT. It is not too much to say that during the last fifteen years chief interest has centred around the Western text and its relative importance (*cf.* Blass, *Studien und Kritiken*, p. 86 ff., 1894; *Acta Apostolorum*, 1895, and *Acta Apostolorum*, 1896, also *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, 1897, both edited *secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam*; see also Dräseke, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, p. 192 ff., 1894).<sup>1</sup>

Codex D, its most important representative, contains an unusually large number of variations from the received text in Acts (see for the number Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 165; he reckons, *e.g.*, some 410 additions or interpolations), and it is no wonder that attempts should have been made to account for this diversity. Bornemann's endeavour some half-century ago (1848) to represent D as the original text, and the omissions in the common text as due to the negligence or ignorance of copyists, found no acceptance, and whilst in one sense Blass may be said to have returned to the position of Bornemann, he has nevertheless found his predecessor's solution totally inadequate, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 105. Joannes Clericus, Jean Leclerc, the Dutch philologist (born 1657), had already suggested that St. Luke had made two

<sup>1</sup> The main division of MSS. of Acts into three groups, with references to W. H. and Blass, is well given in *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, iv., pp. xvii., xviii. (H. J. White, Oxon., 1897).

editions of Acts, and is said by Semler to have published his opinion, although under an assumed name (Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 348; see also on the same page Zahn's interesting acknowledgment that he was himself in 1885-6 working on much the same lines as Blass). Meanwhile Tisch., W. H., B. Weiss have sought to establish the text of Acts essentially on the basis of  $\aleph$ ABC, and it was left for Blass to startle the world of textual criticism by boldly claiming a fresh originality for Codex D. But this originality was not exclusive; St. Luke has given us two originals, first a rough copy  $\beta$ , R(omana), in Blass, and then a fair copy  $\alpha$ , and A(ntiochena), for the use of Theophilus; the rough copy remained in Rome and became the foundation of the Western text, copies of it having reached Syria and Egypt in the second century, while the latter abridged by Luke reached Theophilus in Antioch (so Blass), and was thence propagated in the East.<sup>1</sup>

But Codex D is by no means the sole witness, although a very weighty one, upon which Blass depends for his  $\beta$  text. He derives help from Codex E (Laudianus), from the minuscule 137 (M) in Milan, especially for the last chapters in which D is deficient, and in some passages also from Codex Ephraem, C; from the Philoxenian Syriac version with the marginal annotations of Thomas Harkel (unfortunately we have no Old Syriac text as for the Gospels), the Sahidic version, the Latin text in D, d, and E, e, the Fleury palimpsest (Samuel Berger, 1889), Flor. in Blass; the so-called "Gigas" Latin version in Stockholm (Belsheim, 1879), Gig. in Blass; the Codex Parisinus, 321 (S. Berger, 1895), Par. in Blass; a Latin version of the N.T., fifteenth century, in Wernigerode, Wernig., w., in Blass, and a Latin version of the thirteenth century, "in linguam provinciæ Gallicæ Romanæ facta," Prov. in Blass.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to these MSS. and versions Blass also appeals to the

<sup>1</sup> On the difference between the circulation of the two copies in the case of the third Gospel see *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 103. In England Bishop Lightfoot had previously conjectured that the Evangelist might himself have issued two separate editions of both Gospel and Acts, *On a Fresh Revision of the N.T.*, p. 29. For similar instances of the issue of a double edition in classical and other literature see Dräseke, *u. s.*, p. 194; Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 132, and Blass, *Proleg.*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> To these may be added fragments of an old Latin translation of Acts in the *Anonymi de prophetis et prophetiis* containing six passages, notably Acts xi. 27, 28, in agreement with Codex D, cf. *Miscellanea Cassinese*, 1897, and Harnack, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, p. 171, No. 6, 1898; the Greek Codex Athous, derived according to Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 250, from an old and very valuable original, and taken into some account by Hilgenfeld, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. ix. (1899), and cf.



text employed by Irenæus, which contains many resemblances to D; to the text of St. Cyprian, which shows the same peculiarity; to the text of St. Augustine, especially in his treatises against the Manicheans, containing Acts i.-ii. 13, x. 13, 15, parts which are not found in the Fleury palimpsest: cf. also Tertullian, whose text, although it contains few quotations from Acts, resembles that of Irenæus (add to these the work *De promissionibus et prædicationibus Dei*, referred, but wrongly, to Prosper, Prom. in Blass; and the *Contra Varimadum* of Vigilius, Vigil. in Blass: works not valued so highly by Hilgenfeld in his list of authorities for the Western text, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. xiii., 1899). By these aids Blass constructs his β text, even for those portions where D is wanting, viz., from viii. 29, πρόσελθε to x. 14, ἔφαγον; from xxi. 2, ἐπιβάντες to ver. 10, ἀπὸ τῆς; xxii. 10, ὡν τέτακται to ver. 20, συνευδοκῶν, and from xxii. 29, οἱ μέλλοντες to the end of the book, and his aim is to restore the Western text as it existed about the time of Cyprian, cf. *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, p. xxxi. The merit of his work in showing how widespread and interesting was the Western form of text is acknowledged even by those who do not accept his conclusions, see, e.g., Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte* (1899), p. 46, and Bousset, *Theol. Rundschau*, p. 413, 1898, although both object that Blass does not rightly estimate his different witnesses.

But Blass is able to refer in support of his use of some of the authorities mentioned to the important investigation of Dr. P. Corssen in his *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta Apostolorum*, 26 pp., 1892. This Latin text carries us back at least to the middle of the third century (and earlier still according to Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 53 ff., who thinks that the text might be called Tertullianic equally as well as Cyprianic; but see on the other hand Blass, *Acta Apost.*, edit. m., p. xxxi.), as Corssen shows by comparing the readings of the Fleury palimpsest (sixth century) (1) with St. Cyprian's quotations from Acts, (2) with similar quotations in the works of St. Augustine referred to above, *De Actis cum Felice Manichæo* and *Contra epistolam Manichæi*, (3) with the quotations in the work mentioned above as that of Prosper (Harris, *u. s.*, p. 53). Behind these various texts Corssen concludes that there was a common Latin primitive, i.e., the Cyprian text, as he calls it. Moreover, this Cyprian text is a Western witness superior in value

Acts xv. 20, 29. Hilgenfeld also adds to the Latin versions, Codex Vindobonensis s. (probably sixth century), cf. xxviii. 20, and see *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, iv. (H. J. White, Oxon., 1897).



even to the Greek of Codex Bezae, since it has in Corssen's opinion an internal unity and sequence wanting in the latter, although it agrees in many peculiarities with the Greek of that Codex (Harris, *u. s.*, p. 53; Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 594). Corssen thus helps materially to prove the antiquity of the Western Latin.

But Dr. Blass further acknowledges that Corssen has done most valuable service in proving the composite nature of Codex D, and that in it we have not  $\beta$  in its purity, but in a state of frequent mixture and conflation with  $\alpha$ . Whilst, however, Blass regards the  $\beta$  text as the older, Corssen regards  $\alpha$  in that light, and  $\beta$  as revealing the character of a later revision (*Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, pp. 433, 436, 446: 1896); in  $\beta$  he somewhat strangely maintains that we have the hand of a Montanist reviser at work (*cf.* Blass's strictures, *Evang. secundum Lucam*, p. xxiv. ff.), a theory formerly adopted by Professor Harris, but afterwards abandoned by him.

But how far do the variations between the two forms of text justify the hypothesis of Blass that both may be referred to one author,  $\beta$  as the primary,  $\alpha$  as the secondary text? <sup>1</sup>

In the *apparatus criticus* of the following pages, in which the variations for the most part in the two texts are stated and examined, it cannot be claimed for a moment that any definite conclusion is reached, simply because the matter is one which may be said to call for suspension of judgment. Certainly there are many difficulties in the way of accepting the theory of Blass in its entirety. There are passages, *e.g.*, of which it may be said that the more detailed form is the original, which was afterwards shortened, while it may be maintained often with equal force that the shortened form may well have been the original; there are passages where a local knowledge or an exact knowledge of circumstances is shown, *e.g.*, xii. 10, xix. 9, xx. 15, xxi. 1, but such passages do not prove the priority of the  $\beta$  text, for if both  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are referred to the same author, the same hand which omitted in a revision could also have added, although such instances may be cited for the originality of the  $\beta$  text in comparison with  $\alpha$  (see notes *in loco* for each passage). To these may be added the famous addition in xi. 28 (see *in loco*), which Blass makes the starting-point for his inquiry, and to which Hilgenfeld, Zahn, Zöckler, Salmon, as against Harnack and B. Weiss, attach so much importance. There are again other passages in which it may be

<sup>1</sup> Blass still maintains, as against Corssen, that the language of the additions, and generally in the variants of  $\beta$ , is Lucan, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 113 ff., and *Evangelium secundum Lucam*, p. xxvii. ff.

maintained that if  $\alpha$  is original we can understand the smoothness of  $\beta$ , but not *vice versâ*, and it must always be remembered that this love of paraphrase and simplification has been urged on high authority as a marked characteristic of the Western readings in general, *cf.* W. H., p. 122 ff., and B. Weiss, *Der Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 52, 105: 1897. There are, moreover, other passages in which Blass seems to assimilate  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$ , although the witnesses would differentiate them, *cf.* v. 28, 34, xv. 33, or in which there is a manifest blunder, not only in D but in other Western witnesses, which Blass corrects by  $\alpha$ , although such blunders really belong to the  $\beta$  text, *cf.* v. 31, xiii. 48, xv. 15. There are cases in which D affords weighty support to readings otherwise testified to only by B, *e.g.*, xix. 8, xxi. 25, or only by  $\aleph$ , *cf.* ii. 20 (Wendt).

But a careful consideration of the whole of the instances justifies the attachment of far greater importance to the Western text than formerly (*cf.*, *e.g.*, Holtzmann's review of Blass's edit. min. of Acts, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, p. 350, 1897, No. 13), and goes some way to break down the former prejudice against Codex Bezae: not only is it allowed that one revising hand of the second century may be the main source of the most important readings, but that these readings may contain original elements, since they must be based upon a text which carries us back very near to the date of the composition of the book of Acts (Wendt, *u. s.*, p. 52; Bousset, *Theol. Rundschau*, p. 414, 1898). The same tendency to attach more importance to the Western text is observable in Professor Ramsay, for although he regards the most vivid additions of the Western text in Acts as for the most part nothing but a second-century commentary, and while he refuses to introduce xi. 27, 28, D, into his own text, yet he speaks of the high value of D in that it preserves with corruptions a second-century witness to the text, and he places the home of the revision on the line of intercourse between the Syrian Antioch and Ephesus, arguing from xi. 28 that the reviser was acquainted with Antioch (*Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 151; *St. Paul*, p. 27, and review of Professor Blass, *Expositor*, 1895, and *cf.* Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, pp. 131, 140).

On the other hand the most thorough advocates of Dr. Blass's theory support his view of the priority and originality of  $\beta$  by reference to three classes of passages: (1) those in which the later  $\alpha$  has abbreviated the reading of  $\beta$ , *cf.* iii. 1, iv. 1, 3, 24, 32, vii. 29, ix. 5-8, x. 23, xi. 2, xiv. 1-20, xvi. 19, xvii. 12, 15, xxi. 39, xxii. 26; (2) those in which  $\beta$  contains exact and specific notices of time which are wanting in  $\alpha$ , *cf.* xv. 30, xvi. 11, xvii. 19, xviii. 19, xix. 9,



xx. 18, xxvii. 1, etc.; (3) those in which exact information appears to characterise the references of  $\beta$  to places, circumstances, persons, *cf.*, in addition to passages of this character already noticed under (1), xi. 28, xii. 1, 10, xvi. 35, xviii. 18, 27, xix. 14, xx. 15, xxi. 16, xxiv. 27, xxviii. 16, 19 (see for these passages Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 134 ff., and notes in *apparatus criticus*, and in opposition to the view of Zöckler Mr. Page's detailed list of passages in D, all of which he regards as bearing traces of being subsequent corrections of the text by a second-rate hand, *Classical Review*, p. 319, July, 1897, and Blass's reply, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 123).<sup>1</sup>

If an examination of these passages, which vary considerably in value and importance, and the proofs of the existence of a second-century Latin text convince us that the readings in  $\beta$  are not to be hastily rejected as the glosses of a careless or blundering scribe, it cannot be said that we are in a position to account for the origin of the Western readings, or that a solution of the problem is yet attained. The hypothesis of Blass, tempting as it is, and simple as it is, wants verification, and the very simplicity which commends it to its supporters is often a sore stumbling-block to its acceptance, inasmuch as it does not seem to account for all the facts of the case. But at the present stage of the controversy it is of interest to note that the honoured name of Theodor Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 340, 1899, may be added to those who accept in the main Blass's position, amongst whom may be mentioned Nestle, Belser, Zöckler, Salmon.<sup>2</sup> Zahn makes some reservations, *e.g.*, with regard to xv. 29 (see in

<sup>1</sup> In 1891 Professor Harris regarded the readings of Codex D (see Blass, *edit. min.*, p. xx.) as the result of their adaptation to the Latin version of a bilingual MS. which carries us back to the middle of the second century, a view which he has somewhat modified in 1894, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. viii., although still maintaining a certain amount of Latinisation. Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.*, i., 52, 1899, recently supports Harris, and maintains that the Greek of D rests partly on retranslation from the Latin. In his later book Dr. Harris examines the theory of Dr. Chase, that the peculiarities of Codex D are due to retranslation from an old Syriac version, pp. 14, 68, and maintains that whilst Dr. Chase's position is justified in so far that we possess evidence of an old Syriac text of Acts, yet his explanation of the Western variants as due to a Syriac glossator cannot be sustained, see also Zöckler, *u. s.*, p. 131, and Headlam, "Acts," Hastings' B.D.

<sup>2</sup> Amongst the keenest attacks upon the theory may be noted that of B. Weiss in *Codex D in der Apostelgeschichte*, 1897; Page, *Classical Review*, July, 1897, and more recently, Harnack, see notes on xi. 28 and xv. 29; Schmiedel in *Enc. Bibl.*, 50-56, 1899. Wendt's examination of the question, *Apostelgeschichte* (1899), pp. 43-53, should also be carefully considered, whilst Blass has replied to the strictures of Harnack and Zahn in *Studien und Kritiken*, i., 1900.



loce, and Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte d. königl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, xi., 1899), whilst he lays stress upon xi. 28, and maintains the genuine Lucan character of the words used, e.g., ἀγαλλίασις, συστρέφειν.

Still more recently Hilgenfeld, *Acta Apostolorum*, 1899, has again, and more fully, expressed his conviction of the priority of the  $\beta$  text (although he differs from Blass and Zahn in not referring  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  to the same original author<sup>1</sup>), and he has reconstructed it much on the same lines as Blass, and somewhat more boldly. References to the text adopted by Hilgenfeld will be frequently found in the *apparatus criticus* (as also to his annotations which deal largely with the criticisms of B. Weiss in his *Codex D*). In his *Proleg.* Hilgenfeld divides the authorities for the Western text as against  $\aleph$ ABC into various groups: (1) Græco-Latin MSS.: Codex D and E; (2) Latin versions: Flor., Gig., Par., Wernig., Prov., as Blass calls them, see above on p. 42; (3) Oriental versions: especially the marginal readings of Thomas Harkel in the Philoxentan Syriac; also the Sahidic version; (4) the Fathers: especially Irenæus, Cyprian, Tertullian (with reference to Corssen's pamphlet, see above); (5) some readings even in the four great MSS.  $\aleph$ ABC. Hilgenfeld evidently attaches some weight (as Blass) to 137 (M), and to Codex Athous Lauræ, p. ix. (see Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 250; and further, *Studien und Kritiken*, i., 1900).

For *Literature* bearing on Acts see the valuable lists in Headlam, "Acts," Hastings' B.D., pp. 34, 35, and Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 1-4, 1899. The present writer would venture to add to the former: (1) *Commentaries*: Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, 1892; Knabenbauer, *Actus Apostolorum* (Paris, 1899), two learned and reverent works by Romanists, the latter dealing with the most recent phase of modern problems of text, chronology and sources; Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte* (Meyer-Wendt), 1899, with a full Introduction, pp. 1-60, discussing all recent problems, with constant reference in the text to Professor Ramsay's writings, and altogether indispensable for the study of Acts; Matthias, *Auslegung der Apostelgeschichte*, 1897, a compendium useful in some respects, based chiefly upon Wendt's earlier edition; Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2nd edit., 1894; to these constant reference is made. (2) *Introductions*: Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii.,

<sup>1</sup> "Blassio debemus alterum Actorum app. textum non ortum ex jam fere recepto, sed hinc ab ipso Actorum app. auctore postea breviante et emendante in chartam puram scriptum esse minime demonstravit, lima ita potitus est, ut etiam genuina et necessaria non pauca sublata sint," p. xiv.

1899; B. Weiss, *Einleitung*, 3rd edit., 1897; Jülicher, *Einleitung*, 1894; (3) *Special Treatises*: Hilgenfeld, *Acta Apostolorum*, Græce et Latine, 1899; J. Weiss, *Über die Absicht und den literarischen Charakter der Apostelgeschichte*, 1897; Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden der Apostelgeschichte*, 1887, a reverent and in many respects valuable treatment of the text and sources of St. Paul's addresses; Bishop Williams of Connecticut, *Studies in Acts*, 1888; Gilbert, *Student's Life of St. Paul*, 1899: with appendix on Churches of Galatia; Luckock, *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by St. Luke in the Acts*, 1897; (4) *Early Church History*: McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*; Hort, *Ecclesia*; Nösgen, *Geschichte d. Neut. Offenbarung*, ii., 1892; (5) *Monographs on Special Points*: E. H. Askwith, *Epistle to the Galatians*, 1899 (an enlargement of the Norrisian Prize Essay on *The Locality of the Churches of Galatia*); Vogel, *Zur Charakteristik des Lukas nach Sprache und Stil*, 1897; Nestle, *Philologica Sacra (Bemerkungen über die Urgestalt der Evangelien und A.G.)*, 1896, and his *Einführung in das Griechische N.T.*, 2nd edit., 1899, frequently referred to by Zahn and Dalman; Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, and *Præf. to Evangelium secundum Lucam*, 1897; Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, 1883, and *Vindiciæ Lucanæ*, 1866; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 140-158, on the *Linguistic Relations between St. Luke's Gospel and Acts*; Bousset, *Der Text des N.T.*, 1898 (*Theol. Rundschau*, p. 405 ff.); B. Weiss, *Der Codex D*, 1897, dealing with the hypothesis of Dr. Blass; Harnack, *Sitzungsberichte der königlich Preussischen Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, xi. and xvii., 1899; Curtius, "Paulus in Athen" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii., pp. 528-543, 1894); see also Ramsay, various articles of great value in *Hastings' B.D.*, i., ii., "Ephesus," "Galatia," "Corinth," etc., and Schmiedel, "Acts," in *Enc. Bibl.*, 1899, which appeared too late for more than a few references here. For literature connected with special points, and the text and sources of Acts, see above, pp. 8, 22, 41, and for grammatical questions and syntax see references in commentary to Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*; Blass, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, 1896; Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, 1893 and 1896; and to the numbers of Winer-Schmiedel, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, now in course of publication.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the preparation of the textual criticism my best thanks are due to the kind and valuable help of the Rev. Harold Smith, M.A., St. John's College, Cambridge, sometime Lecturer in King's College, London.



## ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ<sup>1</sup> ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

I. 1. ΤΟΝ μὲν πρῶτον λόγον ἐποιησάμην περὶ πάντων, ὦ Θεόφιλε,  
ὣν ἤρξατο ὁ<sup>2</sup> Ἰησοῦς ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, 2. ἄχρι ἣς ἡμέρας

<sup>1</sup> B and also the subscription of **Ξ**; so Lach., W.H., Wendt. D has **πραξις** **αποστολων**. **Ξ** merely **πραξεις**, so Tisch. **πραξεις των αποστολων** 31, 61; so Griesb., Meyer, whilst **των αγιων** before **αποστολων** is found in subscription of EGH. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, v., 12, has **πραξεις των αποστ.** Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, v., 1, 2, has *Acta Apostolorum*. Cf. Iren., *Adv. Hær.*, iii., 13, 3, and also lat. title as in Clem. Alex., *Adumbr.*, 1 Pet., v., 13, *Actus Apostolorum*; sometimes simply *Acta* or *Actus*; see further Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., 334, 388 (1899).

<sup>2</sup> ὁ **Ξ**AE, Orig. and Blass in **β**, so also Weiss. Omit. BD, W.H. (see Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 148).

CHAPTER I.—Ver. 1. τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον, a reference beyond all reasonable doubt to St. Luke's Gospel. Not merely the dedication of both writings to Theophilus, but their unity of language and style is regarded by critics of all schools as convincing proof of the identity of authorship of Acts and the third Gospel; see *Introd.* and Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 128 (1895). In the expression **πρῶτος λόγος** Ramsay finds an intimation from St. Luke's own hand that he contemplated a third book at least, otherwise we should have had **πρότερος λόγος**, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 23, 27, 28; see to the same effect Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., 371 (1899), Rendall, *Acts of the Apostles*, *in loco*, and *cf.* comment. on Acts xxviii. 31. So, too, *primus* is used in Latin not simply as former but as first in a series, Cicero, *De Invent.*, ii., 3. On the other hand, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 34, *Acta Apost.*, p. 16, and more recently *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 38, maintains that **πρῶτος** simply = **πρότερος** (so also Holtzmann and Felten). But Ramsay, whilst pointing out instances in which St. Luke apparently uses **πρῶτος** differently from this, p. 28 (*cf.* also Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 389), admits that we cannot attain to any absolute certainty in the passage before us, since no instance occurs of the use of

**πρότερος** by St. Luke.—**λόγον**: frequently used by classical writers in the sense of a narrative or history contained in a book; see instances in Wetstein. The passage in Plato, *Phædo*, p. 61, B., is valuable not only for the marked contrast between **λόγος** and **μῦθος**, **ποιεῖν μύθους ἄλλ' οὐ λόγους**, but also for the use of **ποιεῖν** (Wendt). Amongst other instances of the phrase **ποιεῖν λόγον** *cf.* Galen, *De Usu Part.*, ii., **περὶ πρώτων τῶν δακτύλων ἐποιησάμην τὸν λόγον**. St. Chrysostom sees in the phrase a proof of the unassuming character of the author: St. Luke does not say "The former Gospel which I preached." For the anomalous **μὲν**, "solitarius," without the following **δέ**, frequent in Luke, see Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 261, *cf.* Luke viii. 5, Acts iii. 21, xxviii. 22, etc., and several times in St. Paul. **μὲν** occurs thus six times in the Acts without **οὖν**—on **μὲν οὖν** see ver. 6.—ὦ Θεόφιλε: the interjection used here simply in address, as common in Attic Greek, *cf.* xviii. 14, xxvii. 21, 1 Tim. vi. 11; without the epithet **κράτιστε**, as in Luke i. 3, and without ὦ, Θεόφ. alone would have seemed too bold, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 258. It has been suggested that the omission of the epithet **κράτιστε**, Luke i. 3, denotes that St. Luke's friendship had become less ceremonious, just as a similar change has been noted



ἐντειλόμενος τοῖς ἀποστόλοις διὰ Πνεύματος Ἀγίου, οὓς ἐξελέξατο, ἀνελήφθη.<sup>1</sup> 3. οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν

<sup>1</sup> ἀνελήφθη B<sup>3</sup> and probably all cursives, but -λημφθη ζ<sup>AB</sup>\*CDE, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss (see Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 24, 55). αχρης . . . ἀνεληφ. Aug., Vig. read "in die quo Apostolos elegit per Spiritum Sanctum," omitting ἀνεληφ. altogether, and continuing with D, Lux., Syr. Harcl. mg., Sah. καὶ ἐκελευσεν κηρυσσεῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (*et praecepit praedicare evangelium*). This reading of Aug. Blass adopts (so Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text der Acta Apost.*, p. 18, and Graefe, *Stud. und Krit.*, p. 136 (1898)) and therefore refers the day mentioned to Luke vi. 12, the day of the choice of the Apostles. But Belser well points out that St. Luke's Gospel (quite apart from chaps. i. and ii.) does not begin with the choice of the Twelve, but with the public appearance of the Baptist and that of Jesus Himself, and with His public teaching. Nor is there anything said, as Blass himself admits, in St. Luke's account of the choice of the Twelve, vi. 12, as to any commission given to them at that time to preach the Gospel (although in his edition of St. Luke's Gospel Blass compares Mark iii. 14, but even then the expression used, κηρυσσεῖν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, cannot be called Lucan, see Weiss on Codex D, p. 53). Further, D contains ἀνεληφθη, after ἡμέρας, apparently to simplify the structure; there is no Greek authority for its omission, and it is contained in Codex Parisinus (which in many respects approaches so closely to D), where we find it at the end of the verse: *assumptus est*. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 132 ff., contends for the reading which he had previously adopted in β, and sees in it the original draft of Luke who in α "has encumbered the clause in order to bring in the Ascension without leaving out the choice of the Apostles" (p. 136).

in the dedication of Shakespeare's two poems to the Earl of Southampton; cf. also Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii. 360. The way in which the epithet **κράτιστε** is employed elsewhere in the book in addressing Roman officials, xxiii. 26, xxiv. 3, xxvi. 25, has been thought to indicate that Theophilus held some high official post, or that he was at least of equestrian rank (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 388, 389, and his inferences as to the date of Acts). Ramsay is of opinion that the name was given at baptism, and that it was used or known only among Christians, and he infers that this baptismal name is used in Acts because the book was probably written at a time when it was dangerous for a Roman of rank to be recognised as a Christian. But Theophilus was by no means uncommon as a Jewish name; cf. B. D.<sup>2</sup> i., p. 25, and also article "Theophilus," B. D.<sup>1</sup> (see also Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 19). The epithet **κράτιστος** was peculiarly appropriated to Romans holding high office, and actually became during the second century a technical title to denote equestrian rank; and from its use here Zahn maintains not only that Theophilus was a man of some social position, but that he was, when Luke wrote his gospel, not a member of the Christian Church, since there is no instance in the first two centuries of a Christian addressing his fellow-Christians in a title corresponding

as it were to "your Excellency" (*Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., 360, 383). The instance of the address of the *Epist. ad Diognetum*, **κράτιστε Διόγνητε**, is alleged by Blass as an instance that the epithet is not always used in the technical sense mentioned; but to this Ramsay replies that if Diognetus was the friend and teacher of Marcus Aurelius, the emperor might well raise his teacher to equestrian rank; Septimius Severus raised his sons' tutor to the high dignity of the consulship. Ramsay discusses **κράτιστος** at length in *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* (1898), pp. 65, 71, 72, as against Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 19. Blass fully recognises that Theophilus held a high position, and that the title in question would naturally occur in a book dedicated to a patron; but it must be borne in mind that Blass regards Theophilus as of Greek extraction, possibly a fellow-citizen with Luke of Antioch, whilst Ramsay sees in him a citizen of Rome and a resident in the imperial city. Theophylact asks why Luke should have cared to write to one man only and to value him so highly, and makes answer that it was because the Evangelist was a guardian of the words spoken by the Lord: "It is not the will of my Father that one of these little ones should perish". There seems no great reason to doubt that Theophilus was a real personage, and the epithet **κράτιστε**, at all events in its

αὐτόν, ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα <sup>1</sup> ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς, καὶ λέγων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. 4. Καὶ συναλιζό-

<sup>1</sup> τεσσαράκοντα, so B<sup>3</sup>E 1, 13, Meyer; but τεσσερακοντα ΞAB\*CD 61, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss. D omits δια, so Blass in β.

technical significance, is hardly consistent with any other supposition (see Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 319, note). The recent attempt to identify Theophilus with Seneca, referred to by Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 163, must be dismissed as equally groundless and fanciful as the former conjecture that he was no other than Philo.—περὶ πάντων ὧν: the use of πᾶς (mostly after a prep., as here) followed by an attracted relative may be classed amongst the mannerisms of St. Luke (Simcox, *Writers of the N. T.*, p. 24, where other instances are given); see also Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 1, 2.—ὧν: in St. Luke's Gospel and in the Acts the frequency of the attraction of the relative again specially characterises him amongst the N.T. writers, Friedrich, *u. s.*, pp. 36 and 100.—ἤρξατο: often regarded as simply pleonastic, but sometimes as emphatic, to intimate that the work which Jesus began on earth He continued in heaven, or that He began the work of the Gospel and committed its continuance to His followers; Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 366 ff. In Winer's view to regard ἀρχεσθαι as pleonastic is a mere subterfuge to avoid a difficulty, and he renders the passage "what Jesus began both to do and to teach, and continued to do until," etc. (see also Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*), treating it as an example of breviloquence (Winer-Moulton, lxvi., 1). On the whole it is perhaps best to consider the phrase ἤρξε ποιεῖν with Bengel (*in loco*) as equivalent to *fecit ab initio*, although no doubt there is a sense in which, with every Christian for nineteen centuries, St. Luke would regard the whole earthly life of Jesus as a beginning, a prelude to the glory and mighty working to be revealed and perfected in the ascended Lord. The verb is of frequent use in St. Luke's writings (Friedrich, Zeller, Lekebusch), although in St. Mark's Gospel it is also constantly found. In the LXX it is often found like

לִּלְחַם hi., and also in Apocr. ποιεῖν τε καὶ διδάσκειν, "Scilicet prius fecit, deinde docuit; prius docuit exemplo, deinde verbo. Unde prius non docuit, quod prius ipse non fecit" (Corn. à Lap.).

Ver. 2. ἄχρι ἧς ἡμέρας. In Matt. ἄχρι occurs once or twice, in Mark and

and John not at all, in Luke four times, and in Acts sixteen; whilst the commoner μέχρι is found only once in the Gospels and twice in the Acts (Winer-Schmiedel, p. 227, and on the use of the form ἄχρι or ἄχρις see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*). It is seldom used in the LXX, but in 2 Macc. xiv. it occurs twice, vv. 10 and 15; cf. also Symm., 2 Kings xxi. 16; Theod., Job xxxii. 11.—διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου. The older commentators, and Wendt, Holtzmann, Zöckler, Hilgenfeld, amongst moderns, connect the words with ἐξελέξατο, the reference to the choice of the Apostles through the Holy Ghost standing significantly at the opening of a book in which their endowment with the same divine power is so prominent. On the other hand, it is urged that there is no need to emphasise further the divine choice of the Apostles (*cf.* Luke vi. 13, and see below on ver. 25), but that it was important to show that the instructions to continue the work and teaching of Jesus were a divine commission (Weiss), and to emphasise from the commencement of the Acts that Jesus had given this commission to His Apostles through the same divine Spirit Whom they received shortly after His Ascension (Felten). Spitta (who refers i. 1-14 to his inferior source B), whilst he connects διὰ πνεύμ. ἁγ. with ἐντελέμενος, curiously limits the latter to the command to the Apostles to assemble themselves on the Mount of Olives (so too Jüngst). For other connections of the words see Alford *in loco*.—ἐξελέξατο, always in N.T. ἐκλέγομαι, middle (except, perhaps, in Luke ix. 35, but see R.V. and W.H.). Another verb very frequent in LXX, used constantly of a divine choice: of God's choice of Israel, of Jacob, Aaron, David, the tribe of Judah, Zion, and Jerusalem. The verb is also found in the same sense in the middle voice in classical Greek.—ἀνελήμφθη: the verb is used of Elijah's translation to heaven in the LXX, 2 Kings ii. 9-11, also in Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 9 and 1 Macc. ii. 58, and perhaps of Enoch in Ecclesiasticus xlix. 14 (A, μετετέθη). In addition to the present passage (*cf.* vv. 11, 12) it is also used in Mark xvi. 9 and 1 Tim. iii. 16 (where it probably forms part of an early Christian Hymn or confession of faith)



μενος<sup>1</sup> παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων μὴ χωρίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ πατρὸς, ἣν ἠκούσατέ μου<sup>2</sup>. 5. ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> συναλιζόμενος, some good cursives συναλιζομενος. Aug. prefixes ως to συναλ.; so β (see also Belser). D reads συναλισκομενος (-σγομ. D<sup>2</sup>). D, Gig., Par.<sup>1</sup>, Sah. add μετ' αὐτων, perhaps explanatory addition, Syriac (Chase), or Latin, to bring out force of συν. retained by Blass in β. R.V. omits μετ' αὐτων; so W.H., Wendt, and Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> ἡν ἠκουσατέ μου; in place of this, D, Par.<sup>2</sup>, Vulg. (Clem.), Hil., Aug. read ἡν ἠκουσατέ φησιν δια τοῦ στοματος μου, so Blass in β and Hilgenfeld (see also Belser), may be mere amplification of μου in T.R., possibly assimilated to xv. 7 (Chase). Harris ascribes it to a Montanist. ἠκουσα in D<sup>1</sup>.

of our Lord's Ascension; cf. also *Gospel of Peter*, 19, in a doubtfully orthodox sense. It is to be noted that the word is here used absolutely, as of an event with which the Apostolic Church was already familiar. On the cognate noun ἀνάληψις, used only by St. Luke in N.T., and absolutely, with reference to the same event, in his Gospel, ix. 51, see *Psalms of Solomon*, iv., 20, ed. Ryle and James, p. 49. In the latter passage the word is apparently used for the first time in extant Greek literature, but its meaning is very different from its later technical use with reference to the Assumption of the Blessed; see instances, p. 49, *ubi supra*. St. Irenæus, i., 10, 1, whilst using the noun of our Lord's Ascension, is careful to say τὴν ἑνσαρκον εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν; see especially Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 70-72, and below on verse 11.

Ver. 3. οἷς καὶ παρέστησεν, "he also showed himself," R.V., but margin "presented himself" (cf. ix. 41), *præbuit se*, Vulg. In ix. 41 *monstravit*, h. l. *magis demonstravit* (Blass). The verb is used thirteen times in Acts (once in a quotation, iv. 26), both transitively and intransitively. St. Luke in his Gospel uses it three times, and as in Acts both transitively and intransitively. In this he is alone amongst the Evangelists. In the Epistles it is found only in St. Paul, and for the most part in a transitive sense.—μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν, "after his passion," so in A. and R.V.; *post passionem suam*, Vulg.; "too sacred a word to be expunged from this the only place where it occurs in the Bible," Humphry, *Commentary on R.V.*; cf. iii. 18, xvii. 3, xxvi. 23.—ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις—τεκμήριον only here in N.T.—twice in Wisdom v. 11, xix. 13, and 3 Macc. iii. 24. The A.V. followed the Genevan Version by inserting the word "infallible" (although the latter still retained "tokens" instead of "proofs"). But R.V. simply "proofs"

expresses the technical use of the word τεκμήριον, convincing, certain evidence. Although in a familiar passage, Wisdom v. 11, τεκμήριον and σημεῖον are used as practically synonymous, yet there is no doubt that they were technically distinguished, e.g., Arist., *Rhet.*, i., 2, τῶν σημείων τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον τεκμ. This technical distinction, it may be observed, was strictly maintained by medical men, although St. Luke may no doubt have met the word elsewhere. Thus it is used by Josephus several times, as Krenkel mentions, but he does not mention that it is also used by Thucydides, ii., 39, to say nothing of other classical writers. Galen writes τὸ μὲν ἐκ τηρήσεως σημεῖον τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἐνδείξεως τεκμήριον, and the context states that rhetoricians as well as physicians had examined the distinction; Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, p. 184. The word also occurs in the Proem of Dioscorides to his *De Materia Medica*, p. 3, which Vogel and Meyer-Weiss hold that Luke imitated in the Prologue to his Gospel (but see Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 384).—δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα. St. Chrysostom comments οὐ γὰρ εἶπε τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας, ἀλλὰ δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα· ἐφίστατο γὰρ καὶ ἀφίστατο πάλιν. To this interpretation of the genitive with διὰ Blass refers, and endorses it, *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, p. 129, following the Scholiast. The meaning, if this interpretation is adopted, would therefore be that our Lord did not remain with His disciples continuously (οὐ διηνεκῶς, Schol.) as before, but that He appeared to them from time to time; *non perpetuo, sed per intervalla*, Bengel. But cf. also Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 140. Men have seen in this period of forty days, mentioned only by St. Luke in N.T., what we may reverently call a symbolical fitness. But in a certain sense the remark of Blass seems justified: *Parum ad rem est quod idem (numerus)*



Ἰωάννης<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι Ἀγίῳ, οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας.<sup>2</sup> 6. Οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθόντες

<sup>1</sup> Ἰωάννης; in D almost throughout Ἰωανης, see W.H., *Notes on Orthography*, p. 166, on authority of B and D. Nestle (*Expository Times*, Nov., 1897, p. 93) points out that in D *vv* prevails in Matt., Mk., John (*vv* 66, *v* 7), while in Luke and Acts the reverse is the case (*vv* 3, *v* 48); but see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> After *ἡμέρας* D, Sah. insert *ὥς της πεντηκοστης*. Blass sees in the addition an intimate knowledge of the facts (see also Belser); *cf.* ii. 1, but *cf.* on the other hand Weiss on Codex D, p. 54.

*alias quoque occurrit.* The parallels in the histories of Moses and Elijah to which Holtzmann and Spitta refer are really no parallels at all, and if it be true to say that there was nothing in contemporary Jewish ideas to suggest our Lord's Resurrection as it is represented as taking place, it is equally true to maintain that there was nothing to suggest the after sojourn of the forty days on earth as it is represented as taking place; see Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 624.—ὀπτανόμενος: if we could call this a frequentative verb with some scholars, it would in itself give the meaning "appearing from time to time," but it is rather a late Hellenistic present, formed from some parts of ὀρᾶν; Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 57, 181. But it certainly does not mean that our Lord's appearances were merely visionary. The verb is found only here in N.T., but also in LXX 1 Kings viii. 8 and in Tobit xii. 19 (not in S.). In these two passages the word cannot fairly be pressed into the service of visionary appearances. In 1 Kings the reference is to the staves of the ark which were so long that the ends were seen from the holy place before the oracle, but they were not seen from without, *i.e.*, from the porch or vestibule. In Tobit it is not the appearance of the angel which is represented as visionary, quite the contrary; but his eating and drinking are represented as being only in appearance. But even if the word could be pressed into the meaning suggested, St. Luke's view of our Lord's appearances must be judged not by one expression but by his whole conception, *cf.* Luke xxiv. 39-43 and Acts x. 41. That he could distinguish between visions and realities we cannot doubt; see note below on xii. 12.—τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θ.: "speaking the things concerning," R.V., not "speaking of the things," A.V., but speaking the very things, whether truths to be believed, or commands to be obeyed (Humphry, *Commentary on R.V.*). On St. Luke's fondness for τὰ περὶ τίνος in his writings

see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 10 and 89 (so also Zeller and Lekebusch). The exact phrase is only found in *Acts*, where it occurs twice (in T.R. three times); *cf.* xix. 8 (viii. 12), and see also xx. 25 and xxviii. (23), 31. The expression ἡ βασ. τοῦ θ., instead of τῶν οὐρανῶν of the Hebrew Evangelist St. Matthew, is characteristic of St. Luke's writings, although it is found frequently in St. Mark and once in St. John. In St. Luke's Gospel it occurs more than thirty times, and six times in *Acts* (only four times in St. Matt.). Possibly the phrase was used by St. Luke as one more easily understood by Gentile readers, but the two terms ἡ βασ. τοῦ θ. and τῶν οὐρ. were practically synonymous in the Gospels and in Judaism in the time of our Lord (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 171; E. T. and Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* (second edit.), p. 67; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i., 267; and Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 76 ff.). Dr. Stanton, *Jewish and Christian Messiah*, p. 226, draws attention to the important fact that the preaching of the original Apostles after the Ascension is not described as that of the preaching of the kingdom of God, but that the phrase is only used of the preaching of St. Paul, and of St. Philip the associate of St. Stephen. But in view of the fact that the original Apostles heard during the Forty Days from their Master's lips τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλ. τοῦ θεοῦ, we cannot doubt that in deed and in word they would proclaim that kingdom. On the question as to whether they conceived of the kingdom as present, or future, or both, see Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, i., 409, E. T., and *Witness of the Epistles* (Longmans), p. 309 ff., and on the conception of the kingdom of God in the Theology of A. Ritschl and his school see Orr, *Ritschlian Theology*, p. 258 ff. For the relation of the Church and the Kingdom see also Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, pp. 28, 36 ff., "Church," Hastings, B.D., p. 425; Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 5 ff.

ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν λέγοντες, Κύριε, εἰ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἀποκαθίσ-  
τάνεις τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ Ἰσραήλ; 7. εἶπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Οὐχ ὑμῶν

Ver. 4. συναλλίζομενος: a strong array of modern commentators renders "eating with them," following the Vulgate *convescens illis* (so both A. and R.V. in margin, and Wycl. and Rhem.). It is thus rendered by Overbeck (as against De Wette), Wendt, Holtzmann, Felten, Weiss, Matthias, Knabenbauer, and Blass, who adopts the reading ὡς συναλ., and regards the particle as showing that the recapitulation is continued of the events already mentioned in Luke xxiv. 42 ff. It is evidently taken in the same sense by Spitta, Feine, Jüngst. If we so translate it, we must derive it from ἅλς (salt), so Schol. κοινωνῶν ἁλῶν, τραπέζης, in the sense given to the expression by Chrys., Theophyl., Œcum. In Ps. cxl. 4 LXX, to which Wendt refers, μὴ συν-δυσάσω (although the reading is somewhat doubtful—the word is used by Symmachus, 1 Sam. xxvi. 19) is also rendered συναλισθῶ (Alius) as an equivalent of the Hebrew סָּחַחְתִּי, μὴ συμφάγοιμι, Symmachus. Blass gives no classical references, but points out that the word undoubtedly exists in the sense referred to in *Clem. Hom.*, xiii., 4 (but see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*). Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, p. 74 (1894)) contends that the use of the word in the psalm quoted and in the passage from the Clementines refers not to the use of salt at an ordinary meal, but rather to the sacrificial and symbolical use of salt in the Old and New Testaments. Thus in the passage *Clem. Hom.*, xiii., 4, τότε αὐτοῖς συναλιζόμεθα, τότε means "after the Baptism"; cf. also Ignatius, *ad Magnes.*, x., ἁλίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, "be ye salted in him". Wendt takes the word quite generally as meaning that the sharing in a common meal with His disciples, as on the evening of the Resurrection, was the habitual practice of the Lord during the Forty Days; cf. Acts x. 41 and Luke xxiv. 36 ff. Feine similarly holds that the word presupposes some such incidents as those mentioned in Luke xxiv., and that Luke had derived his information from a source which described the final instructions to the disciples as given at a common meal. On the other hand it must be borne in mind that in classical Greek, as in Herodotus and Xenophon (Weststein) (as also in Josephus, *B. J.*, iii., 9, 4), συναλίζω = to assemble, cf. Hesy-

chius, συναλίζ. = συναλισθεῖς, συναχθεῖς, συναθροισθεῖς, and it is possible that the preceding present participles in the immediate context may help to account for the use of the same participle instead of the aorist συναλισθεῖς. The verb is then derived from σύν and ἄλής (ᾱ), meaning lit., close, crowded together. Mr. Rendall (*Acts of the Apostles*, p. 32) would derive it from Ἀλήη (-α), a common term for a popular assembly amongst Ionian and Dorian Greeks, and he supposes that the verb here implies a general gathering of believers not limited to the Twelve; but the context apparently points back to Luke xxiv. 49 to a command which was certainly given only to the Twelve.—παρήγγειλεν, "he charged them," R.V., which not only distinguishes it from other verbs rendered "to command," but also gives the emphatic meaning which St. Luke often attaches to the word. It is characteristic of his writings, occurring four times in his Gospel and ten or eleven times in Acts, and it is very frequent in St. Paul's Epistles (Friedrich, Lekebusch).—Ἱεροσολύμων: a neuter plural (but cf. Matt. ii. 3 and Grimm *sub v.*). St. Luke most frequently uses the Jewish form Ἱερουσαλὴμ—twenty-seven times in his Gospel, about forty in Acts—as against the use of Ἱεροσόλυμα four times in his Gospel and over twenty in Acts (Friedrich, Lekebusch). Blass retains the aspirate for the Greek form but not for the Jewish, cf. *in loco* and *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 17, 31, but it is very doubtful whether either should have the aspirate; W.H., ii., 313; Plummer's *St. Luke*, p. 64; Winer-Schmiedel, p. 93. Grimm points out that the Hebrew form is used in the N.T.: "ubi in ipso nomine tanquam sancta vis quædam reponitur ut, Gal. iv. 25; ita in compellationibus, Matt. xxiii. 37, Luke xiii. 34;" see further *sub v.* Ἱεροσόλυμα.—μὴ χωρῖς: it was fitting that they should not depart from Jerusalem, not only that the new law as the old should go forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem, Isa. ii. 3 (Felten), but that the Apostles' testimony should be delivered not to men unacquainted with the facts, but to the inhabitants of the city where Jesus had been crucified and buried. Εἰ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐχωρίσθησαν Ἱεροσολύμων, καὶ τοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐπηκολούθησεν, ὑποπτος ἂν ἡ ἀνάστασις ὑπῆρξεν, Œcumenius, *in loco*; see also Theophyl.—περιμένειν: not else-



ἐστι γινῶναι χρόνους ἢ καιροὺς οὓς ὁ Πατὴρ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ.

8. ἀλλὰ λήψεσθε δύναμιν, ἐπελθόντος τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς,

where in N.T. (but see x. 24, D), but used in classical Greek of awaiting a thing's happening (Dem.). The passage in LXX in which it occurs is suggestive: τὴν σωτηρίαν περιμένων κυρίου, Gen. xlix. 18 (cf. Wisd. viii. 12). On the tradition that the Apostles remained in Jerusalem for twelve years in obedience to a command of the Lord, and the evidence for it, see Harnack, *Chronologie*, i., p. 243 ff. Harnack speaks of the tradition as very old and well attested, and maintains that it is quite in accordance with Acts, as the earlier journeys of the Apostles are there described as missionary excursions from which they always returned to Jerusalem.—τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν: Bengel notes the distinction between ὑποσχέσθαι and ἐπαγγέλλομαι, the former being used of promises in response to petitions, the latter of voluntary offers (Ammonius): "quæ verbi Græci proprietates, ubi de divinis promissionibus agitur, exquisitè observanda est". It is therefore remarkable that in the Gospels the word ἐπαγγελία is never used in this technical sense of the divine promise made by God until Luke xxiv. 49, where it is used of the promise of the Holy Spirit, as here. But in Acts and in St. Paul's Epistles and in the Hebrews the word is frequent, and always of the promises made by God (except Acts xxiii. 21). See Sanday and Headlam on *Romans* i. 2, and Lightfoot on *Gal.* iii. 14, and *Psalms of Solomon*, xii., 8 (cf. vii., 9, and xvii., 6), ed. Ryle and James, p. 106. "The promise of the Father," cf. Luke xxiv. 49, is fulfilled in the baptism with the Holy Ghost, and although no doubt earlier promises of the gift of the Spirit may be included, cf. Luke xii. 11, as also the promise of the Spirit's outpouring in Messianic times (cf. Joel ii. 28, Isaiah xlv. 3, Ezek. xxxvi. 26), yet the phraseology may be fairly said to present an undesigned coincidence with the more recent language of the Lord to the Twelve, John xiv. 16, xv. 26, xvi. 14. On the many points of connection between the opening verses of Acts and the closing verses of St. Luke's Gospel see below.

Ver. 5. ἐν πνεύματι: the omission of ἐν before ὕδατι and its insertion before πνεύμ. may be meant to draw a distinction between the baptism with water and the baptism in the Spirit (R.V. margin "in"). But in Matt. iii. 11 we have the preposition ἐν in both parts of the verse; cf.

John i. 31. On ἐν with the instrumental dative see Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 114, and Grotius, *in loco*; cf. the

Hebrew וְאַחֲרַיִם.—οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας: not after many, i.e., after few. This use of οὐ with an adjective or adverb is characteristic of St. Luke, cf. Luke xv. 13, Acts xxvii. 14, in which places οὐ πολὺς = ὀλίγος as here; cf. οὐ μετρίως, Acts xx. 12; οὐ μακράν, Luke vii. 6, Acts xvii. 27; οὐκ ἄσημος, Acts xxi. 39; οὐχ ὁ τυχών, Acts xix. 11, xxviii. 2, cf. Hawkins, *Horæ Syn.*, p. 153. No doubt μετ' οὐ would be more correct, but the negative is found both before and after the preposition, so in Luke xv. 13; cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, i., 12, and xiii., 7, 1, for similar changes of allocation in the same words. ταύτας closely connects the days referred to with the current day; cf. also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 221. οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς, φησὶν ἵνα μὴ εἰς ἀθυρίαν ἐμπέσωσιν· ὀρισμένους δὲ πότε, οὐκ εἶπεν, ἵνα αἱ ἐκρηγορήσιν ἐκδεχόμενοι, Theophylact, *in loco*.

Ver. 6. οἱ μὲν οὖν: the combination μὲν οὖν is very frequent in Acts in all parts, occurring no less than twenty-seven times; cf. Luke iii. 18. Like the simple μὲν it is sometimes used without δέ in the apodosis. Here, if δέ is omitted in ver. 7 after εἶπεν, there is still a contrast between the question of the Apostles and the answer of Jesus. See especially Rendall, *Acts of the Apostles*, Appendix on μὲν οὖν, p. 160 ff.; cf. Weiss *in loco*.—συνελθόντες: the question has often been raised as to whether this word and μὲν οὖν refer back to ver. 4, or whether a later meeting of the disciples is here introduced. For the former Hilgenfeld contends (as against Weiss) and sees no reference to any fresh meeting; the disciples referred to in the αὐτοῖς of ver. 4 and the ὑμεῖς of ver. 5 had already come together. According to Holtzmann there is a reference in the words to a common meal of the Lord with His disciples already mentioned in ver. 4, and after this final meal the question of ver. 6 is asked on the way to Bethany (Luke xxiv. 50). The words οἱ μὲν οὖν συνελθ. are referred by Felten to the final meeting which formed the conclusion of the constant intercourse of ver. 3, a meeting thus specially emphasised, although in reality only one out of many, and the question which follows in ver. 6 was asked, as Felten also supposes



καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι μάρτυρες ἔν τε Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ  
καὶ Σαμαρείᾳ<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἕως ἑσχάτου τῆς γῆς. 9. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπών,

<sup>1</sup> Σαμαρείᾳ, but ΣΑΔΕ Σαμαρίᾳ (but Blass in β, -ειᾳ); so Tisch., W.H. although -εια is given as alternative; see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 45.

(see too Rendall on vv. 7 and 8), on the way to Bethany. But there is no need to suppose that this was the case (as Jüngst so far correctly objects against Holtzmann), and whilst we may take *συνελθ.* as referring to the final meeting before the Ascension, we may place that meeting not in Jerusalem but on the Mount of Olives. Blass sees in the word *συνελθ.* an assembly of all the Apostles, *cf.* ver. 13 and 1 Cor. xv. 7, and adds: "Aliunde supplendus locus ubi hoc factum, ver. 12, Luke xxiv. 50".—*ἐπηρώτων*: imperfect, denoting that the act of questioning is always imperfect until an answer is given (Blass, *cf.* iii. 3), and here perhaps indicating that the same question was put by one inquirer after another (see on the force of the tense, as noted here and elsewhere by Blass, *Hermathena*, xxi., pp. 228, 229).—*εἰ*: this use of *εἰ* in direct questions is frequent in Luke, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 254; *cf.* vii. 1, xix. 2 (in Vulgate *si*); it is adopted in the LXX, and a parallel may also be found

in the interrogative *נ* in Hebrew (so Blass and Viteau).—*ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ*: such a promise as that made in ver. 5, the fulfilment of which, according to Joel ii. 28, would mark the salvation of Messianic times, might lead the disciples to ask about the restoration of the kingdom to Israel which the same prophet had foretold, to be realised by the annihilation of the enemies of God and victory and happiness for the good. As in the days of old the yoke of Pharaoh had been broken and Israel redeemed from captivity, so would the Messiah accomplish the final redemption, *cf.* Luke xxiv. 21, and set up again, after the destruction of the world-powers, the kingdom in Jerusalem; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 360, 361 (1897). No doubt the thoughts of the disciples still moved within the narrow circle of Jewish national hopes: "totidem in hac interrogatione sunt errores quot verba," writes Calvin. But still we must remember that with these thoughts of the redemption of Israel there mingled higher thoughts of the need of repentance and righteousness for the Messianic kingdom (*Psalms of Solomon*, xvii., xviii.; ed. Ryle and James, p. lvii.), and that the

disciples may well have shared, even if imperfectly, in the hopes of a Zacharias or a Simeon. Dr. Edersheim notes "with what wonderful sobriety" the disciples put this question to our Lord (*ubi supra*, i., p. 79); at the same time the question before us is plainly too primitive in character to have been invented by a later generation (McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 41).—*ἀποκαθιστάνεις*: *ἀποκαθιστάνω*, a form of *ἀποκαθίστημι* which is found in classical Greek and is used of the restoration of dominion as here in 1 Macc. xv. 3; see also below on iii. 21 and Malachi LXX iv. 5. On the form of the verb see W.H., ii., 162, and on its force see further Dalman, *u. s.*, p. 109. "Dost thou at this time restore . . . ?" R.V.; the present tense marking their expectation that the kingdom, as they conceived it, would immediately appear—an expectation enhanced by the promise of the previous verse, in which they saw the foretaste of the Messianic kingdom.

Ver. 7. *χρόνους ἢ καιρούς*: Blass regards the two as synonymous, and no doubt it is difficult always to maintain a distinction. But here *χρόνους* may well be taken to mean space of time as such, the duration of the Church's history, and *καιρούς* the critical periods in that history: *ὁ μὲν καιρὸς δηλοῖ ποιότητα χρόνου, χρόνος δὲ ποσότητα* (Ammonius). A good instance of the distinction may be found in LXX Neh. x. 34: *εἰς καιροὺς ἀπὸ χρόνων*, "at times appointed"; *cf.* 1 Thes. v. 1. So here Weiss renders: "zu kennen Zeiten und geeignete Zeitpunkte". In modern Greek, whilst *καιρός* means *weather*, *χρόνος* means *year*, so that "in both words the kernel of meaning has remained unaltered; this in the case of *καιρούς* is changeableness, of *χρόνων* duration" (Curtius, *Etym.*, p. 110 sq.); *cf.* also Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, ii., p. 27 ff.; Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 153; and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v. καιρός*.—*ἐξουσία*, *authority*, R.V.—either as delegated or unrestrained, the liberty of doing as one pleases (*ἐξουσι*); *δύναμις*, *power*, natural ability, inherent power, residing in a thing by virtue of its nature, or, which a person or thing exerts or puts forth—so *δύναμις* is ascribed to Christ, now in one sense, now in another, so also

βλεπόντων αὐτῶν ἐπήρθη, καὶ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν  
ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν.<sup>1</sup> 10. καὶ ὡς ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν,

<sup>1</sup> For T.R. καὶ ταῦτα . . . οφθ. αὐτῶν D, Sah., Aug., with var. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ νεφ. υπελ. αὐτον καὶ απηρθη απ' αὐτῶν. Chase explains from Syriac, but καὶ απηρ. κ.τ.λ. may be an assimilation to Matt. ix. 15. Omission of βλεπ. αὐτῶν and ἀπο τῶν οφθαλ. in Western texts curious; may to some extent support Blass's view or may have been intentional omissions. Vulg. and Flor. retain both omissions. Weiss regards the whole in D as secondary; Hilgenfeld follows D.

to the Holy Spirit as in ver. 8; cf. x. 38, Luke iv. 14, Rom. xv. 13; Bengel, Luke iv. 36, and Grimm-Thayer, *Synonyms*. Sub v. δύναμις.

Ver. 8. ἐσεσθέ μου μάρτυρες, "my witnesses," R.V., reading μου instead of μοι, not only witnesses to the facts of their Lord's life, cf. i. 22, x. 39, but also His witnesses, His by a direct personal relationship; Luke xxiv. 48 simply speaks of a testimony to the facts.—ἐν τε ἱερουσαλὴμ κ.τ.λ.: St. Luke on other occasions, as here, distinguishes Jerusalem as a district separate from all the rest of Judæa (cf. Luke v. 17, Acts x. 39), a proof of intimate acquaintance with the Rabbinical phraseology of the time, according to Eder-sheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 17, 73. In this verse, see *Introduction*, the keynote is struck of the contents of the whole book, and the great divisions of the Acts are marked, see, e.g., Blass, p. 12 in *Prologue to Acts*—Jerusalem, i. vii.; Judæa, ix., 32; xii., 19; Samaria, viii.; and if it appears somewhat strained to see in St. Paul's preaching in Rome a witness to "the utmost parts of the earth," it is noteworthy that in *Psalms of Solomon*, viii., 16, we read of Pompey that he came ἀπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς, i.e., Rome—the same phrase as in Acts i. 8. This verse affords a good illustration of the subjective element which characterises the partition theories of Spitta, Jüngst, Clemen and others. Spitta would omit the whole verse from his sources A and B, and considers it as an interpolation by the author of Acts; but, as Hilgenfeld points out, the verse is entirely in its place, and it forms the best answer to the "particularism" of the disciples, from which their question in ver. 6 shows that they were not yet free. Feine would omit the words ἔως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς because nothing in the conduct of the early Church, as it is described to us in the Jewish-Christian source, Acts i. xii., points to any knowledge of such a commission from the Risen Christ. Jüngst disagrees with both Spitta and Feine, and thinks that the hand of the redactor is visible in prominence given to the little Samaria.

Ver. 9. ἐπήρθη: the word in ver. 2 is different, and ἐπήρθη seems not merely to denote our Lord's first leaving the ground (as Weiss, Overbeck), but also to be more in accordance with the calm and grandeur of the event than ἀπήρθη; this latter word would rather denote a taking away by violence.—καὶ νεφέλη ὑπέλαβε: the cloud is here, as elsewhere, the symbol of the divine glory, and it was also as St. Chrysostom called it: τὸ δῶμα τὸ βασιλικόν; cf. Ps. civ. 3. In 1 Tim. iii. 16 we read that our Lord was received up ἐν δόξῃ, "in glory," R.V.

Ver. 10. ἀτενίζοντες ἦσαν: this periphrasis of ἦν or ἦσαν with a present or perfect participle is very frequently found in St. Luke's writings (Friedrich, pp. 12 and 89, and compare the list in Simcox, u. s., pp. 130-134). The verb is peculiar to St. Luke and St. Paul, and is found ten times in Acts, twice in St. Luke's Gospel, and twice in 2 Cor.; it denotes a fixed, steadfast, protracted gaze: "and while they were looking steadfastly into heaven as he went," R.V., thus expressing more clearly the longing gaze of the disciples watching the Lord as He was going (πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, the present participle denoting that the cloud was still visible for a considerable time), as if carrying their eyes and hearts with Him to heaven: "Ipse enim est amor noster; ubi autem amor, ibi est oculus et cor" (Corn. à Lapide). The word is also found in LXX 1 Esdr. vi. 28 and 3 Macc. ii. 26 (cf. Aquila, Job vii. 8), and also in Josephus, B. J., v., 12, 3, and Polybius. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 38, 39, gives a most valuable account of the use of the word in St. Luke, and concludes that the action implied by it is quite inconsistent with weakness of vision, and that the theory which makes Paul a permanent sufferer in the eyes, as if he could not distinctly see the persons near him, is hopelessly at variance with St. Luke; cf. too the meaning of the word as used by St. Paul himself in 2 Cor. iii. 7, 13, where not weak but strong sight is implied in the word. The verb thus common in St. Luke is frequently employed by medical writers



πορευομένου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἄνδρες δύο παρειστήκεισαν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐσθῇτι λευκῇ,<sup>2</sup> 11. οἱ καὶ εἶπον, Ἄνδρες Γαλιλαῖοι, τί ἐστήκατε ἐμβλέποντες εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀνάληφθεις ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὕτως ἐλεύσεται, ὃν τρόπον ἐθέασασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. 12. τότε ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ

<sup>1</sup> παρειστηκεισαν; W.H. read παρισ., but see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> ἐσθῇτι λευκῇ C<sup>3</sup>DE Syr. Harcl., Aeth., Orig.-int., Chrys., so Hilgenfeld; but in R.V. ἐσθησεῖ λευκαῖς ABC and good cursives, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Arm., Sah. Boh., Tisch., W.H., Weiss; so also Blass in β.

to denote a peculiar fixed look (Zahn); so in Luke xxii. 56, where it is used for the servant-maid's earnest gaze at St. Peter, a gaze not mentioned at all by St. Matthew, and expressed by a different word in St. Mark xiv. 67; Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, p. 76. In LXX, as above, it is employed in a secondary sense, but by Aquila, *u. s.*, in its primary meaning of gazing, beholding. —καὶ ἰδοὺ: καὶ at the commencement of the apodosis is explained as Hebraistic, but instances are not wanting in classical Greek; cf. Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 257, and see also Simcox, *ubi supra*, p. 160 ff. For the formula καὶ ἰδοὺ cf.

the Hebrew הִנֵּה, and on St. Luke's employment of it in sudden interpositions, see Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 179. The use of καὶ (which in the most Hebraic books of the N.T. is employed much more extensively than in classical Greek) is most frequent in Luke, who also uses more frequently than other writers the formula καὶ ἰδοὺ to introduce an apodosis; cf. Friedrich, *ubi supra*, p. 33.—παρειστήκεισαν αὐτοῖς: in the appearance of angels which St. Luke often narrates there is a striking similarity between the phraseology of his Gospel and the Acts; cf. with the present passage Acts x. 30, xii. 7, and Luke xxiv. 4, ii. 9. The description in the angels' disappearances is not so similar, cf. Acts x. 7 and Luke ii. 15, but it must be remembered that there is only one other passage in which the departure of the angels is mentioned, Rev. xii. 2; Friedrich, *ubi supra*, pp. 45, 52, and Zeller, Acts ii., p. 224 (E. T.). For the verb cf. Luke i. 19, xix. 24, Acts xxiii. 2, 4, and especially xxvii. 23.—ἐν ἐσθῇτι λευκῇ: in R.V. in the plural, see critical notes and also Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 90.

Ver. 11. ἄνδρες Γαλ.: the ἄνδρες in similar expressions is often indicative of respect as in classical Greek, but as ad-

dressed by angels to men it may denote the earnestness of the address (Nösgen). St. Chrysostom saw in the salutation a wish to gain the confidence of the disciples: "Else, why needed they to be told of their country who knew it well enough?" Calvin also rejects the notion that the angels meant to blame the slowness and dullness of apprehension of Galilæans. At the same time the word Γαλ. seems to remind us that things which are despised (John vii. 52) hath God chosen. *Ex Galilæa nunquam vel certe raro fuerat propheta; at omnes Apostoli* (Bengel); see also below.—οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς: if the mention of their northern home had reminded the disciples of their early choice by Christ and of all that He had been to them, the personal name Jesus would assure them that their master would still be a human Friend and divine Saviour; *Hic Jesus: qui vobis fuit eritque semper Jesus, id est, Salvator* (Corn. à Lap.). —πορευόμενον: on the frequency of the verb in St. Luke as compared with other N.T. writers, often used to give effect and vividness to the scene, both Friedrich and Zeller remark; St. Peter uses the same word of our Lord's Ascension, 1 Peter iii. 22. As at the Birth of Christ, so too at His Ascension the angels' message was received obediently and joyfully, for only thus can we explain Luke xxiv. 52.

Ver. 12. τότε: frequent in Acts and in St. Luke's Gospel, but most frequent in St. Matthew; on its use see Grimm-Thayer, and Blass, *Gramm. des N. G.*, p. 270.—ὑπέστρεψαν: a word characteristic of Luke both in his Gospel and in Acts, occurring in the former over twenty times, in the latter ten or eleven times. Only in three places elsewhere, not at all in the Gospels, but see Mark xiv. 40 (Moulton and Geden, *sub v.*); Friedrich, *ubi supra*, p. 8. On the Ascension see additional note at end of chapter.—τοῦ καλ. Ἑλαῖωνος: *ubi captus et vincus fuerat*. Wetstein. Although



ἀπὸ ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου Ἐλαιῶνος, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐγγὺς Ἱερουσαλήμ, σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν.

13. Καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθον, ἀνέβησαν εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶν οὐ ἦσαν καταμέ-  
νοντες, ὃ τε Πέτρος καὶ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἀνδρέας, Φίλιππος

<sup>1</sup> Ιακωβος και Ιωαννης, so E, Syr. Harcl., Arm. Zoh., Chrys., Theodrt.; but in inverse order in **ABCD** 61, Vulg. and good versions, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt. Weiss.

St. Matthew and St. Mark both speak of the Mount of Olives they do not say τοῦ καλ. (neither is the formula found in John viii. 1). It is therefore probable that St. Luke speaks as he does as one who was a stranger to Jerusalem, or, as writing to one who was so. Blass, *ubi supra*, pp. 32, 84, contends that Ἐλαιῶνος ought to give place to ἐλαιῶν, which he also reads in Luke xix. 29, xxi. 37 (W.H. Ἐλαιῶν, and in Luke xix. 37, xxii. 39, τῶν Ἐλαιῶν, in each case as genitive of ἐλαία), the former word being found only here and in Josephus, *Ant.*, vii., 9, 2. But it is found in all the MSS. in this passage, although *falso D. cum cæt.*, says Blass. Blass would thus get rid of the difficulty of regarding Ἐλαιῶν as if used in Luke xix. 29, xxi. 37 as an indeclinable noun, whilst here he would exchange its genitive for ἐλαιῶν. Deissmann, however, is not inclined to set aside the consensus of authorities for Ἐλαιῶνος, and he regards ἐλαιῶν in the two passages above as a lax use of the nominative case. As the genitive of ἐλαιῶν it would correspond to the Latin *Olivetum* (so Vulgate), an olive-orchard; cf. ἀμπελος and ἀμπελῶν in N.T., the termination ῶν in derivative nouns indicating a place set with trees of the kind designated by the primitive. For instances cf. Grimm-Thayer, *sub* Ἐλαιῶν, but see on the other hand Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 36 ff. With regard to the parallel between our verse and Josephus, *Ant.*, vii., 9, 2, it is evident that even if St. Luke had read Josephus he was not dependent upon him, for he says here τοῦ καλ. just as in his Gospel he had written τὸ καλ., probably giving one or more popular names by which the place was known; Gloël, *Galaterbrief*, p. 65 (see also on the word W.H., ii., Appendix, p. 165; Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 445; and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 93).—σαββάτου ἔχον ὁδόν, not ἀπέχον: the distance is represented as something which the mountain has, Meyer-Wendt; cf. Luke xxiv. 13. There is no real discrepancy between this and the statement of St. Luke's Gospel

that our Lord led His disciples *εἰς πρὸς Βηθανίαν*, xxiv. 50, a village which was more than double a sabbath day's journey, fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem. But if the words in St. Luke, *l. c.*, mean "over against Bethany," *εἰς πρὸς* (so Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lucas*, p. 79, and Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 80; see also Rendall, *Acts*, p. 171—Blass omits *εἰς* and reads only *πρὸς* and remarks *neque vero πρὸς est eis*; cf. also Belser, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, i., 79 (1895)), the difficulty is surmounted, for St. Luke does not fix the exact spot of the Ascension, and he elsewhere uses the Mount of Olives, Luke xxi. 37, as the equivalent of the Bethany of Matthew (xxi. 17) and Mark (xi. 1). Nor is it likely that our Lord would lead His disciples into a village for the event of His Ascension. It should be remembered that Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, says that "the Ascension was from the place where that tract of the Mount of Olives ceased to be called Bethphage and began to be called Bethany". The recent attempt of Rud. Hoffmann to refer the Ascension to a "Galilee" in the Mount of Olives rests upon a tradition which cannot be regarded as reliable (see *Galilæa auf dem Oelberg*, Leipzig, 1896), although he can quote Resch as in agreement with him, p. 14. On Hoffmann's pamphlet see also *Expositor* (5th series), p. 119 (1897), and *Theologisches Literaturblatt*, No. 27 (1897). This mention of the distance is quite characteristic of St. Luke; it may also have been introduced here for the benefit of his Gentile readers; Page, *Acts*, *in loco*, and cf. Ramsay's remarks, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 55, 56.

Ver. 13. τὸ ὑπερῶν: "the upper chamber," R.V., as of some well-known place, but there is no positive evidence to identify it with the room of the Last Supper, although here and in Mark xiv. 15, as also in Luke xxii. 12, the Vulgate has *cenaculum*. Amongst recent writers Hilgenfeld and Feine see in this definite mention of a room well known to the readers a reference to

καὶ Θωμᾶς, Βαρθολομαῖος καὶ Ματθαῖος,<sup>1</sup> Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου<sup>2</sup> καὶ Σίμων ὁ Ζηλωτής, καὶ Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου. 14. οὗτοι πάντες ἦσαν

<sup>1</sup> Ματθαῖος AB<sup>3</sup>CE, Boh. Μαθθαῖος ΞB\*D, Sah.; so Tisch., W.H., Weiss; see Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 60, 61. For Ἰακ. Αλφαίου D, Sah. read Ἰακ. ο του Αλφ., may be assimilation to Matt. x. 3 and Mc. iii. 18 (not Lc.); Chase explains by Syriac idiom; retained by Blass in β.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῇ δεήσει C<sup>3</sup>, Chrys. Omitted by ΞABC\*DE 61, and others, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Arm., Aeth., Chrys.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilgenfeld. συν γυναιξιν, D adds καὶ τέκνοις, so Hilgenfeld, but rejected by Blass ("male D"), for which see criticism of Weiss, Codex D, p. 54; probably occasioned by mention of the women, cf. xxi. 5. οὗτοι πάντες omit. Aug., Cyr. Μαρία ΞACD, Boh., Chrys.

the author's first book, Luke xxii. 11, 12. But the word used in St. Mark and in St. Luke's Gospel is different from that in the passage before us—ἀνάγειον, but here ὑπερῶν. If we identify the former with the κατάλυμα, Luke xxii. 11, it would denote rather the guest-chamber used for meals than the upper room or loft set apart for retirement or prayer, although sometimes used for supper or for assemblies (ὑπερῶν). Both words are found in classical Greek, but only the latter in the LXX, where it is frequent. In the N.T. it is used by St. Luke alone, and only in Acts. Holtzmann, following Lightfoot and Schöttgen, considers that an upper room in the Temple is meant, but this would be scarcely probable under the circumstances, and a meeting in a private house, ii. 46, iv. 23, v. 42, is far more likely.—δ τε Π.: in a series of nouns embraced under one category only the first may have the article, Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 154-157. In comparing this list of the Apostles with that given by the Synoptists we notice that whilst St. Peter stands at the head in the four lists, those three are placed in the first group who out of the whole band are prominent in the Acts as also in the Gospels, viz., Peter, John, and James; all the Synoptists, however, place St. James as the elder brother before St. John. In St. Luke's first list, as in St. Matthew's list, the brothers Peter and Andrew stand first, followed by another pair of brothers James and John; but in Acts Andrew gives place, as we might expect, to the three Apostles who had been admitted to the closest intimacy with Jesus during His earthly life, and St. John as St. Peter's constant companion in the Gospel narrative makes a pair with him. The list in Acts agrees with that given by St. Luke in his Gospel in two particulars (see Friedrich, *ubi supra*, p. 50, and so too Zeller): (1) Simon the Zealot is called not ὁ Κανα-

αῖος, as in Matthew and Mark, but ὁ Ζηλωτής, cf. Luke vi. 15; (2) instead of Thaddæus (or Lebbaeus) we have "Judas of James," cf. Luke vi. 16.—Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, "the son of James," R.V. (so too above Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου, "James the son of Alphæus"), placing the words "or, brother, see Jude i.," in the margin, so too in Luke vi. 16. The rendering of the words as Jude the brother of James was probably caused by Jude i., and it is difficult to believe, as Nösgen argues (see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 262), that in the same list and in such close proximity these two meanings "the son of" and "the brother of" should occur for the genitive, although no doubt it is possible grammatically; see Nösgen and Wendt, *in loco*. On the other hand, see Felten, note, p. 66. But Winer, to whom the latter refers, is by no means positive, and only expresses the opinion that ἀδελφός is perhaps to be supplied here and in Luke vi. 16 if the same Apostle is referred to in Jude i. (Winer-Moulton, p. 238). But the identification with the latter is very improbable, as he was most likely the brother of James, known as "the Lord's brother" (see Plummer on Luke, vi., 16, and Salmon, *Introduction to N. T.*, pp. 473, 474, fifth edit.). It is also noteworthy that St. Luke uses ἀδελφός where he means "brother," cf. Luke iii. 1, vi. 14; Acts xii. 2. Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, gives the same reference to *Alciph.*, ii., 2, as Winer, *Τιμοκράτης ὁ Μητροδώρου*, sc. ἀδελφός, but at the same time he declines to commit himself as to the passage in Acts and Luke vi. The list, it has been thought, is given here again by St. Luke to show the recovery of the Apostolic band from their denial and flight—so St. Chrysostom remarks that Luke did well to mention the disciples, for since one had betrayed Christ and another had been unbelieving, he hereby shows that, except the first, all were preserved (so to the same effect



προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει, σὺν  
γυναίξιν καὶ Μαρίας<sup>1</sup> τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> Μαρία BE (some very good cursives), Sah., Aeth., Chrys.; so Tisch., W.H., Weiss—the latter is said to be put always for the Virgin, but here evidence seems equally divided (see Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 90, 91).

Æcumenius, *in loco*). There may also have been the desire of the author to intimate that although only the works of a few on the list would be chronicled, yet all alike were witnesses to Christ and workers for Him (Lumby).

Ver. 14. καὶ ἦσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες: on the construction see ver. 10. In N.T. found only in St. Luke and St. Paul (except once in St. Mark iii. 9); most frequently with the dative of the thing, of continuing steadfast in prayer; cf. vi. 4, Rom. xii. 12, Col. iv. 2, and cf. also ii. 42 or ii. 46 of continuing all the time in (ἐν) a place; in Acts viii. 13, x. 7, it is used with the dative of the person, and in Rom. xiii. 6 with εἰς τι. It is found in Josephus with the dative of the thing, *Ant.*, v., 2, 6, and in Polybius, who also uses it with the dative of the person. In LXX it is found in Numbers xiii. 21 and in Susannah ver. 6, Theod., also in Tobit v. 8, S.—ὁμοθυμαδὸν, a favourite word of St. Luke: *Luca in Actis in deliciis est* (Blass)—used ten or eleven times in Acts, only once elsewhere in N.T., Rom. xv. 6, where it has the same meaning, *Vulgate unanimiter*. In the LXX it is oftener found as the equivalent of Hebrew words meaning simply “together,” and Hatch, *Essays in B. G.*, p. 63, would limit it to this meaning in the N.T., but the word cannot be confined to mere outward assembling together; cf. Dem., *Phil.*, iv., 147, ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης (Meyer-Wendt); so Luther *einmüthig*. It was very natural that St. Luke should lay stress upon the absolute unanimity of the early believers, and the word is used with reference to the Twelve, to the hundred-and-twenty, to the whole number of believers; truly the Holy Ghost was “amator concordiae” (Corn. à Lapide). —τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει: the latter noun cannot be supported by MS. authority; the two words mark the difference between general and specific prayer; cf. Bengel on 1 Tim. ii. 1, and cf. *Luke*, v., 33. It is very doubtful whether we can confine προσευχῇ here to the Temple prayers; rather the article, cf. vi. 4 and ii. 42, seems to point to a definite custom of common prayer as a bond of Christian fellowship (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 43, so *Speaker's Commentary, in loco*). As in his Gospel, so

here and elsewhere in Acts, St. Luke lays stress upon frequency in prayer, and that too in all parts of the book (Friedrich, pp. 55-60).—σὺν γυναίξιν: it is natural to include the women already mentioned in St. Luke's Gospel, cf., e.g., viii. 2, 3, xxiii. 55, “with the women,” R.V., or the expression may be quite indefinite as in margin R.V. In this mention of the presence of women, as in the stress laid upon prayer, there is another point of unity between the book and the third Gospel, “The Gospel of Womanhood” (see also Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 50). (The mention of women would certainly indicate a private house rather than the Temple.) Erasmus and Calvin both interpret the words *cum uxoribus*, probably not without desire to make a point against celibacy. J. Lightfoot allows that this meaning may be correct, since the Apostles and disciples who had wives took them with them, “but,” he adds, “it is too strait”.—Μαρία (for Μαρίας), so always according to W.H. of the Blessed Virgin, nominative, vocative, accusative, dative, except twice in a few of the best MSS. (Matt. i. 20, and Luke ii. 19). Cf. Appendix, p. 163. See also Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 28, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 91, note. The καί may be taken either to comprehend her under the other women, or as distinguishing her from them. This is the last mention of her in the N.T., and the Scripture leaves her “in prayer”.—σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ: they are previously mentioned as unbelieving (John vii. 5, and compare Mark vi. 4), but not only the Resurrection of the Lord but also that of Lazarus may well have overcome their unbelief. St. Chrysostom (so too Æcumenius) conjectures that Joseph was dead, for it is not to be supposed, he says, that when the brethren had become believers Joseph believed not. As the brethren are here distinguished from the Eleven, it would seem that they could not have been included in the latter (see, however, “Brethren,” B.D.<sup>2</sup> pp. 13, 14). But whatever meaning we give to the word “brethren” here or in the Gospels, nothing could be more significant than the fact that they had now left their



15. ΚΑΙ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις ἀναστὰς Πέτρος ἐν μέσῳ τῶν μαθητῶν<sup>1</sup> εἶπεν (ἦν τε ὄχλος ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν),

<sup>1</sup> μαθητῶν; but **ABC**\*, Vulg., Tisch., W.H., R.V., so Weiss, Wendt ἀδελφῶν.

settled homes in Galilee to take part in the lot of the disciples of Jesus, and to await with them the promise of the Father (Felten). It may have been that James, "the Lord's brother," was converted by the Resurrection, 1 Cor. xv. 5, and that his example constrained the other "brethren" to follow him.

Ver. 15. καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις: St. Luke often employs such notes of time, used indefinitely like similar expressions in Hebrew—e.g., 1 Sam. xxviii. 1, both in his Gospel and in Acts. Friedrich, p. 9, Lekebusch, p. 53.—ἀναστὰς: it is very characteristic of St. Luke to add a participle to a finite verb indicating the posture or position of the speaker. This word is found in St. Luke's Gospel seventeen times, and in Acts nineteen times, only twice in Matthew, six or seven times in Mark; cf. also his use of σταθεῖς, three times in Gospel, six times in Acts, but not at all in the other Evangelists.—Πέτρος: that St. Peter should be the spokesman is only what we should naturally expect from his previous position among the Twelve, but, as St. Chrysostom observes, he does everything with the common consent, nothing imperiously. The best fruits of his repentance are here seen in the fulfilment of his commission to strengthen his brethren. ἐν μέσῳ: another favourite expression of St. Luke both in his Gospel and in the Acts, in the former eight times, in the latter five times (four times in St. Matthew, twice in St. Mark).

Blass compares the Hebrew בְּתוֹךְ, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 126, and *in loco*. —μαθητῶν: Blass retains and contends that ἀδελφ. has arisen from either ver. 14 or ver. 16; but there is strong critical authority for the latter word; cf. vi. 1. In LXX it is used in three senses; a brother and a neighbour, Lev. xix. 17; a member of the same nation, Exod. ii. 14, Deut. xv. 3. In the N.T. it is used in these three senses, and also in the sense of fellow-Christians, who are looked upon as forming one family. The transition is easily seen: (1) member of the same family; (2) of the same community (national), of the same community (spiritual). Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, pp. 95, 96. On its use in religious as-

sociations in Egypt see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, i., 82, 140, 206.—τε: here for the first time *solitarius*. On the frequent recurrence of this word in Acts in all parts, as compared with other books of the N.T., see Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 257, 258.—ὀνομάτων: R.V., "persons". Lightfoot compares the use of the word in Rev. iii. 4, xi. 13 (so too Wendt), where the word is used to signify any persons without distinction of sex, so that the word may have been used here to include the women also. But he considers that it rather means men as distinct from women, and so, as he says, the Syriac and Arabic understand it here. Its use in the sense of persons reckoned up by name is Hebraistic שְׁמוֹת LXX, Numb.

i. 2, 18, 20; iii. 40, 43; xxii. 53 (Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*), but see also for a similar use on the Egyptian papyri, Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 24 (1897).—ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ, "gathered together," R.V.; cf. Matt. xxii. 34, Luke xvii. 35, Acts ii. 1, 44, 47 (so W.H., R.V., see *in loco*, Wendt, Weiss), 1 Cor. xi. 20, xiv. 23. Holtzmann, *in loco*, describes it as always local, and it is no doubt so used in most of the above passages, as also in LXX Psalm ii. 2 (cf. Acts iv. 26), 2 Sam. ii. 13, 3 Macc. iii. 1, Sus. v. 14, and in classical Greek. But when we remember the stress laid by St. Luke in the opening chapters of the Acts upon the unanimity of the believers, it is not unlikely that he should use the phrase, at all events in ii. 44, 47, with this deeper thought of unity of purpose and devotion underlying the words, even if we cannot render the phrase in each passage in Acts with Rendall (*Acts*, p. 34), "with one mind," "of one mind".—ὡς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν. Both Wendt and Feine reject the view that the number is merely mythical (Baur, Zeller, Overbeck, Weizsäcker), and would rather see in it a definite piece of information which St. Luke had gained. It is quite beside the mark to suppose that St. Luke only used this particular number because it represented the Apostles multiplied by 10, or 40 multiplied by 3. If he had wished to emphasise the number as a number, why introduce the ὡς?

16. Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἔδει<sup>1</sup> πληρωθῆναι τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην, ἣν προείπε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον διὰ στόματος Δαβίδ, περὶ Ἰούδα τοῦ γενομένου ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλαβοῦσι τὸν Ἰησοῦν· 17. ὅτι καθριζομένης ἦν σὺν

<sup>1</sup> εδει NABCD<sup>2</sup>E, Origen, Eus., Ath., W.H., Weiss. δει D\*, Vulg., Boh.; so Gig., Par., Aug. (Iren., Vig.), Hilgenfeld. Blass, p. xvii., in his Preface to β, argues that as Irenæus omits 17a-20 and elsewhere seems to be ignorant of the death of Judas, so his text also omitted from καθρ. εν ημιν to γεννητω. In his revised edition Luke added 17a-20 and also substituted εδει for the original δει: "ut significaretur ex parte jam esse ratum factum vetus vaticinium, exitu nempe Judæ". But the omission of Irenæus may be accidental, or it has been suggested that he too may have regarded 17a-20 as a parenthesis and not actually part of Peter's speech. Δαβιδ; but in NBD, so W.H., Weiss Δαυειδ. ACE read ΔΑΔ; see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 65, Blass, Proleg. (*Acta Apost.*), p. 34.

Ver. 16. Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί: a mode of address indicating not only respect but also the solemnity of the occasion and the importance of the subject. There is nothing unclassical in this use of the vocative without ὦ at the beginning of speeches. Demosthenes, at least on some occasions, used the phrase Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι without ὦ. Simcox, *ubi supra*, p. 76, note, and see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 258, note.—ἔδει: very frequent in St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts; in the former nineteen, in the latter twenty-five times, and in all parts of the book, Friedrich, *ubi supra*, p. 22 (Lekebusch). It expresses a divine necessity, and is used by all the Evangelists, as by St. Peter here, and by St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 25), of the events connected with and following upon the Passion.—δεῖ, *oportet*, expresses logical necessity rather than personal moral obligation ὀφείλεν, *debiuit*, or the sense of fitness, *εἴπεται*, *decebat*. The three words are all found in Heb. ii. 1, 17, 10, on which see Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 36, and Plummer's *St. Luke*, p. 247. St. Peter's speech falls into two parts, one introduced by ἔδει, and the other introduced by δεῖ, ver. 21.—τὴν γραφὴν: the reference is undoubtedly to the particular passages in the O.T. which follow, cf. Luke iv. 20, Acts viii. 35; see Lightfoot on Galatians iii. 22. There is no reference to Psalm xli. 9, or this passage would have been quoted, but to the passages in ver. 20.—πληρωθῆναι, cf. Luke xxiv. 44, 45. πληρῶ (which is very frequently used by St. Luke, Friedrich, *ubi supra*, p. 40) means more than "fulfil" in the popular acceptance of the word; it implies "to fill up to the full"; "Not only is our Lord the subject of direct predictions in the Old Testament, but His claims go to the full extent of affirming that all the truths which are imperfectly, and frequently very

darkly shadowed forth in the pages, are realised in Him as the ideal to which they pointed" (Row, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 202, 203).—τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. St. Luke uses this, or a similar expression, πνεῦμα ἅγιον or τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, about forty times in Acts alone, whilst in St. Luke's Gospel alone it is used about as many times as in the three other Evangelists together (Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 65, and Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 14).—ὁδηγοῦ τοῖς συλλ. τὸν Ἰησοῦν. St. Peter simply states a fact, but does not heap scorn or abuse upon Judas (Chrysostom, *Hom.*, iii., cf. Theophylact). St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. John simply say of Judas ὁ παραδιδούς, "he who delivered Him up," or employ some similar expression; he is never called "the traitor" (St. Luke vi. 16, ἐγένετο προδότης, "became a traitor," see Plummer, *in loco*). This self-restraint is remarkable on the part of men who must have regarded their Master's Death as the most atrocious of murders (see Row, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 179, 180, note). At the same time the word ὁδηγός seems to bring before us the scene in Gethsemane, how Judas went before the multitude, and drew near to Jesus to kiss Him (Luke xxii. 47), and to show us how vividly the memories of the Passion were present to St. Peter; cf. 1 Peter ii. 21 ff.).

Ver. 17. ὅτι καθριζομένης ἦν κ.τ.λ. For the construction see ver. 10. ὅτι introduces the ground upon which the Scripture to be cited, which speaks of the vacancy in the Apostolic office, found its fulfilment in Judas; "he was numbered," "triste est numerari non manere," Bengel.—καὶ ἔλαχεν τὸν κλῆρον: lit., "and obtained by lot the lot": κλῆρος, a lot, that which is assigned by lot, the portion or share so assigned; so amongst the Greeks, and somewhat similarly in English, cf. in LXX Wisdom ii. 9, v. 5, Ecclesiasticus



ἡμῖν, καὶ ἔλαχε τὸν κλῆρον τῆς διακονίας ταύτης. 18. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐκτήσατο χωρίον ἐκ τοῦ<sup>1</sup> μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας, καὶ πρηνὴς γενό-

<sup>1</sup> του om. **AB**CDE, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilgenfeld. After **αδικίας** D inserts **αυτου**; so Syr. Harcl., Sah., Aug., so Blass in **β**, and Hilgenfeld. Blass added at first, but see Hilg., note, p. 4, **καὶ κατέδωκεν αὐτου τον τραχηλον**.

xxv. 19. The word is used elsewhere in Acts three times, i. 26, viii. 21, xxvi. 18; cf. with the last passage its use by St. Paul elsewhere, Col. i. 12. Here the word no doubt may be used by St. Peter with reference to the actual selection by lot which was about to follow. The same word is used elsewhere by the same Apostle, 1 Peter v. 3, "neither as lording it over *the charge allotted to you*," τῶν κληρῶν. Tyndale and Cranmer render the word here "parishes," which really gives a good interpretation of it = the "lots" assigned to the elders as their portions in God's heritage; and so we have by an easy transition *clerici* = clergy, those to whom such "lots" are assigned: Humphry, *Commentary on R. V.*, p. 446, Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 246 ff.—**ἔλαχεν**: here and in 2 Peter i. 1 with an accusative, as in classical Greek, "received his portion" R.V. On the construction of the verb with the genitive, cf. Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 100, 230, and Plummer's *St. Luke*, p. 11; with Luke i. 9, cf. 1 Sam. xiv., 47. In classical Greek it is used as the opposite of **χειροτονηθῆναι**, to be elected, more commonly with the infinitive.—**διακονίας**: "Apostleship the highest form of ministration is repeatedly designated thus," Hort, *Ecclasia*, p. 204, e.g., ver. 25, xx. 24, xxi. 19, 2 Cor. iv. 1, v. 18, vi. 3, Rom. xi. 13, and see further on the word, chap. vi. below. It would be difficult to find in such a general term, or in any part of the speech, any reference to a hierarchical constitution of the Church (Zeller, Overbeck). Jüngst cannot derive any such view from this verse, although he sees in the description of **διακονία** as **ἀποστολή**, ver. 25, the mark of a later period than that of the delivery of the speech (so too Wendt).

Ver. 18. οὗτος μὲν οὖν κ.τ.λ. This verse and the next are regarded in R.V. as a parenthesis (compare also W.H.), μὲν οὖν making the transition from St. Peter's own words to the explanatory statement of St. Luke; see Rendall's Appendix on μὲν οὖν, although he would place ver. 20 also in a parenthesis, *Acts*, p. 160 ff. For this frequent use of μὲν οὖν in Acts, see also Blass, who regards μὲν as used here, as in other

places, without any following antithesis expressed by **δέ**, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 261, 267, see also Hackett's note *in loco*. Spitta, Feine, Weiss, see in these two verses an editorial interpolation.—**ἐκτήσατο χωρίον**. To harmonise this with Matt. xxvii. 5, an explanation has been often used to this effect, that although Judas did not purchase the field, it was purchased by his money, and that thus he might be called its possessor. This was the explanation adopted by the older commentators, and by many modern. Theophylact, e.g., describes Judas as rightly called the κύριος of the field for the price of it was his. It is no doubt quite possible that St. Peter (if the words are his and not St. Luke's) should thus express himself rhetorically (and some of his other expressions are certainly rhetorical, e.g., **ἐλάκησε μέσος**), or that Judas should be spoken of as the possessor of the field, just as Joseph of Arimathæa is said to have hewn his own tomb, or Pilate to have scourged Jesus, but possibly Dr. Edersheim's view that the blood-money by a fiction of law was still considered to belong to Judas may help to explain the difficulty, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 575. Lightfoot comments, "Not that he himself bought the field, for Matthew resolves the contrary—nor was there any such thing in his intention when he bargained for the money," and then he adds, "But Peter by a bitter irrision showeth the fruit and profit of his wretched covetise:" *Hor. Heb.* (see also Hackett's note). Without fully endorsing this, it is quite possible that St. Peter, or St. Luke, would contrast the portion in the ministry which Judas had received with the little which was the result of the price of his iniquity.—**ἐκ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀδικίας** pro τοῦ **ἀδίκου μισθοῦ**, a Hebraism, Blass, *in loco*, see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 268. The phrase only occurs again in 2 Peter ii. 13, 15; on this use of **ἐκ** see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 146. Combinations of words with **ἀδικία** are characteristic of St. Luke (Friedrich). In the other Evangelists the word is only found once, John vii. 18.—**καὶ πρηνὴς γενόμ.** Wendt (following Zeller and Overbeck) and others maintain

μενος ἐλάκησε μέσος, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πάντα τὰ σπλάγχνα αὐτοῦ· 19.  
καὶ γνωστὸν ἐγένετο πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὥστε  
κληθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ἐκεῖνο τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν Ἀκελδαμά,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ἀκελδαμα, so C, Syr. Harcl., Chrys., Vulg.; Ἀχελδαμαχ NA 40, 61, Tisch.; Ἀκελδαμαχ B, so W.H., Weiss; Ἀκελδαιμαχ D (Blass in β-δεμαχ), so Hilg., and other variants; in Gig., Par. -emac(h). Final χ (-ακ) seems certain—see comment below.

that St. Luke here follows a different tradition from St. Matthew, xxvii. 6 ff., and that it is only arbitrary to attempt to reconcile them. But Felten and Zöckler (so too Lumby and Jacobson) see in St. Luke's description a later stage in the terrible end of the traitor. St. Matthew says καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγατο: if the rope broke, or a branch gave way under the weight of Judas, St. Luke's narrative might easily be supplementary to that of St. Matthew. Blass, *in loco*, adopts the former alternative, and holds that thus the narrative may be harmonised with that of St. Matthew, *rupto fune Iudam in terram procidisse*. It is difficult to see (as against Overbeck) why *πρηνὴς γεν.* is inconsistent with this. The words no doubt mean strictly "falling flat on his face" opposed to ὑπτιος, not "falling headlong," and so they do not necessarily imply that Judas fell over a precipice, but Hackett's view that Judas may have hung himself from a tree on the edge of a precipice near the valley of Hinnom, and that he fell on to the rocky pavement below is suggested from his own observation of the locality, p. 36, *Acts of the Apostles* (first English edition), see also Edersheim, *ubi supra*, pp. 575, 576. At all events there is nothing disconcerting in the supposition that we may have here "some unknown series of facts, of which we have but two fragmentary narratives": "Judas," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and see further Plummer *sub v.* in Hastings' B.D. ἐλάκησε: here only in the N.T. λάσσω: a strong expression, signifying bursting asunder with a loud noise, Hom., *Iliad*, xiii., 616; cf. also *Acta Thomæ*, 33 (p. 219, ed. Tdf.): ὁ δράκων φουσηθεὶς ἐλάκησε καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐξεχύθη ὁ ἰσὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ χολή, for the construction cf. Luke xxiii. 45.

Ver. 19. καὶ γνωστὸν . . . πᾶσιν τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσ.: the words have been taken to support the view that we have here a parenthesis containing the notice of St. Luke, but if St. Peter was speaking rhetorically he might easily express himself so. But many critics, who refuse to see in the whole of the two verses any parenthetical remarks of the

historian, adopt the view that τῇ διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν and τοῦτ' ἔστιν χωρίον αἵματος are explanations introduced by St. Luke, who could trust to his Gentile readers to distinguish between his words and those of St. Peter (Wendt, Holtzmann, Zöckler, Nösgen, Jüngst, Matthias).—τῇ διαλέκτῳ: only in Acts in the N.T., where it is used six times in all parts; it may mean dialect or language, but here it is used in the latter sense (R.V.) to distinguish Aramaic from Greek (cf. its use in Polybius).—αὐτῶν, i.e., the dwellers of Jerusalem, who spoke Aramaic—unless the whole expression is used rhetorically, it would seem that it contains the words, not of St. Peter, who himself spoke Aramaic, but of the author (see Blass, *in loco*).—Ἀκελδαμά: the Aramaic of the

Field of Blood would be אַקֶּלְדָּמָא, and it is possible that the χ may be added to represent in some way the guttural א, just as Σιράχ = סִרְיָא, cf. Blass, *in loco*, and *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 13. W.H. (so Blass) read Ἀκελδαμάχ (and Ἀχελδαμάχ, Tisch. and Treg.); see also on the word Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 60 and 63. A new derivation has been proposed by Klostermann, *Probleme in Aposteltexte*, p. 6 ff., which has gained considerable attention (cf. Holtzmann, Wendt, Felten, Zöckler, *in loco*), viz.: אַקֶּלְדָּמָא, so that the word = κοιμητήριον, cf. Matt. xxvii. 8. This is the derivation preferred by Wendt, and it is very tempting, but see also *Enc. Bibl.*, I., 32, 1899, *sub v.*

It is true that the two accounts in St. Matthew and St. Luke give two reasons for the name *Field of Blood*. But why should there not be two reasons? If the traitor in the agony of his remorse rushed from the Temple into the valley of Hinnom, and across the valley to "the potter's field" of Jeremiah, the old name of the potter's field might easily become changed in the popular language into that of "field of blood," whilst the reason given by St. Matthew for the name might still hold good, since the blood-money, which by a fiction of law was



τούτέστι χωρίον αἵματος. 20. γέγραπται γὰρ ἐν βίβλῳ Ψαλμῶν, “Γενηθῆτω ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτοῦ ἔρημος, καὶ μὴ ἔστω ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν αὐτῇ.” καὶ, “Τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν αὐτοῦ λάβοι ἕτερος.” 21. Δεῖ οὖν τῶν συνελθόντων ἡμῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ εἰσῆλθε καὶ

still considered to belong to Judas, was employed for the purchase of the accursed spot as a burial ground for strangers. See Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 574, 575. Whatever may be alleged as to the growth of popular fancy and tradition in the later account in Acts of the death of Judas, it cannot be said to contrast unfavourably with the details given by Papias, *Fragment*, 18, which Blass describes as “insulsissima et foedissima”.

Ver. 20. The quotation is twofold, the first part from Psalm lxi. 26 (LXX, lxviii.); in the LXX we have αὐτῶν, changed here into αὐτοῦ with reference to Judas, whilst ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν is omitted and the words ἐν αὐτῇ, referring to ἔπαυλις, are added. The omission would make the application of the words more general than in the original, which related to the desolation of the encampment and tents of a nomadic tribe. The other part of the quotation is *verbatim* from Psalm cviii. 8 (cix.), called by the ancients the Iscariot Psalm. With the exception of Psalm xxii., no Psalm is more frequently quoted in the N.T. than lxi.; cf. ver. 9 with John ii. 17; ver. 21 with Matt. xxvii. 34, and with John xix. 28; ver. 22 and 23 with Rom. xi. 9, 10; and ver. 9 with Rom. xv. 3. In these Psalms, as in the twenty-second Psalm, we see how the history of prophets and holy men of old, of a David or a Jeremiah, was typical of the history of the Son of man made perfect through suffering, and we know how our Lord Himself saw the fulfilment of the words of the suffering Psalmist (xli. 9) in the tragic events of His own life (John xiii. 18). So too St. Peter in the recent miserable end of the traitor sees another evidence, not only of the general truth, which the Psalmists learnt through suffering, that God rewarded His servants and that confusion awaited the unrighteous, but also another fulfilment in the case of Judas of the doom which the Psalmists of old had invoked upon the persecutors of the faithful servants of God. But we are not called upon to regard Psalm cix. as the Iscariot Psalm in all its details (see Perowne, *Psalms*, p. 538 (smaller edition)), or to forget, as Delitzsch reminds us, that the spirit of Elias is not that of the N.T.

St. Peter, although he must have regarded the crime of Judas as a crime without a parallel, does not dwell upon his punishment, but passes at once to the duty incumbent upon the infant Church in view of the vacant Apostleship.—ἔπαυλις: by many commentators, both ancient and modern (Chrys., Oecum., so too Nösgen, Overbeck, Wendt, Blass, Holtzmann, Zöckler, Jüngst), this is referred to the χωρίον, which was rendered desolate by the death of Judas in it, on the ground that γάρ thus maintains its evident relation to what precedes. But if the two preceding verses are inserted by St. Luke, and form no part of St. Peter's words, it would seem that ἔπαυλις must be regarded as parallel to ἐπισκοπή in the second quotation.—ἐπισκοπὴν: “his office,” R.V. (“overseership,” margin), so for the same word in LXX, Ps. cix. 8, from which the quotation is made. In the LXX the word is used, Num. iv. 16, for the charge of the tabernacle. St. Peter uses the word ἐπίσκοπος in 1 Peter ii. 25, and it is significant that there the translators of 1611 maintain the use of the word “bishop,” as here “bishoprick” (so R.V., “overseer,” margin), whilst they use “overseer” and “oversight” (ἐπισκοπή, Acts xx. 28 and 1 Peter v. 2, where the reference is to the function of the elders or presbyters. The word ἐπισκοπή, of course, could not have its later ecclesiastical force, but the Apostolic office of Judas might well be described as one of oversight, and care of others; and it is significant that it is so described, and not only as a διακονία (see below on ver. 25, and on ἐπίσκοπος, xx. 28, note): “St. Peter would not have quoted the Psalm containing the expression ἐπισκοπή unless he had instinctively felt the word to be applicable to Judas' position” (Canon Gore in *Guardian*, 16th March, 1898).

Ver. 21. δεῖ οὖν, see ver. 16. As the one prophecy had thus already been fulfilled, so for the fulfilment of the other it was imperative upon the Church to elect a successor to Judas.—εἰσῆλθε καὶ ἐξῆλθεν: a Hebraistic formula expressing the whole course of a man's daily life; ix. 28; cf. LXX Deut. xxviii. 6, 1 Sam. xxix. 6, Psalm cxx. 8, and for other instances, Wetstein, *in loco*. There is no occasion

ἐξῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, 22. ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος Ἰωάννου ἕως<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἀνελήφθη ἀφ' ἡμῶν, μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι σὺν ἡμῖν ἓνα τούτων. 23. Καὶ ἔστησαν δύο, Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαβάν,<sup>2</sup> ὃς ἐπεκλήθη Ἰούστος, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> εως BCDE, so W.H., Wendt doubtful, Weiss; ἀχρι ΞΑ 61—both εως and ἀχρι, as Wendt points out, are frequent in Luke.

<sup>2</sup> Βαρσαβαν C, Vulg. clem., Syrr.; Βαρσαββαν, so ΞΑΒΕ, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; Βαρναβαν D, Gig., Par. tol., Aeth.—but Blass reads = W.H. in his β text—Wendt thinks that D may have been a confusion with iv. 36—see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 56, on the spelling.

to render ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, "over us," R.V., margin, for in full the phrase would run: ἐισήλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀφ' ἡμῶν. The formula shows that St. Peter did not shrink from dwelling upon the perfect humanity of the Ascended Christ, whilst in the same sentence he speaks of Him as ὁ Κύριος.

Ver. 22. ἀρξάμενος, cf. note on verse 1. The word need not be restricted to our Lord's own baptism, but would include the time of the baptism preached by John, as his baptism and preaching were the announcement of, and a preparation for, the Christ. If St. Mark's Gospel, as there is every reason to believe, was closely connected with St. Peter, its opening verses give us a similar date for the commencement of the Apostolic testimony; cf. Schmid, *Biblische Theologie des N. T.*, p. 436.—ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς: according to Wendt and Weiss, the relative is not attracted for ἧ, but is to be regarded as a genitive of time, but cf. Lev. xxiii. 15, Haggai ii. 18, Bar. i. 15; Winer-Schmiedel, p. 226; Blass, *ubi supra*, p. 170.—μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως. It has been noted as remarkable that St. Peter here lays down experience of matters of fact, not eminence in any subjective grace or quality, as one of the conditions of Apostleship, but it is evident that from the first the testimony of the Apostles was not merely to the facts, but to their spiritual bearing, cf. chap. v. 32: "On the one side there is the historical witness to the facts, on the other, the internal testimony of personal experience" (Westcott's St. John, xv., 27), and the appeal to Him "Who knew the hearts," showed that something more was needed than intellectual competency. Spitta and Jüngst (so Weiss) regard the whole clause ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ . . . ἀφ' ἡμῶν as introduced by a reviser, but on the other hand Hilgenfeld considers the words to be in their right place. He also rebukes Weiss for maintaining that the whole passage,

vv. 15-26, could not have been composed by the author of the book, who gives no intimation of the number of the Apostles, with whom the Twelve as such play no part, and who finds his hero outside their number. But Hilgenfeld points out that the Twelve have for his "author to Theophilus" a very important place; cf. ii. 14, 22, iv. 33, v. 12, 40, viii. 1, 14, ix. 27.

Ver. 23. ἔστησαν, not ἔστησεν: the latter reading, "nimium Petro dat, nihil concilio relinquit" (Blass). "They put forward," R.V., not "appointed," A.V., for the appointment had not yet been made.—Ἰωσήφ τὸν καλ. Βαρσαβάν, "Joseph called Barsabbas". We cannot identify him with Joseph Barnabas (iv. 36), or with Judas Barsabbas (xv. 22). Barsabbas may have been a patronymic "son of Sabba," but cf. *Enc. Bibl.*, I., 487, 1899. It is only a conjecture that he was the brother of Judas Barsabbas just mentioned. The name Justus is probably a Roman surname, as Ἰούστος indicates, adopted after the custom of the time, just as the second Evangelist took the Roman name Marcus in addition to the Hebrew John. Nothing more is said of him in the N.T. Eusebius ranks him with Matthias as one of the Seventy, *H.E.*, i., 12, and Papias is said to have related concerning him that he drank deadly poison but escaped all harm, Euseb., *H.E.*, iii., 39. On the connection of this tradition with Aristion see Nestle, *Einführung in das G. N. T.*, p. 240, and Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 231. If the reading of Blass in β, supported by the Latin, τὸν καὶ Ἰούστων (*qui et Justus*) may claim acceptance, it affords, as Belser notes, an interesting parallel with the Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος of xiii. 8. On the spelling of the word, see W.H. Appendix p. 166, and also Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 56, 57.—Μαθθ(αν). Nothing more is known of him with certainty than that he must have fulfilled the qualifications required



Μαθίαν.<sup>1</sup> 24. καὶ προσευξάμενοι εἶπον, Σὺ Κύριε, καρδιογνώστα πάντων, ἀνάδειξον ἐκ τούτων τῶν δύο ἓνα ὃν ἐξελέξω, 25. λαβεῖν τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Μαθίαν; but Μαθ. in B\*D, Sah., so T., W.H., Hilg. (see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 60; W.H., App., pp. 162, 166).

by St. Peter. Both Eusebius and Epiphanius rank him in the Seventy, and he is said to have suffered martyrdom in Ethiopia. An apocryphal Gospel was ascribed to him, Euseb., *H.E.*, iii., 25, and from Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, iv., 6, 35, we find that the words of Zacchæus, Luke xix. 8, were supposed to be his; so too Hilgenfeld, *Actus Apost.*, p. 202, 1899.

Ver. 24. Κύριε καρδιογνώστα . . . ὃν ἐξελέξω. The words may well have been addressed to Christ: St. Peter had just spoken of Him as the Lord, his own experience and that of his fellow-disciples must have taught him that Jesus was One Who knew the hearts of all men (John ii. 25, xxi. 17), and he had heard his Master's claim to have chosen the Apostles (*cf.* Luke vi. 13, and v. 2 above, where the same verb is used). On the other hand Wendt regards as decisive against this view that St. Peter himself in xv. 7 says ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεός and then in ver. 8 calls God καρδιογνώστης (*cf.* Jeremiah xvii. 10, where Jehovah is said to search the heart). But the passage in Acts xv. is much too general in its reference to consider it decisive against any special prerogative ascribed to Jesus here (*viz.*, the choice of His own Apostles), and the references to 2 Cor. i. 1, Ephes. ii. 1, where St. Paul refers his Apostleship to God, may be fairly met by Acts ix. 17 and xxvi. 16. It is quite true that in iv. 29 Κύριε is used in prayer plainly addressed to the Lord Jehovah, but it is equally certain that prayer was directed to Christ in the earliest days of the Church (Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, pp. 1-38 and notes), see also below on ii. 21 (and *cf.* 1 Thess. iii. 11, 12, and 2 Thess. ii. 16; Archbishop of Armagh in *Speaker's Commentary*, iii., 690).—ἀνάδειξον: in Luke x. 1 the only other passage in the N.T. where the word is used, it is applied to our Lord's appointment of the Seventy, and is rendered "appointed," A. and R.V. But here R.V. renders "show" as A.V. (Rendall, "appoint"). The verb however may be used in the sense of showing forth or clearly, and hence to proclaim, especially a person's appointment to an office (*cf.* the noun ἀνάδειξις also used by St. Luke only in his Gospel, i. 80); *cf.* for the former meaning, 2 Macc. ii. 8, *cf.*

v. 6, and for the latter, 2 Macc. ix. 14, 23, 35; x. 11; xiv. 12, 26; 1 Esdras i. 35, viii. 23; so too the use of the word in Polybius and Plutarch (see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and Weiss, *in loco*).

Ver. 25. τὸν κλῆρον: R.V. τόπον marking the antithesis between the place in the Apostleship and "his own place" to which Judas had gone, Vulg. *locum*.—τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς: as above we have not only the word διακονία used but also ἐπισκοπή, v. 17 and 20, so here too we have not only διακονία but also ἀποστολή, although no doubt there is a sense in which we may truly say with Dr. Hort (*Ecclesia*, p. 204) that Apostleship is the highest form of ministration. On the word ἀπόστολος see xiii. 2, 3; the term was undoubtedly used in N.T. to include others besides the Twelve, although there is no reason to suppose that the qualification of having "seen the Lord" was in any case invalidated (*cf.* Gwatkin, "Apostle," Hastings' B.D., p. 126). The whole narrative before us which relates the solemn appeal of the Church to her Ascended Lord, and the choice determined upon in immediate sequence to that appeal, is clearly at variance with any conception of Apostleship as other than a divine commission received directly from Christ Himself (Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 130).—παρέβη, "fell away," R.V. *cf.* LXX Exod. xxxii. 8, ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, so Deut. ix. 12, xvii. 20, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐντολῶν

(*cf.* xxviii. 14, A.), so the Heb. נָפַד

followed by נָפַד. A.V. following Tyn-dall renders "by transgression fell," which lays too much stress upon "fell," which is not the prominent notion of the Greek verb, elsewhere "transgressed" (Humphry on *Revised Version*, p. 188).—εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον: ὁ τόπος in the sense of social position, dignity, see *Ecclesiasticus*, xii., 12, and also Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 95, of succeeding to the vacant place caused by death in a religious community. Here the phrase is usually explained as the place of punishment, Gehenna, *cf.* Baal-Turim on Numb. xxiv. 25 (and Gen. xxxi. 55) "Balaam ivit in locum suum," i.e., Gehenna, Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, while

κληρον<sup>1</sup> τῆς διακονίας ταύτης καὶ ἀποστολῆς, ἐξ<sup>2</sup> ἧς παρέβη Ἰούδας, πορευθῆναι εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἴδιον. 26. καὶ ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> κληρον  $\aleph^c E$ , Syrr., Arm., Eus., Bas., Chrys.  $\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$  ABC\*D, Vulg., Sah., Boh.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. (κληρον probably gloss ver. 17).

<sup>2</sup> ἐξ; but  $\alpha\phi'$  in  $\aleph ABCD$  61, Bas., Aug., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν D\*E, Syr. Harcl., Arm.; so Blass in  $\beta$  with Gig. and Par.<sup>1</sup>, so Hilg. αὐτοῖς  $\aleph ABCD^2$ , Vulg., and good versions; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (probably the dative was misunderstood, see comment.).

on the other hand Schöttgen sees no need to explain the expression in this way. In each of the passages in the O.T. the word ἴδιος does not occur in the LXX, although in the still more fanciful comment of the Rabbis on Job ii. 11, we have ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας. That the phrase ἴδιος τόπος may be used in a good or bad sense is plain from Ignat., *Magn.*, v., in a passage which is naturally referred to the verse before us, where a man's "own place" denotes the place of reward, or that of punishment, *cf.*, *e.g.*, εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον, Polycarp, *Phil.*, ix., where the words refer to the martyrs who were with the Lord, and εἰς τὸν ὀφειλ. τόπον τῆς δόξης said of St. Peter, Clem. Rom., *Cor.* v. Nösgen argues, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 88, 89, that we are not justified in concluding from a few Rabbinical passages which contain such fanciful interpretations of simple words (*cf.* the comment on Job ii. 11, quoted by Wetstein) that St. Peter must have meant "Gehenna". In his wilful fall from the place chosen for him by God, Judas had chosen in self-will ἴδιος τόπος, and this wilful and deliberate choice St. Peter would emphasise in contrast to the τόπος ἀποστολῆς about to be bestowed, ver. 25 (see also Rendall, *Acts*, p. 174). But however this may be, the words may well indicate a reserve on the part of St. Peter in speaking of the fate and destiny of Judas, characteristic of his reference to him *cf.* note on ver. 16. None of the other explanations offered can be deemed satisfactory, as, *e.g.*, that the word πορευθῆναι κ.τ.λ. refers to the successor of Judas; that Matthias should undertake the Apostolic circuit assigned to Judas (so Oecumenius, and amongst English commentators, Hammond); or, that the words refer to the house or home of Judas, or to his association with the Pharisees, or to his suicide and dishonoured burial, or to the χώριον mentioned above. Spitta, amongst recent commentators, stands almost alone in referring the words back to ver. 16, and

holds that they refer to the position of Judas as the guide to those who took Jesus. The sense of the passage is expressed in the reading of A δίκαιον instead of ἴδιον.

Ver. 26. καὶ ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτῶν, "they gave forth their lots," A.V. But R.V. reads αὐτοῖς, "they gave lots for them". R.V. margin, "unto them". It is difficult to decide whether the expression means that they gave lots unto the candidates themselves or whether they cast lots for them—*i.e.*, on their behalf, or to see which of the two would be selected. How the lot was decided we cannot positively say. According to Hamburger (*Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 5, p. 723) the Bible does not tell us, as the expressions used point sometimes to a casting, sometimes to a drawing out, of the lots; *cf.* Proverbs xvi. 33: "Quo modo et ratione uti sunt Apostoli incertum est. Certum est Deum per eam declarasse Mathiam tum dirigendo sortem ut caderet in Mathiam juxta illud Prov. xvi. 33" (Corn. à Lapidé). For the expression *cf.* Lev. xvi. 8. *Hebraismus* (Wetstein), so Blass. καὶ ἔπεσεν, *i.e.*, through shaking the vessel, Jonah i. 7; *cf.* Livy, xxiii., 3; so in Homer and Sophocles πάλλειν, *cf.* Josephus, *Ant.*, vi., 5.—συγκατεψηφίσθη: only here in N.T. "he was numbered with the eleven Apostles," *i.e.*, as the twelfth. The verb is used in the middle voice for condemning with others, Plut., *Them.*, 21, but as it occurs nowhere else we have no parallels to its use here. Grimm explains it "deponendo (κατά) in urnam calculo, *i.e.*, suffragando assigno (alicui) locum inter (σύν)". But here it is used rather as an equivalent of συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι; *cf.* ver. 17 (and also xix. 19), (Blass and Wendt, *in loco*) = ἐναριθμῖος, συμψηφισθεῖς, καταριθμηθεῖς, Hesiychius. Wendt as against Meyer maintains that it is not proved that recourse was never again had to lots, because no other instance of such an appeal is recorded in



καὶ ἔπεσεν ὁ κλῆρος ἐπὶ Μαθθίαν, καὶ συγκατεψηφίσθη<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τῶν ἑνδεκα ἀποστόλων.

<sup>1</sup> συγκατεψηφίσθη; but συν—ABCE 61, so W.H., Weiss;  $\aleph^*$  has κατεψηφ. (cf. *Const. Apost.*, vi., 12, 1); D has συν(νε)ψηφ.; probably variants caused by the unusual word. τῶν ενδεκα, D reads ιβ' = δωδεκα, δωδεκατος Aug., so Blass in  $\beta$  (see p. xx., Pref.); both readings are probably due to taking μετὰ τῶν ενδεκα in an inclusive sense.

Acts. But it is most significant that this one instance should be recorded between the departure of the Lord and the outpouring of the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost, and that after Pentecost no further reference is made to such a mode of decision. Cf., e.g., x. 19, xvi. 6. With regard to the historical character of the election of Matthias, Wendt sees no ground to doubt it in the main, although he is not prepared to vouch for all the details, but he finds no reason to place such an event at a later date of the Church's history, as Zeller proposed. To question the validity of the appointment is quite unreasonable, as not only is it presupposed in ii. 14, vi. 2, but even the way in which both St. Paul (1 Cor. xv. 5) and the Apocalypse (xxi. 14) employ the number twelve in a technical sense of the Twelve Apostles, makes the after choice of Matthias as here described very probable (so Overbeck, *in loco*). No mention is made of the laying on of hands, but "non dicuntur manus novo Apostolo impositæ; erat enim prorsus immediate constitutus," Bengel. See also on ver. 25, and xiii. 3.

*Ascension of our Lord.*—Friedrich in his *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 47 ff., discusses not only similarity of words and phrases, but similarity of contents in St. Luke's writings. With reference to the latter, he examines the two accounts of the Ascension as given in St. Luke's Gospel and in the Acts. There are, he notes, four points of difference (the same four in fact as are mentioned by Zeller, *Acts of the Apostles*, i., 166, E. T.): (1) Bethany as the place of the Ascension, Luke xxiv. 30; Acts i. 12, the Mount of Olives; (2) the time of the Ascension; according to Acts the event falls on the fortieth day after the Resurrection, i. 3; according to the Gospel on the Resurrection day itself; (3) the words of Jesus before the Ascension are not quite the same in the two narratives; (4) in the Gospel the words appear to be spoken in Jerusalem, in the Acts at the place of the Ascension. Friedrich points out what Zeller fully admitted, that (1) has no importance, for Bethany lay on the Mount of Olives, and the neighbourhood of Bethany might be

described quite correctly as ὁρος ἐλαιῶνος; (3) is not of any great importance (as Zeller also admitted), since Luke xxiv. 47-49 and Acts i. 4-8 agree in the main. With regard to (4), Friedrich is again in agreement with Zeller in holding that the difficulty might easily be solved by supposing some slight inaccuracy, or that the words in question were uttered on the way from Jerusalem to the Mount of Olives; but he agrees also with Zeller in maintaining that the time of the Ascension as given in Luke's Gospel and in Acts constitutes the only definite contradiction between the two writings. But even this difficulty presents itself to Friedrich as by no means insuperable, since the author has not attempted to avoid apparent contradictions in other places in the Acts, and therefore he need not have felt himself called upon to do so in the passage before us, where the book seems at variance with his Gospel (see pp. 48, 49).

But Friedrich proceeds to emphasise the many points in which the history of the Ascension in Acts reminds us of the close of the Gospel (see also Zeller, *u. s.*, ii., pp. 226, 227, E. T., and also Feine). Only St. Luke knows of the command of Jesus, that the Apostles should not leave Jerusalem, and of the promise of the Holy Spirit associated with it, Luke xxiv. 49, and Acts i. 4-8. So also Luke xxiv. 47 reminds us unmistakably of Acts i. 8; also Luke xxiv. 52 and Acts i. 12, Luke xxiv. 53 and Acts i. 14 (ii. 14) (cf. also Acts i. 5 and Luke iii. 16). But there is no need to adopt Friedrich's defence of the supposed contradiction with regard to the time of the Ascension. Certainly in the Gospel of St. Luke nothing is said of any interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension, but it is incredible that "the author can mean that late at night, vv. 29, 33, Jesus led the disciples out to Bethany and ascended in the dark!" Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 569, see also Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 59, and Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 44. It is of course possible that St. Luke may have gained his information as to the interval of the forty days between the writing of his two works, but

II. 1. ΚΑΙ ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς, ἦσαν ἅπαντες<sup>2</sup> ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό. 2. καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἐγένετο ἄφνω ἐκ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> συμπληροῦσθαι B<sup>3</sup>; συνπλ. AB<sup>\*</sup>CDE, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> ἅπαντες cursives; παντες B<sup>c</sup>ABC 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V. (omit in B<sup>E</sup>). ὁμοθυμαδὸν C<sup>3</sup>E, Chrys.; ὁμον B<sup>3</sup>ABC<sup>\*</sup> 61, e, Vulg., Ath., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; ὁμοθ. very common in Acts, ὁμον only elsewhere in John (3 times). D instead of καὶ ἐν τῷ συνπλ. reads καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις τοῦ συνπλ., very likely as Blass says in notes on β text, "ut in principio lectionis". d, e, Gig., Par., Vulg., Aug. read τας ἡμερας (e.g., Par., "et dum complerentur dies"—ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν is now read by Blass in β, see comment.). (See Page, *Classical Review*, July, 1897, p. 319, and cf. also Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 55, note.) D also reads before ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ the words ὄντων αὐτῶν πάντων. Hilg. follows D.

<sup>3</sup> After καὶ D inserts ἰδου (cf. Syriac characteristic, Chase).

however this may be (cf. Plummer, but against this view Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 173), it becomes very improbable that even if a tradition existed that the Ascension took place on the evening of the Resurrection, and that Luke afterwards in Acts followed a new and more trustworthy account (so Wendt), that the Evangelist, the disciple of St. Paul, who must have been acquainted with the continuous series of the appearances of the Risen Christ in 1 Cor. xv., should have favoured such a tradition for a moment (see Zöckler, *u. s.*). On the undue stress laid by Harnack upon the famous passage in Barnabas, *Epist.*, xv., see Dr. Swete, *The Apostle's Creed*, p. 68, Plummer, *u. s.*, p. 564, and on this point and also the later tradition of a lengthy interval, Zöckler, *u. s.* For the early testimony to the fact of the Ascension in the Apostolic writings, and for the impossibility of accounting for the belief in the fact either from O.T. precedents or from pagan myths, see Zahn, *Das Apostolische Symbolum*, pp. 76-78, and *Witness of the Epistles* (Longmans), p. 400 ff. The view of Steinmeyer that St. Luke gives us a full account of the Ascension in the Acts rather than in his Gospel, because he felt that the true position of such an event was to emphasise it more as the beginning of a new period than as a conclusion of the Gospel history, *Die Auferstehungsgeschichte des Herrn*, pp. 226, 227, deserves attention, and may be fitly compared with W.H., *Notes on Select Readings*, p. 73.

CHAPTER II.—Ver. 1. ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι, lit., "when the day of Pentecost was being fulfilled" (filled up). R.V. renders "was now come," and a question arises as to whether the words mean this, or that the day was only being filled up, and not fully come. Blass interprets the expression to mean

a short time before the day of Pentecost, not the day itself. Weiss and others suppose that the expression refers to the completing of the interval of time between the Paschal Feast and Pentecost. Vulgate (cf. Syriac) reads "cum complerentur dies Pentecostes," and so all English versions have "days" except A. and R.V. The verb is only used by St. Luke in the N.T., twice in his Gospel, viii. 23, and in the same sense as here, ix. 51, and once more in the passage before us. We have the noun συμπλήρωσις in the same sense in LXX 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, Dan. (Theod.) ix. 2, 1 Esdras i. 58; see Friedrich, *ubi supra*, p. 44. The mode of expression is Hebraistic, as we see also from Exod. vii. 25, Jeremiah xxxvi. 10 (LXX). St. Luke may be using the expression of a day which had begun, according to Jewish reckoning, at the previous sunset, and which thus in the early morning could not be said to be either fulfilled or past, but which was in the process of being fulfilled (Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, p. 90, 1895; Knabenbauer, *in loco*). The parallel passage in Luke ix. 51 cannot be quoted to support the view that the reference here is to a period preceding the day of Pentecost, since in that passage we have ἡμέρας, not ἡμέραν as here, and, although the interpretation of the word as referring to the approach of the Feast is possible, yet the circumstances and the view evidently taken by the narrator point decisively to the very day of the Feast (see Schmid, *Biblische Theol.*, p. 283). On the construction ἐν τῷ with the infinitive, see Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 232, 234, and Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 27. It is quite in the style of St. Luke, who frequently employs it; cf. the Hebrew use of בְּ, Fried-



οὐρανοῦ ἤχος ὥσπερ φερομένης πνοῆς βιαίας, καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν ὅλον τὸν οἶκον οὗ ἦσαν καθήμενοι.<sup>1</sup> 3. καὶ ὠφθησαν αὐτοῖς διαμεριζόμεναι

<sup>1</sup> καθήμενοι; CD read καθεζόμενοι, so Lach., Meyer, Hilg.; but reading in text NABE, minusc., Ath., Cyr.-Jer., Cyr.-Al., Theodrt., Wendt (as against Meyer), W.H., Weiss.

rich, p. 13, *ubi supra*, Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 75). On Spitta's forced interpretation of the word, see p. 100. —τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς: no occasion to add ἡμέρα, as the word was used as a proper name (although as an adjective ἡμέρα would of course be understood with it); cf. 2 Macc. xii. 32 (Tob. ii. 1), μετὰ δὲ τὴν λεγομ. Πεντηκοστήν.—ἑπτακτῆς, i.e., the hundred-and-twenty as well as the Apostles (Chrysostom, Jerome), and the expression may also have included other disciples who were present in Jerusalem at the Feast (so Hilgenfeld, Wendt, Holtzmann). This interpretation appears to be more in accordance with the wide range of the prophecy, ii. 16-21.—ὁμοθυμαδὸν, see above on ver. 14. ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό may simply = "together," so that of the two expressions ὁμοῦ, R.V., and this phrase "alterum abundat" (Blass, Weiss); but the reference may be to the room in which they were previously assembled; cf. i. 15.

Ver. 2. ἄφνω: only in Acts, here, and in xvi. 26, xxviii. 6; Klostermann's *Vindicia Lucanæ*, p. 55; several times in LXX, but also in classical Greek in Thuc., Dem., Eur.—ἤχος ὥσπερ φερόμ. πν. βιαίας, lit., "a sound as if a violent gust were being borne along". St. Chrysostom rightly emphasises the ὥς, so that the sound is not that of wind, but as of the rushing of a mighty wind (so too the tongues are not of fire, but as of fire). The words describe not a natural but a supernatural phenomenon, as Wendt pointedly admits. Wind was often used as a symbol of the divine Presence, 2 Sam. v. 24, Psalm civ. 3, 1 Kings xix. 11, Ezekiel xliii. 2, etc.; cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, iii., 5, 2; vii., 4; here it is used of the mighty power of the Spirit which nothing could resist. St. Luke alone of the N.T. writers uses ἤχος—Heb. xii. 19 being a quotation, and it is perhaps worth noting that the word is employed in medical writers, and by one of them, Aretæus, of the noise of the sea (cf. ἤχους θαλάσσης, Luke xxi. 25).—ὅλον τὸν οἶκον. If the Temple were meant, as Holtzmann and Zöckler think, it would have been specified, iii. 2, 11, v. 21.

Ver. 3. διαμεριζόμε. γλῶσσαι: the audible σημεῖον is followed by a visible: γλῶσσαι the organs of speech by which the wonderful works of God were to be proclaimed, so that the expression cannot be explained from Isaiah v. 24, where the tongue of fire is represented as an organ of destruction (Wendt, note, *in loco*). ὥσεί πυρός in their appearance and brightness. The words themselves therefore forbid reference to a natural phenomenon, to say nothing of the fact of the spiritual transformation of the Apostles which followed. Fire like wind was symbolic of the divine Presence, Exod. iii. 2, and of the Spirit who purifies and sanctifies, Ezekiel i. 13, Malachi, iii. 2, 3 (see Wetstein for classical instances of fire symbolical of the presence of the deity; cf., e.g., Homer, *Iliad*, xviii., 214; Virgil, *Æn.*, ii., 683). διαμεριζ., lit., dividing or parting themselves off. R.V. "tongues parting asunder," so that originally they were one, as one mighty flame of fire. This rendering is strictly in accordance with the meaning of the verb. Vulgate *dispertitæ* (the word used by Blass). διαμερίζω is used once again in Acts ii. 45 in the active voice, and once only by St. Matthew and St. Mark (once by St. John as a quotation) in the middle voice, but six times by St. Luke in his Gospel; frequently in the LXX.—ἐκάθισε (not -av), sc., γλῶσσαι (not πῦρ or πνεῦμα ἅγιον), although the latter is advocated by Chrysostom, Theophylact, Bengel: "it sat," R.V. The singular best expresses the result of the tongues parting asunder, and of the distribution to each and all. So too ἐφ' ἑνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, "upon each one of them," R.V., cf. ver. 6 εἰς ἕκαστος (and ver. 8). The resting of a flame of fire upon the head as a token of the favour of Heaven may be illustrated from classical sources (see above and instances in Wetstein), but the thought here is not so much of fire as the token of divine favour, as of the tongue (as of fire) conferring a divine power to utter in speech divine things.

Ver. 4. ἀποφθέγγεσθαι—a word peculiar to Acts, cf. v. 14 and xxvi. 25; in the LXX used not of ordinary conversation, but of the utterances of prophets; cf. Ezek. xiii. 9, Micah v. 12, 1 Chron. xxv.

γλώσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρὸς, ἐκάθισέ<sup>1</sup> τε ἐφ' ἓνα ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, 4. καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, καὶ ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἐτέραις γλώσσαις, καθὼς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐδίδου αὐτοῖς ἀποφθέγγεσθαι. 5. Ἦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔθνους τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν. 6. γενομένης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης, συνήλθε τὸ πλήθος καὶ συνεχύθη ὅτι ἤκουον εἰς ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> ἐκαθισαν N<sup>\*</sup>D, probably emendation from γλώσσαι, but overwhelming evidence for -σεν.

1, so fitly here: (cf. ἀποφθέγματα, used by the Greeks of the sayings of the wise and philosophers, and see also references in Wendt).—ἐτέραις γλώσσαις, see additional note.

Ver. 5. κατοικοῦντες, probably used not merely of temporary dwellers for the Feast, but of the devout Jews of the Diaspora, who for the purpose of being near the Temple had taken up their residence in Jerusalem, perhaps for the study of the Law, perhaps to live and to die within the city walls (see St. Chrysostom's comment on the word). They were not proselytes as is indicated by Ἰουδαῖοι, but probably devout men like Symeon, Luke ii. 25, who is described by the same word εὐλαβής, waiting for the consolation of Israel. The expression, as Zöckler points out, is not quite synonymous with that in ver. 14 (or with Luke xiii. 4), and he explains it as above. There is certainly no need to consider the word, with Spitta and Hilgenfeld, as an epithet added by a later editor, or to omit Ἰουδαῖοι, as Blass strongly urges (while Hilgenfeld desires to retain this word). The word may fairly be regarded as contrasted with Γαλιλαῖοι (ver. 7). The same view of it as applied here to foreign Jews who had their stated residence in Jerusalem is maintained by Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 291 (note) E.T.—κατοικεῖν is used generally of taking up a permanent abode as in contrast to παροικεῖν used of temporary sojourn, and on the frequent use of the word in St. Luke, Friedrich, *ubi supra*, p. 39. But here it is followed most probably by εἰς not ἐν, *constructio pragnans*, cf. Wendt and Weiss as against W.H. (T.R. ἐν and so Blass in β). Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 36, regards this frequent use of εἰς as characteristic of the style of Acts, cf. ix. 21, xiv. 25, and considers it quite inconceivable that ἐν would be changed into εἰς, although the reverse is likely enough to have happened (Wendt).—εὐλαβεῖς, see viii. 2.—ἀπὸ

παντὸς ἔθνους: "from every nation," so R.V.; "out of," A.V., but this would represent ἐκ rather than ἀπὸ, and would imply that they belonged to these different nations, not that they were born Jews residing among them and coming from them (Humphry, *Commentary on R.V.*).—τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, sc. ἔθνων. The phrase is used frequently in LXX, cf. Deut. ii. 25, and in classical literature by Plato and Dem. If κατοικοῦντες includes the Jews who had come up to the Feast as well as those who had settled in Jerusalem from other countries, this expression is strikingly illustrated by the words of Philo, *De Monarchia*, ii., 1, p. 223. The Pentecost would be more largely attended even than the Passover, as it was a more favourable season for travelling than the early spring (see Wetstein, *in loco*), and cf. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., pp. 291, 307, E.T.

Ver. 6. φωνῆς ταύτης: "when this sound was heard," R.V. "Hic idem quod ἦχος comm. 2," so Wetstein, who compares for φωνῇ in this sense Matt. xxiv. 31, 1 Cor. xiv. 7, 8 (2 Chron. v. 13), and so most recent commentators (cf. John iii. 8); if human voices were meant, the plural might have been expected. But the word in singular might refer to the divine voice, the voice of the Spirit, cf. Matt. iii. 17, xvii. 5. The A.V., so too Grotius, following Erasmus, Calvin, render the word as if φήμη, but the two passages quoted from LXX to justify this rendering are no real examples, cf., e.g., Gen. xlv. 16, Jer. xxvii. 46.—τὸ πλήθος: a characteristic word of St. Luke, occurring eight times in his Gospel, seventeen in Acts, and only seven times in rest of the N.T.; on the frequency with which St. Luke uses expressions indicative of fulness, see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 40, 102. In inscriptions the word seems to have been used not only of political but of religious communities, see Deissmann, *Neue Bibel-*



διαλέκτῳ λαλούντων αὐτῶν.<sup>1</sup> 7. ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες καὶ ἐθαύμαζον, λέγοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Οὐκ<sup>2</sup> ἰδοὺ πάντες οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ λαλοῦντες Γαλιλαῖοι; 8. καὶ πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ ἡμῶν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν, 9. Πάρθοι καὶ Μηδοὶ καὶ Ἑλαμίται,<sup>3</sup> καὶ οἱ

<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλ. λαλούντων; in D λαλουντας ταις γλωσσαις αυτων, Syr. Harcl., (Aug. conflata), but not received by Blass in β although retained by Hilg.; may be retranslation from Syriac (Chase), but see Weiss, Codex D, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> ουκ AC; ουχ BDE 61, so Tisch., W.H. marg.; ουχι B, so W.H. text, Weiss (Wendt doubtful); see further Winer-Schmiedel, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Ελαμιται B<sup>3</sup>EIP, but Ελαμειται A(B)(C)D (B omits), so Tisch., W.H., Weiss; Blass in β reads Αιλαμιται, cf. B.

*studien*, pp. 59, 60 (1897), and see below on xv. 30.—*συνεχῶς*—from *συνχύνω* (*συνχέω*), only found in Acts, where it occurs five times (cf. also *σύγχυσις*, Acts xix. 29), see Moulton and Geden, *sub v.* For its meaning here cf. Gen. xi. 7, 9, 1 Macc. iv. 27, 2 Macc. xiii. 23, xiv. 28; Vulg., *mente confusa est.*—*διαλέκτῳ*: only in the Acts in N.T. The question has been raised as to whether it meant a dialect or a language. Meyer argued in favour of the former, but the latter rendering more probably expresses the author's meaning, cf. i. 19, and also xxi. 40, xxii. 2, xxvi. 14. The word is apparently used as the equivalent of *γλῶσσα*, ver. 11, A. and R.V. "language". As the historian in his list, vv. 9, 10, apparently is following distinctions of language (see Rendall, *Acts*, p. 177, and Appendix, p. 359), this would help to fix the meaning of the word *διάλεκτος* here. Wendt in revising Meyer's rendering contends that the word is purposely introduced because *γλῶσσα*, vv. 3, 4, had just been employed not in the sense of language but tongue, and so might have been misunderstood if repeated here with *λαλεῖν*. On the other hand it may be urged that some of the distinctions in the list are those of dialect, and that St. Luke intentionally used a word meaning both language and dialect.

Ver. 7. *ἐξίσταντο*: frequent in St. Luke, three times in his Gospel, eight in the Acts, elsewhere once in St. Paul, once in St. Matthew, four times in St. Mark. The word is often found in the LXX in various senses; cf. for its meaning here Gen. xliii. 33, Judith xiii. 17, xv. 1, 1 Macc. xv. 32, xvi. 22. *πάντες*—Γαλιλαῖοι: there is no need to suppose with Schöttgen (so Grotius, Olshausen) that the term implies any reference to the want of culture among the Galileans, as if in this way to emphasise the surprise of the questioners,

or to explain the introduction of the term because the Galileans were "magis ad arma quam ad litteras et linguas idonei" (Corn. à Lapede). But if there is a reference to the peculiar dialect of the Galileans this might help to explain the introduction of *Ἰουδαίαν* in ver. 9 (Wetstein followed by Weiss, but see below). Weiss sees here, it is true, the hand of a reviser who thinks only of the Apostles and not of the hundred-and-twenty who could not be supposed to come under the term *Γαλιλαῖοι*. But whilst no doubt *Γαλ.* might be considered a fitting description of the Apostolic band (except Judas), Hilgenfeld well asks why the hundred-and-twenty should not have been also Galileans, if they had followed Jesus from Galilee to Jerusalem.

Ver. 8. τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλ. . . ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν—used distributively as ver. 11 ταῖς ἡμετ. γλώσσαις shows—and hence cannot be taken to mean that only one language common to all, *viz.*, Aramaic, was spoken on the outpouring of the Spirit.

Vv. 9-11. The list which follows has been described as showing the trained hand of the historian, whilst it has also been regarded as a distinctly popular utterance in Greek style (Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 149; but see also Rendall, *Acts*, Introd., p. 13). But, as Dean Plumptre well remarks, the omission of many countries which one might have expected shows that the list was not a made up list after the event, but that St. Luke had accurately mentioned the nations present at the Feast. The reference throughout is of course to Jews of the Dispersion, and Schürer (see too Schöttgen) well parallels the description given here of the extent of the Diaspora with the description in Agrippa's letter to the Emperor Caligula given by Philo (*Legat. ad Caium*, 36.

κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Πόντον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἰο. Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες

Mang., ii., 587). All commentators seem to be agreed in regarding the list as framed to some extent on geographical lines, beginning from Parthia the furthest east. Mr. Page holds that the countries named may be regarded as grouped not only geographically but historically. Of the Jews of the Dispersion there were four classes: (1) *Eastern* or *Babylonian* Jews, corresponding in the list to Parthians, Medes, Elamites; (2) *Syrian* Jews, corresponding to Judæa, Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia; (3) *Egyptian* Jews, corresponding to Egypt and the parts of Libya over against Cyrene; (4) *Roman* Jews. (1) Parthia, mentioned here only in the N.T., is placed first, not only because of the vast extent of its empire from India to the Tigris, but because it then was the only power which had tried issues with Rome and had not been defeated, "Parthia" B.D. (Rawlinson). In Mesopotamia, Elam, and Babylonia were to be found the descendants of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes and of the kingdom of Judah, transported thither by the Assyrians and Chaldeans, now and until the reign of Trajan the subjects of the Parthians, but always of political importance to Rome from their position on the eastern borders of the Empire (Schürer, *ubi supra*, div. ii., vol. ii., pp. 223, 224 E.T.). At the head of (2), Ἰουδαίαν is placed by Mr. Page, *i.e.*, at the head of the group with which in his view it is geographically connected. Of Asia, as of Syria, it could be said that Jews dwelt in large numbers in every city, and the statement that Jews had settled in the most distant parts of Pontus is abundantly confirmed by the Jewish inscriptions in the Greek language found in the Crimea. Seleucus Nicator granted to the Jews in Syria and Asia the same privileges as those bestowed upon his Greek and Macedonian subjects (Jos., *Ant.*, xii., 31); and to Antiochus the Great was due the removal of two thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to Lydia and Phrygia (Schürer, *l.c.*, and "Antiochus III.," B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Jos., *Ant.*, xii., 3, 4). Mr. Page uses the word Ἰουδαία as equivalent to the land of the Jews, *i.e.*, Palestine and perhaps also to some part of Syria. In the former sense the word could undoubtedly

be employed (Hamburger, "Judæa," *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 5; so too by classical writers and by Strabo, "Judæa," B.D.). But it is very doubtful how far the term can be extended to include any part of Syria, although Josephus (B.J., iii., 3, 5) speaks of the maritime places of Judæa extending as far as Ptolemais. It may well be that Syria was regarded as a kind of outer Palestine, intermediate between it and heathendom (Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 16-19, 71, 73). St. Jerome reads Syria instead of Judæa, a reading to which Blass apparently inclines. Tertullian conjectured Armenia, *c. Jud.*, vii., and Idumæa (so again Spitta), Bithynia and India have been proposed. It is often very difficult to say exactly what is meant by Asia, whether the term refers to the entire Roman province, which had been greatly increased in the first century B.C. since its formation in 133 B.C., or whether the word is used in its popular sense, as denoting the Ægean coast lands and excluding Phrygia. Here the term is used with the latter signification (Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 150, and also "Asia" in Hastings, B.D.). At the head of (3) stands Egypt, where the Jewish Dispersion, especially in Alexandria, played so important a part in the history of civilisation. The greatest prosperity of the Jews in Egypt began with Alexander the Great, but long before his time, in the seventh century B.C., Jewish immigrants were in the country (Schürer, *ubi supra*, pp. 226, 227, and "Alexandria," B.D.<sup>2</sup>). From Egypt the Dispersion penetrated further westward (Schürer, *u. s.*, pp. 230, 231, and note), and in Libya Cyrenaica or Pentapolitana, the modern *Tripoli*, the Jews were very numerous; *cf.* for their history in Cyrene 1 Macc. xv. 23; 2 Macc. ii. 23; Jos., *Ant.*, xvi., 6, 1, 5, and Acts vi. 9, xi. 30, xiii. 1; Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 232, and Merivale, *Romans under the Empire*, pp. 364, 365. The expression used here, τὰ μέρη τῆς Ἀ. τῆς κατὰ Κ., affords a striking parallel to that used by Dio Cassius, ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνην Λιβύη, liii., 12; *cf.* also Jos., *Ant.*, xvi., 16; "Cyrene," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Hastings' B.D. In (4) we have οἱ ἐπιδ. Ῥωμαῖοι. There is no ground for supposing that any Jews dwelt permanently in Rome before the



Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι, II. Κρήτες καὶ Ἀραβες, ἀκούομεν λαλούντων αὐτῶν ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις τὰ μεγαλεῖα

time of Pompey, although their first appearance there dates from the days of the Maccabees (1 Macc. viii. 17, xiv. 24, xv. 15 ff.). Of the numerous Jewish families brought to Rome by Pompey many regained their freedom, and settled beyond the Tiber as a regular Jewish community with the rights of Roman citizenship. In 19 A.D., however, the whole Jewish population was banished from the imperial city, Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 3, 5; but after the overthrow of Sejanus it may be safely assumed that Tiberius allowed their return to Rome (Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 232 ff.).—οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, "Sojourners from Rome," R.V., *i. e.*, the Jews who live at Rome as sojourners—Roman Jews. Others take ἐπιδ. as referring to the Roman Jews who were making a temporary sojourn in Jerusalem for the Feast, or for some other purpose, the word being thus in a certain degree opposed to the κατοικοῦντες (of permanent dwelling) in ver. 5. Others again apparently take the expression as describing Roman Jews who, born in Rome, had taken up their dwelling in Jerusalem, and who are thus distinguished from those Jews who, born in Jerusalem, were Romans by right of Roman citizenship. The only other passage in which ἐπιδημοῦντες occurs is Acts xvii. 21 (but cf. xviii. 27, D and β (Blass)), and it is there used of the ξένοι sojourning in Athens, and so probably thus making a temporary sojourn, or who were not Athenians by birth or citizenship, as distinct from the regular inhabitants of Athens. Cf. Athenæus, viii., p. 361 F.—οἱ Ῥώμην κατοικοῦντες, καὶ οἱ ἐνεπιδημοῦντες τῇ πόλει, which passage shows that ἐπιδ. "minus significat quam κατοικεῖν" (Blass), and other instances in Wetstein. Hilgenfeld, whose pages contain a long discussion of recent views of the words in question, argues that according to what precedes we should expect καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ῥώμην, and according to what follows we should expect simply Ῥωμαῖοι, and he solves the difficulty by the arbitrary method of omitting καὶ οἱ ἐπιδ. before Ῥωμαῖοι, and Ἰουδ. τε καὶ προσήλυτοι after it, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, p. 93 ff. (1895); see further *Actus Apost.*, p. 260, 1899.—Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι. Not only would St. Luke in writing to a Roman convert of social rank like Theophilus be likely to mention

the presence of Roman Jews at the first Christian Pentecost, but he would also emphasise the fact that they were not only Jews, or of Jewish origin, but that proselytes from heathendom were also included (Felten, Belser). In thus explaining the words Felten refers them, with Erasmus and Grotius, to οἱ ἐπιδ. Ῥωμαῖοι only, whilst Overbeck, Weiss, Holtzmann, Wendt, Belser, so Page, Hackett, refer them to the whole of the preceding catalogue. It is evident that Schürer takes the same view, for in speaking of the large offerings contributed by proselytes to the Temple at Jerusalem he mentions that in stating the number of Jews of every nationality living in Jerusalem the *Acts* does not forget to mention the proselytes along with the Jews, ii. 10 (*u. s.*, p. 307).

Ver. 11. Κρήτες καὶ Ἀραβες: both names seem to have been added to the list as an after-thought. Even if we cannot accept Nösgen's idea that St. Luke is repeating *verbatim* the account which he had received orally from an eyewitness who had forgotten the Arabians and Cretans in going through the list geographically, yet the introduction of the two names in no apparent connection with the rest ought to show us that we are not dealing with an artificial list, but with a genuine record of the different nations represented at the Feast. Belser, who endorses this view, supposes that St. Luke obtained his information from an eyewitness who added the Cretans and Arabians supplementarily, just as a person might easily forget one or two names in going through a long list of representative nations at a festival. It is possible, as Belser suggests, that the Cretans and Arabians were thinly represented at the Pentecost, although the notices in Josephus and Philo's letter mentioned above point to a large Jewish population in Crete. The special mention of the Cretans is strikingly in accordance with the statement of the Jewish envoys to Caligula, *viz.*, that all the more noted islands of the Mediterranean, including Crete, were full of Jews, "Crete," B.D.,<sup>2</sup> and Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 232. In R.V. "Cretans"; which marks the fact that the Greek Κρήτες is a dissyllable; in A.V. "Cretes" this is easily forgotten (*cf.* Titus i. 12).—μεγαλεῖα only found here

τοῦ Θεοῦ; 12. ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες καὶ διηπόρουν,<sup>1</sup> ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον λέγοντες, τί ἂν θέλοι τοῦτο εἶναι; 13. ἕτεροι δὲ χλευάζοντες<sup>2</sup> ἔλεγον, Ὅτι γλεύκους μεμεστωμένοι εἰσὶ.

<sup>1</sup> διηπορουν CDEI, Bas., Chrys., so Lach.; διηπορουντο H<sup>1</sup>AB, so Tisch., Weiss, W.H., R.V. After πρὸς ἄλλον D adds ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονοτι, so Blass in β, and Hilg. (Syr. Harcl., Aug.); cf. iii. 10, iv. 21, and Weiss, Codex D, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> χλευάζοντες, but διαχλευαῖ. R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, beyond doubt to be read.

in N.T.; the reading of T.R., Luke i. 49, cannot be supported; cf. Psalm lxx. (lxxi.) 19, where the word occurs in LXX.

(Hebrew, תִּלְבֵּן) Ecclesiasticus xvii.

9, xviii. 4, xxiii. (xxxvi.) 8, xlii. 21, 3 Macc. vii. 22, R. The word is found in Josephus, and also in classical Greek: used here not only of the Resurrection of the Lord (Grotius), but of all that the prophets had foretold, of all that Christ had done and the Holy Ghost had conferred.

Ver. 12. διηπόρουν: not found in LXX (only in Psalm lxxvi. 5, and Dan. ii. 3, Symmachus), and peculiar to St. Luke in the N.T., once in his Gospel, ix. 7 (xxiv. 4 ἀπορεῖσθαι, W.H. and R.V.), and three times in Acts, cf. v. 24, x. 17. διηποροῦντο in R.V. "were perplexed"; A.V. "were in doubt," although in Luke xxiv. 4 this or a similar word is rendered as in R.V., "were (much) perplexed". The Greek conveys the thought of utter uncertainty what to think, rather than doubt as to which opinion of several is right (Humphry). The word no doubt is frequently found in classical writers, and is found also in Philo (not in Josephus), but it may be worth noting that ἀπορία, εὐπορία, διαπορεῖν, εὐπορεῖν are all peculiar to St. Luke, and were terms constantly employed by medical writers (Hobart, *Medical Language*, etc., p. 163). τί ἂν θέλοι τοῦτο εἶναι—θέλω was constantly used in this sense in classical writers, see instances in Wetstein. On the popular use of θέλω instead of βούλομαι in later Greek, cf. Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 15. Blass points out that St. Luke's employment of βούλομαι is characteristic of his culture, although it must be remembered that the Evangelist uses θέλω (as here) very frequently.

Ver. 13. ἕτεροι δὲ: although the word is ἕτεροι, not ἄλλοι, it is doubtful how far it indicates a distinct class from those mentioned as speaking in vv. 7-12. At the same time not only πάντες, ver. 12, but also the behaviour of the ἕτεροι, seems to separate them from the εὐλαβεῖς in

ver. 5.—χλευάζοντες: but stronger with the intensifying διὰ than the simple verb in xvii. 32; used in classical Greek, Dem., Plato, and in Polybius—here only in N.T., not found in LXX, although the simple verb is used (see below).—γλεύκους: if the rendering R.V. "new wine" is adopted, the ridicule was indeed ill-timed, as at the Pentecost there was no new wine strictly speaking, the earliest vintage being in August (cf. Chrysostom and Oecumenius, who see in such a charge the excessive folly and the excessive malignity of the scoffers). Neither the context nor the use of the word elsewhere obliges us to suppose that it is used here of unfermented wine. Its use in Lucian, *Ep., Sat.*, xxii. (to which reference is made by Wendt and Page), and also in LXX, Job xxxii. 19, ὥσπερ ἀσκὸς γλεύκους ζῶν δεδεμένος, points to a wine still fermenting, intoxicating, while the definition of Hesychius, τὸ ἀπόσταγμα τῆς σταφυλῆς πρὶν πατηθῆναι, refers its lusciousness to the quality of its make (from the purest juice of the grape), and not of necessity to the brevity of its age, see B.D. "Wine". It would therefore be best to render "sweet wine," made perhaps of a specially sweet small grape, cf. Gen. xlix. 11. "The extraordinary candour of Christ's biographers must not be forgotten. Notice also such sentences as 'but some doubted,' and in the account of Pentecost, 'these men are full of new wine'. Such observations are wonderfully true to human nature, but no less wonderfully opposed to any 'accretion' theory": Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*, p. 156.

Ver. 14. σταθεῖς δὲ Πέτρος: St. Chrysostom rightly remarks on the change which had passed over St. Peter. In the place where a few weeks before he had denied with an oath that he knew "the man," he now stands forth to proclaim him as the Christ and the Saviour. It is quite characteristic of St. Luke thus to introduce participles indicating the position or gesture of the speaker (cf. Friedrich, Zöckler, Overbeck); cf. St.



14. Σταθεῖς δὲ Πέτρος σὺν τοῖς ἔνδεκα,<sup>1</sup> ἐπῆρε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀπεφθέγγατο αὐτοῖς, Ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἅπαντες, τοῦτο ὑμῖν γνωστὸν ἔστω, καὶ ἐνωτίσασθε τὰ ῥήματά μου. 15. οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ὑμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνετε, οὗτοι μεθύουσιν· ἔστι γὰρ ὥρα τρίτη τῆς ἡμέρας· 16. ἀλλὰ τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ,<sup>2</sup> 17. “Καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις,

<sup>1</sup> ἐνδεκα D, Gig., Par., Syr., Pesh., Aug. add ἀποστόλοις; cf. i. 20. D reads δεκα for ἐνδεκα, perhaps through carelessness (Weiss). After ἐπῆρεν D, Par.<sup>2</sup> insert πρῶτος; E has προτερον after τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ; πρῶτος retained by Blass in β, and by Hilg.; it seems a needless addition as it is implied in the verse (see also Harris, *Four Lectures*, p. 58).

<sup>2</sup> Ἰωήλ ḲABCEIP, Vulg., Bas., Chrys., Cyr.-Jer.; so W.H., R.V., Weiss. Om. D, Iren., Aug., Hil. “Rebapt.,” so Hilg. Blass regards it as an interpolation even in a text.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ om. by D, Gig., Par., Ir., Aug., Sah., Boh.; but in LXX.

Luke xviii. 11, 40, xix. 8, Acts v. 40, xi. 13, xvii. 2, xxv. 18, xxvii. 21.—σὺν τοῖς ἔνδεκα, and so with Matthias; cf. v. 32, and i. 22.—ἐπῆρε τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ: this phrase is only found in St. Luke's Gospel (xi. 29) and the Acts (xiv. 11, xxii. 22), but it is quite classical, so in Demosthenes, and in LXX it occurs several times.—ἀπεφθέγγατο: “spake forth,” R.V., cf. xxvi. 25, expressive of the solemnity of the utterance, see above in ver. 4, and showing that St. Peter's words were inspired no less than the speaking with tongues (Weiss).—ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι: no word of reproach, but an address of respect; the words may be taken quite generally to indicate not only those previously present, but also those who were attracted by the noise. There is no need to suppose that St. Peter addressed the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the Jews as if they had been the only scoffers as distinct from the pilgrims from other lands. It is no doubt possible that the first part of the speech was addressed to the native home-bred residents, and that in ver. 22 St. Peter in the word Ἰσραηλίται includes all the Jews whether resident in Jerusalem or not.—ἐνωτίσασθε: only here in N.T., but frequent in LXX, especially in the Psalms. It usually translates Hebrew יָנִיחַ from Hebrew יָנַח = ear; cf.

*inaurire*; Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 130. “Give ear unto my words,” R.V. *Auribus percipite*, Vulg.

Ver. 15. ὥρα τρίτη τῆς ἡμέρας: if the words refer to the hour of early prayer, 9 A.M., the Jews previously did not partake of food, and on festal days

they abstained from food and drink until the sixth hour (twelve o'clock). But if Schürer (see on iii. 1, and Blass, *in loco*) is right in specifying other hours for prayer, the expression may mean that St. Peter appeals to the early period of the day as a proof that the charge of drunkenness was contrary to all reasonable probability.

Ver. 17. ἐν ταῖς ἐσχ. ἡμέρ., i.e., the time immediately preceding the Parousia of the Messiah (Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 372). The expression is introduced here instead of μετὰ ταῦτα, LXX, to show that St. Peter saw in the outpouring of the Spirit the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy, ii. 28-31 (LXX), and the dawn of the period preceding the return of Christ in glory, Isaiah ii. 2, Micah iv. 1 (2 Tim. iii. 1, James v. 3, Heb. i. 1).—λέγει ὁ Θεός: introduced possibly from Joel ii. 12, although wanting in LXX and Hebrew.—ἐκχεῶ: Hellenistic future, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 41, 42, 58, cf. x. 45, Titus iii. 6. In LXX the word is used as here, not only in Joel, but in Zach. xii. 10, Eccclus. xviii. 11, xxiv. 33, but very often of pouring forth anger.—ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύμ. μου, “I will pour forth of my Spirit,” R.V., so in LXX, but in Heb., “I will pour out my Spirit”. The participle ἀπὸ may be accounted for by the thought that the Spirit of God considered in its entirety remains with God, and that men acquire only a certain portion of its energies (so Wendt, Holtzmann). Or the participle force of the word may be taken as signifying the great diversity of the Spirit's gifts and operations. See also Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 151 (1893).—πᾶσαν σάρκα, i.e., all men; but this ex-

λέγει ὁ Θεὸς, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ὑμῶν· καὶ οἱ νεανίσκοι ὑμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ὑμῶν ἐνύπνια<sup>2</sup> ἐνυπνιασθήσονται, 18. καὶ γε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους μου καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς δούλας μου ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις<sup>3</sup> ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου,

<sup>1</sup> For υἱων . . . υμων D, Gig., Tert., "Rebapt." Hil. read αυτων (referred by Harris to a Montanistic application).

<sup>2</sup> ἐνυπνια EP, Tert., Chrys. (cf. LXX, but AS<sup>3</sup> has -ιοις); but ἐνυπνιοις ΞABCD<sup>3</sup> 13, 27, 61, Epiph., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις om. D, Gig. (Cyp.), *Acta Perpetua*. καὶ προφητεύσουσιν om. D, Par.<sup>1</sup>, Tert. (Cyp.), *Acta Perpetua* (not in LXX). The two clauses come together in Syriac and may have been omitted together (Chase).

pression in itself suggests a contrast between the weakness and imperfection of humanity and the all-powerful working of the divine Spirit. The expression is Hebraistic, cf. Luke iii. 6, John xvii. 2, and Eccles. xlv. 4, and often in LXX. In Joel's prophecy the expression only included the people of Israel, although the divine Spirit should be no longer limited to particular prophets or favoured individuals, but should be given to the whole nation. If we compare ii. 39, the expression would include at least the members of the Diaspora, wherever they might be, but it is doubtful whether we can take it as including the heathen as such in St. Peter's thoughts, although Hilgenfeld is so convinced that the verse ii. 39 can only refer to the heathen that he refers all the words from καὶ πᾶσι to the end of the verse to his "author to Theophilus". Spitta on the other hand regards the expression as referring only to the Jews of the Diaspora; if the Gentiles had been intended, he thinks that we should have had τοῖς εἰς μακρὰν ἔθνεσιν as in xxii. 21. Undoubtedly we have an analogous expression to ii. 39 in Eph. ii. 13, οἱ ποτε ὄντες μακρὰν, where the words evidently refer to the heathen, but we must not expect the universalism of St. Paul in the first public address of St. Peter: for him it is still ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, "our God," ver. 39, and even the expression, πρῶτον, iii. 26, in which Holtzmann sees a reference to the extension of the Messianic blessings to the Jew first and then to the Gentile, need only mean that in St. Peter's view these blessings could only be secured by the Gentile through becoming a proselyte to the faith of Israel. It is thus only that St. Peter's subsequent conduct becomes intelligible. The reading αὐτῶν instead of ὑμῶν in the next clause before both υἱοὶ and

θυγατέρες if it is adopted (Blass β) would seem to extend the scope of the prophecy beyond the limits of Israel proper.—θυγατέρες: as Anna is called προφήτις, Luke ii. 36, so too in the Christian Church the daughters of Philip are spoken of as προφητεύουσαι, xxi. 9. —νεανίσκοι: in LXX and Hebrew the order is reversed. It may be that Bengel is right in drawing the distinction thus: "Apud juvenes maximi vigent sensus externi, visionibus opportuni: apud senes sensus interni, somniis accommodati". But he adds "Non tamen adolescentes a somniis, neque sensus a visionibus excluduntur" (see also Keil, *in loco*), and so Overbeck, Winer, Wendt see in the words simply an instance of the Hebrew love of parallelism.—καὶ γε (in LXX) = Hebrew וְגַם!—only here in

N.T. and in xvii. 27 W.H. (and possibly in Luke xix. 42) = "and even," Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 255. The only good Attic instance of καὶ γε with an intervening word is to be found in Lysias, *in Theomn.*, ii., 7, although not a strict parallel to the passage before us, Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 168.

Ver. 18. As there was to be no limit of sex or age, so too there was no limit of condition. The word μου is not in the Hebrew, only in the LXX, but as it is found in the latter and in Acts it is argued that the words δούλους and δούλας do not mean those of servile rank, but are applied in a general sense to those who are worshippers, and so servants of God. But in retaining the word μου we are not obliged to reject the literal meaning "bond-servants," just as St. Peter himself, in addressing household servants and slaves, commands them to act ὡς δούλοι θεοῦ (1 Peter ii. 16): "Intelligentur servi secundum carnem, diversi a liberis.



καὶ προφητεύσουσι. 19. καὶ δώσω τέρατα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἄνω, καὶ σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω,<sup>1</sup> αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνοῦ. 20. ὁ ἥλιος μεταστραφήσεται εἰς σκότος, καὶ ἡ σελήνη εἰς αἷμα,<sup>2</sup> πρὶν ἢ

<sup>1</sup> αἷμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἀτμίδα καπνον om. D, Gig., Par.<sup>1</sup>, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> πρὶν ἢ BP, Chrys., so W.H., marg.; retained by Weiss (Wendt doubtful). ἢ omitted in  $\Sigma$  ABCDE 13, 61; so Tisch., W.H., Hilg. text, R.V. (omitted also in LXX). τὴν ἡμέραν, article omitted by  $\Sigma^*$  BD; so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

ver. 17, sed iidem servi Dei," Bengel. According to Maimonides, no slave could be a prophet, but as in Christ there was neither Jew nor Gentile, neither male nor female, so in Him there was neither bond nor free (see also Keil, *in loco*).—καὶ προφητεύσουσι: an explanatory addition of the speaker, or an interpolation from ver. 17, not found either in Hebrew or LXX.

Ver. 19. The word σημεῖα is wanting in the Hebrew and the LXX, but the co-ordination of the two words τέρας and σημεῖον is frequent in the N.T. (John iv. 48, Acts iv. 30, Rom. xv. 19, 2 Cor. xii. 12), and even more so in the LXX (Exod. vii. 3, 9, Deut. iv. 34, Neh. ix. 10, Dan. vi. 27), so also in Josephus, Philo, Plutarch, Polybius. For the distinction between the words in the N.T., see below on ver. 22. τέρας is often used of some startling portent, or of some strange appearance in the heavens, so here fitly used of the sun being turned into darkness, etc. But God's τέρατα are always σημεῖα to those who have eyes to see, and significantly in the N.T. the former word is never found without the latter. It is no doubt true to say that St. Peter had already received a sign from heaven above in the ἡχος ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and a sign upon the earth below in the λαλεῖν ἑτέραις γλώσσαις (Nösgen), but the whole context, vv. 19-21, shows that St. Peter's thoughts had passed from the day of Pentecost to a period of grace and warning which should precede the Parousia. No explanation, therefore, of the words which limits their fulfilment to the Pentecostal Feast (see Keil, *in loco*), and also his reference to the interpretation of the Rabbis) is satisfactory.—σημεῖα is probably introduced into the text to emphasise the antithesis, as also are ἄνω and κάτω.—αἷμα καὶ πῦρ: if we see in these words σημεῖα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κάτω, there is no need to refer them to such startling phenomena as rain of blood, or fiery meteors, or pillars of smoke rising from the earth (so De Wette, Overbeck), but rather

to the bloodshed and devastation of war (so Holtzmann, Wendt, Felten); cf. our Lord's words, Matt. xxiv. 6, 29. Dean Plumptre thinks of the imagery as drawn from one of the great thunderstorms of Palestine, and cf. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 350, 351 (1897).

Ver. 20. For similar prophetic imagery taken from the startling phenomena of an eclipse in Palestine, cf. Isaiah xiii. 10, Ezek. xxxii. 7, Amos viii. 9.—πρὶν ἢ ἔλθεῖν. The LXX omit ἢ, and Weiss contends that this is the reason of its omission here in so many MSS. Weiss retains it as in vii. 2, xxv. 16; cf. also Luke ii. 26 (but doubtful). Blass omits it here, but retains it in the other two passages cited from Acts: "Ionicum est non Atticum"; cf. Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 130 (1893).—τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου. It is most significant that in the Epistles of the N.T. this O.T. phrase used of Jehovah is constantly applied to the Coming of Jesus Christ to judgment; cf. 1 Thess. v. 2, 1 Cor. i. 8, 2 Cor. i. 14, Phil. i. 10; Sabatier, *L'Apôtre Paul*, p. 104.—καὶ ἐπιφανῇ: if the word is to be retained, it means a day manifest to all as being what it claims to be, Vulgate *manifestus*, "clearly visible"; Luke xvii. 24; also 1 Tim. vi. 14, 2 Thess. ii. 8, where the word ἐπιφάνεια is used of the Parousia (cf. Prayer-Book, "the Epiphany or Manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles").

But in the Hebrew the word הָבִיחַ = "terrible," not "clearly visible," and the LXX here, as elsewhere, Hab. i. 7, Mal. i. 14 (Judges xiii. 6, A.), etc., has failed to give a right derivation of the word which it connects with רָאָה, to see, instead of with יָרָא, to fear (Niph. רָאָה and Part., as here, "terrible"). Zöckler holds that the LXX read not הָבִיחַ, but הִנֵּחַ.

ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐπιφανῇ.<sup>1</sup> 21. καὶ ἔσται, πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου σωθήσεται." 22. "Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται,<sup>2</sup> ἀκούσατε τοὺς λόγους τούτους· Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀποδεδειγμένον εἰς ὑμᾶς δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιφανῇ ABCEP, Vulg., Chrys., W.H., Weiss, R.V.; but om.  $\Sigma$ D, Gigg., so Tisch., Wendt, Hilg., Blass, who adds "del. igitur et in a, et fort. omnino per locum 4-14 (i.e., vv. 17-20) forma a male interpolata".

<sup>2</sup> Ἰσραηλίται P; Ἰσραηλεῖται  $\Sigma$ ABCDE, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss.

Ver. 21. ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα, the usual LXX rendering of a common Hebrew phrase. The expression is derived from the way in which prayers addressed to God begin with the invocation of the divine name, Psalm iii. 2, vi. 2, etc., and a similar phrase is found in classical writers, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τοὺς θεούς, Xen., Cyr., vii., i., 35; Plat., *Tim.*, p. 27, c.; Polyb., xv., 1, 13. From this it was an easy step to use the phrase as meaning the worshippers of the one God, Gen. iv. 26, xii. 8, 2 Kings v. 4. It is therefore significant that the Christian converts at Corinth are described by the same phrase, 1 Cor. i. 2. But just as in Rom. x. 12 this same prophecy of Joel is beyond all doubt referred by St. Paul to the Lord Jesus, so here the whole drift of St. Peter's speech, that the same Jesus who was crucified was made both Lord and Christ, points to the same conclusion, ii. 36. In Joel Κύριος is undoubtedly used of the Lord Jehovah, and the word is here transferred to Christ. In its bearing on our Lord's Divinity this fact is of primary importance, for it is not merely that the early Christians addressed their Ascended Lord so many times by the same name which is used of Jehovah in the LXX—although it is certainly remarkable that in 1 Thess. the name is applied to Christ more than twenty times—but that they did not hesitate to refer to Him the attributes and the prophecies which the great prophets of the Jewish nation had associated with the name of Jehovah, Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, pp. 8, 10, 16 (1894), and for the force of the expression, ἐπικ. τὸ ὄνομα, in 1 Cor. i. 2, see Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i., p. 29, E.T.—ὃς ἂν ἐπικ., "whosoever": it would seem that in St. Peter's address the expression does not extend beyond the chosen people; cf. v. 36.—σωθήσεται: to the Jew salvation would mean safety in the Messianic kingdom, and from the penalties of the Messianic judgment; for the Christian there would

be a partial fulfilment in the flight of the believers to Pella for safety when the Son of Man came in the destruction of Jerusalem; but the word carries our thoughts far beyond any such subordinate fulfilment to the fulness of blessing for body and soul which the verb expresses on the lips of Christ; cf. Luke vii. 50. And so St. Luke places in the forefront of Acts as of his Gospel the thought of Jesus not only as the Messiah, but also as the Σωτήρ, Luke ii. 14; cf. *Psalms of Sol.*, iv., 2 (Ryle and James).

Ver. 22. Ἰσραηλίται: the tone of St. Peter throughout is that of a man who would win and not repulse his hearers, cf. v. 29, and so he commences the second part of his speech, in proof that Jesus was both Lord and Christ, with a title full of honour, reminding his hearers of their covenant relation with God, and preparing them for the declaration that the covenant was not broken but confirmed in the person of Jesus.—ἰ. τὸν Ναζ., "the Nazarene," the same word (not Ναζαρηνός) formed part of the inscription on the Cross, and it is difficult to believe with Wendt that there is no reference to this in St. Peter's words (cf. προσπήξαντες, vv. 23 and 36), although no doubt the title was often used as a description of Jesus in popular speech, iv. 10, xxvi. 9. No contrast could be greater than between Ἰησοῦς the despised Nazarene (ὁ Ν. οὗτος, vi. 14) dying a felon's death, and Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, v. 38, ὑψωθείς, v. 33, no longer upon the Cross, but at a seat on the right hand of the Father (cf. John xii. 12); again the marvellous change which had passed over St. Peter is apparent: "If Christ had not risen," argues St. Chrysostom, "how account for the fact that those who fled whilst He was alive, now dared a thousand perils for Him when dead? St. Peter, who is struck with fear by a servant-maid, comes boldly forward" (so too Theophylact).—ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγ. ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς, "a man approved of God unto you,"



καὶ σημείοις, οἷς ἐποίησε δι' αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν, καθὼς καὶ<sup>1</sup>  
αὐτοὶ οἶδατε, 23. τοῦτον τῇ ὀρισμένῃ βουλῇ καὶ προγνώσει τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ αὐτοὶ; but καὶ om. in **NABC\*DE**, Vulg. versions (Syr. Pesh.), Irlat., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

R.V. The word, only used by St. Luke and St. Paul in the N.T. (*cf.* xxv. 7, 1 Cor. iv. 9, 2 Thess. ii. 4) = demonstrated, and "approved" in its old meaning would be a good equivalent; so in classical Greek, in Plato and Aristotle, shown by argument, proved, *cf.* xxv. 7. The sense of the word is given by the gloss in D **δεδοκιμασμένον**. It occurs in Esther ii. 9, AB, and iii. 13 (LXX), and several times in the Books of the Maccabees (see Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.*).—**ἄνδρα**: Erasmus commendem the wisdom of Peter, "qui apud rudem multitudinem Christum magnifice laudat, sed *virum* tantum nominat, ut ex factis paullatim agnoscant Divinitatem".—**ἀπό**: probably here not simply for **ὑπό** (as Blass, and Felten, and others). The phrase means "a man demonstrated to have come unto you from God by mighty works," etc. If the words may not be pressed to mean our Lord's divine origin, they at least declare His divine mission (John iii. 2), *divinitus* (Wendt in *loco*).—**δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις**: *cf.* 2 Cor. xii. 12, Heb. ii. 4, and 2 Thess. ii. 9; *cf.* Rom. xv. 19.—**σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα**: no less than eight times in Acts.—**δυνάμεις** is often rendered in a way which rather obscures its true form and meaning. Lit. = "powers," and so here in R.V. margin, where in the text we have "mighty works," so in Heb. ii. 4. St. Luke is fond of using **δύναμις** of the power inherent in Christ, and so the plural might well be used of the outward manifestations of this power in Christ, or through Him in His disciples. The word therefore seems in itself to point to the new forces at work in the world (Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, ii., p. 177 ff.).—**τέρατα**: the word is never used in the N.T. alone as applied to our Lord's works or those of His disciples, and this observation made by Origen is very important, since the one word which might seem to suggest the prodigies and portents of the heathen world is never used unless in combination with some other word, which at once raises the N.T. miracles to a higher level. And so whilst the ethical purpose of these miracles is least apparent in the word **τέρατα**, it is brought

distinctly into view by the word with which **τέρατα** is so often joined—**σημεῖα**, a term which points in its very meaning to something beyond itself. Blass therefore is not justified in speaking of **σημεῖα** and **τέρατα** as synonymous terms. The true distinction between them lies in remembering that in the N.T. all three words mentioned in this passage have the same denotation but a different connotation—they are all used for miracles, but miracles regarded from different points of view (see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 406).—**οἷς ἐποίησεν . . . ὁ Θεός**. The words, as Alford points out against De Wette, do not express a low view of our Lord's miracles. The favourite word used by St. John for the miracles of Christ, **ἔργα**, exactly corresponds to the phrase of St. Peter, since these **ἔργα** were the works of the Father Whom the Son revealed in them (*cf.* St. John v. 19, xiv. 10).—**καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ οἶδατε**: Weiss rightly draws attention to the emphatic pronoun. The fact of the miracles was not denied, although their source was so terribly misrepresented; *cf.* "Jesus Christ in the Talmud," Laible, E.T. (Streane), pp. 45-50 (1893).

Ver. 23. **τοῦτον**, emphatic, **ἐκδοτον** delivered up, by Judas, not by God; only here in the N.T., but see instances from Josephus, also from classical Greek, in Wetstein. In Dan., Theod., Bel and the Dragon ver. 22.—**ὀρισμένη βουλή**: both favourite words of St. Luke: **ὀρισ.** used by him five times in the Acts, x. 42, xi. 29, xvii. 26, 31; once by St. Paul, Rom. i. 4; once in Hebrews, iv. 7, and only in St. Luke amongst the Evangelists, xxii. 22, where our Lord Himself speaks of the events of His betrayal by the same word, **κατὰ τὸ ὀρισμένον** (*cf.* xxiv. 26).—**βουλή**: Wendt compares the Homeric **Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή**. The phrase **βουλή τοῦ Θ.** is used only by St. Luke; once in his Gospel, vii. 30, and three times in Acts, xiii. 36, xx. 27 (whilst **βουλή** is used twice in the Gospel, eight times in the Acts, and only three times elsewhere in the N.T., 1 Cor. iv. 5, Ephes. i. 11, Heb. vi. 17), but *cf.* Wisdom vi. 4, ix. 13, and often **ἡ βουλή Κυρίου** in LXX.—**προγνώσει**: the word is only found again in 1 Peter i. 2. and its

Θεοῦ ἔκδοτον λαβόντες,<sup>1</sup> διὰ χειρῶν ἀνόμων προσπήξαντες ἀνείλετε·

24. ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέστησε, λύσας τὰς ὠδύνας τοῦ θανάτου,<sup>2</sup> καθότι οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> λαβόντες om. N\*ABC 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syr. Pesh., Arm., Aeth., Ath., Irnt., Victorin.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss—but omitted by Blass in β although found in D<sup>N</sup>EC<sup>3</sup>P, Syr. Harcl., Eus., Chrys.; Hilg. retains. χειρῶν; but χειρὸς in NABC\*D 13, 15, 61, Syr. Harcl., Aeth., Eus., Ath., Cyr., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. (plural probably out of the following ἀνομῶν). ἀνείλετε minusc., but ἀνείλατε NABCEP, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss—see W.H., Appendix, p. 172, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> θανάτου NABCEP, Syr. Harcl., Sah., Arm., Aeth., Eus., Ath., Cyr., Theodrt.; so Tisch., W.H., Wendt, Weiss. ἄδου D, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Boh., Gig., Par., Polyc., Epiph., Irenlt.—similar var. l. in 1 Cor. xv., 55, cf. Ps. xvii. (xviii.) 5, 6; ἄδου out of ver. 27, 31 (Wendt).

occurrence in that place, and the thoughts which it expresses, may be classed amongst the points of contact between Acts and 1 Peter (see at end of chap. iii.). In the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, which at one time seemed to Peter impossible, cf. Matt. xvi. 22, he now sees the full accomplishment of God's counsel, cf. iii. 20, and 1 Peter i. 20 (Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 53, and also 48-52). In this spiritual insight now imparted to the Apostle we see a further proof of the illuminating power of the Holy Ghost, the gift of Pentecost, which he himself so emphatically acknowledges in his first epistle (i. 1-12).—διὰ χειρῶν, best explained as a Hebraism. Cf. for the frequent use of this Hebraistic expression, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 126, 127; and Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 141. In the LXX, cf. 2 Kings xiv. 27, 1 Chron. xi. 3, xxix. 5. St. Luke is very fond of these paraphrases with πρόσωπον and χεῖρ, see Friedrich, *Das Lukasevangelium*, pp. 8, 9, and Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 77; cf. v. 12, vii. 25, xi. 30, xiv. 3, xv. 23, xix. 11, so ἐν χειρὶ, εἰς χεῖρας.—ἀνόμων: "lawless," R.V., generally taken to refer to the Roman soldiers who crucified our Lord, i.e., Gentiles without law, as in 1 Cor. ix. 21, Rom. ii. 14. In Wisdom xvii. 2 the same word is used of the Egyptians who thought to oppress the holy nation—they are described as ἄνομοι.—προσπήξαντες, sc., τῷ σταυρῷ: a graphic word used only here, with which we may compare the vivid description also by St. Peter in v. 29-32, x. 39, cf. 1 Peter ii. 24—the language of one who could justly claim to be a witness of the sufferings of Christ, 1 Peter v. 1. The word is not found in LXX, cf. Dio Cassius.—ἀνείλατε: an Alexandrian form, see for similar instances, Kennedy,

*Sources of N. T. Greek*, pp. 159, 160. The verb is a favourite with St. Luke, nineteen times in Acts, twice in the Gospel, and only once elsewhere in the Evangelists, viz., Matt. ii. 16, and the noun ἀναίρεσις is only found in Acts viii. 10 (xxii. 20), cf. its similar use in classical Greek and in the LXX. The fact that St. Peter thus describes the Jewish people as the actual murderers of Jesus is not a proof that in such language we have an instance of anti-Judaism quite inconsistent with the historical truth of the speech (Baur, Renan, Overbeck), but the Apostle sees vividly before his eyes essentially the same crowd at the Feast as had demanded the Cross of Jesus before the judgment-seat of Pilate, Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 103.—ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἀνέστησε, "est hoc summum orationis," Blass, cf. v. 32, and i. 22.

Ver 24. λύσας τὰς ὠδύνας τοῦ θαν.: R.V. "pangs" instead of "pains" (all previous versions) approaches nearer to the literal form of the word—"birth-pangs," the resurrection of Christ being conceived of as a birth out of death, as the Fathers interpreted the passage. The phrase is found in the Psalms, LXX xvii. 4, cxiv. 3, but it is most probable that the LXX has here mistaken the

force of the Hebrew בָּל which might mean "birth-pangs," or the cords of a hunter catching his prey. In the Hebrew version the parallelism, such a favourite figure in Hebrew poetry, decides in favour of the latter meaning, as in R.V. Ps. xviii. 4, 5 (LXX xvii.), Sheol and Death are personified as hunters lying in wait for their prey with nooses and nets (Kirkpatrick, *Psalms, in loco*, the word

מִקְשָׁיִם meaning snares by which birds or beasts are taken (Amos iii. 5)). In



ἦν δυνατόν κρατεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. 25. Δαβὶδ γὰρ λέγει εἰς αὐτὸν, "Προωρώμην<sup>1</sup> τὸν Κύριον ἐνώπιόν μου διὰ παντός· ὅτι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἔστιν, ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ. 26. διὰ τοῦτο εὐφράνθη ἡ καρδιά

<sup>1</sup> προωρώμην B<sup>3</sup>P; προορ. ΞAB<sup>3</sup>CDE, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. (see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 101).

the previous verse the parallelism is also maintained if we read "the waves of death" (cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 5) "compassed me, the floods of ungodliness made me afraid". It is tempting to account for the reading ὠδίνας by supposing that St. Luke had before him a source for St. Peter's speech, and that he had given a mistaken rendering of the word **לָחַץ**. But it would certainly seem that λύσας and κρατεῖσθαι are far more applicable to the idea of the hunter's cords, in which the Christ could not be bound, since He was Himself the Life. A similar mistake in connection with the same Hebrew word **לָחַץ** may possibly occur in 1 Thess. v. 3 and Luke xxi. 34. There is no occasion to find in the word any reference to the death-pains of Christ (so Grotius, Bengel), or to render ὠδίνες pains and snares (Olshausen, Nösgen), and it is somewhat fanciful to explain with St. Chrysostom (so Theophylact and Occumenius) ὁ θάνατος ὠδινε κατέχων αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ δεινὰ ἔπασχε.—καθότι: only found in St. Luke, in Gospel twice, and in Acts four times (Friedrich); generally in classical Greek καθ' ὅ τι (cf. Tobit i. 12, xiii. 4).—οὐκ ἦν δυνατόν . . . γὰρ: the words primarily refer to the proof which St. Peter was about to adduce from prophecy, and the Scripture could not be broken. But whilst Baur sees in such an expression, as also in iii. 15, a transition to Johannine conceptions of the Person of Jesus, every Christian gladly recognises in the words the moral impossibility that the Life could be holden by Death. On the impersonal construction, see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 151 (1893).—κρατεῖσθαι . . . ὑπ', cf. Luke xxiv. 16 (John xx. 23), only in these passages in passive voice in N.T., but cf. for similar use of the passive voice, 4 Macc. ii. 9, and so in Dem. Schmid compares this verse where the internal necessity of Christ's resurrection is thus stated with 1 Peter iii. 18, showing that the πνεῦμα in Him possessed this power of life (*Biblische Theologie des N. T.*, p. 402).

Ver. 25. Δαυεὶδ γὰρ λέγει: the words which follow are quoted by St. Peter

from Psalm xvi.; and it has been said that the Apostle's argument would be the same if the Psalm were the work of some other author than David. But if the following Psalm and the Psalm in question may with considerable reason be attributed to the same author, and if the former Psalm, the seventeenth, may be referred to the period of David's persecution by Saul, then David's authorship of Psalm sixteen becomes increasingly probable (Kirkpatrick). In Delitzsch's view whatever can mark a Psalm as Davidic we actually find combined here, e.g., coincidences of many kinds which he regards as undoubtedly Davidic (cf. v. 5 with xi. 6, v. 10 with iv. 4, v. 11 with xvii. 15), and he sees no reason for giving up the testimony afforded by the title. But it is plain that David's experience did not exhaust the meaning of the Psalm, and St. Peter in the fulness of the gift of Pentecost interprets the words εἰς αὐτὸν, "with reference to Him," i.e., the Messiah (cf. St. Paul's interpretation of the same Psalm in xiii. 35). On the application of the Psalm as Messianic, cf. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., p. 717.—Προωρώμην: not "I foresaw," but "I beheld the Lord always before my face," LXX; Heb., "I have set the Lord always before me".—Κύριον = Jehovah.—ἐκ δεξιῶν μου: as a defence and helper. Cf. παραστάτης, Xen., Cyr., iii., 3, 21. The imagery may be taken from that of the trials in which advocates stood at the right hand of their clients (Psalm cix. 31), or there may be a reference to a champion who, in defending another, would stand on his right hand; cf. Psalm cx. 5, cxxi. 5 (Kirkpatrick, and Robertson Smith, *Expositor*, 1876, p. 351).—ἵνα μὴ σαλευθῶ: although the verses which follow contain the chief Messianic references in St. Peter's interpretation, yet in the fullest sense of the words the Christ could say προορ. κ.τ.λ. (see Felten, *in loco*). But because the Father was with Him, He could add διὰ τοῦτο εὐφράνθη ἡ καρδιά μου: "the heart" in O.T. is not only the heart of the affections, but the centre of the man's whole moral and intellectual nature (Oehler, *Theol. des A. T.*, p. 71).—εὐφράνθη

μου, καὶ ἡγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ' ἐλπίδι· 27. ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς

refers rather to a joyous state of mind, "was glad," R.V., ἡγαλλιάσατο used of outward and active expression of joy is rendered "rejoiced," R.V. (in A.V. the meaning of the two verbs is transposed). At the same time εὐφράνθη is sometimes used in LXX and N.T., as in modern Greek of festive enjoyment, Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 155.—ἡ γλῶσσά μου: in Hebrew יְרֵבָבָה

"my glory," i.e., my soul, my spirit (cf. Gen. xlix. 6, Schöttgen). The Arabs use a similar expression for the eye, the hand, or any member of the body held in special honour (cf. Lumby on Psalm cviii. 1).—ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σὰρξ: *flesh* does not here mean the dead corpse but the living body (Perowne, Kirkpatrick).—κατασκηνώσει, "shall dwell in safety," R.V., "confidently," margin (O.T.); the expression is used frequently of dwelling safely in the Promised Land. In N.T. the R.V. translates "shall dwell," "tabernacle" margin, shall dwell as in a tent, a temporary abode. In its *literal* meaning, therefore, there is no reference to the rest of the body in the grave, or to the hope of resurrection from the grave, but the words must be understood of *this life* (Perowne); cf. Deut. xxxiii. 12, 28, Psalm iv. 8, xxv. 13, Jer. xxiii. 6, xxxiii. 16. For the hope of the Psalmist, expressed in the following words, is primarily for preservation from death: "Thou wilt not give up my soul to Sheol [i.e., to the underworld, so that one becomes its prey], neither wilt thou suffer thy beloved one [singular] to see the pit" (so Delitzsch and Perowne, as also R. Smith and Kirkpatrick).

Ver. 27. In LXX and N.T. rightly εἰς ᾧδην. W.H.; cf. also Briggs, *Messianic Prophecies*, p. 24; although in T.R. as usually in Attic, εἰς ᾧδον, sc., δόμον. Blass regards εἰς as simply usurping in the common dialect the place of ἐν, but we can scarcely explain the force of the preposition here in this way. ἐγκαταλείψεις used of utter abandonment, cf. Psalm xxii. 1 (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 10, 16).—εἰς ᾧδην: whilst it is true that the Psalmist "says nothing about what shall happen to him *after* death" (Perowne), he expresses his conviction that his soul would not be given up to the land of gloom and forgetfulness, the abode of the dead, dark and cheerless,

with which the Psalmist cannot associate the thought of life and light (see also on ver. 31).—οὐδὲ δώσεις: in R.V. (O.T.) the word "suffer" is retained, but in R.V. (N.T.) we find "thou wilt not give," the

Hebrew נָתַן being used in this sense to

permit, to suffer, to let, like δίδωμι and dare, Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 156 (1893).—τὸν θσιόν σου: the Hebrew *Chāsīd* which is thus sometimes translated in the LXX (Vulgate, *Sanctus*) is often rendered "thy beloved one," and the word denotes not only one who is godly and pious, but also one who is the object of Jehovah's loving-kindness. The word might well be used of Him, Who was not only the Holy One of God, but ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱός, "the beloved Son". On the word *Chāsīd* see Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, Appendix, p. 221.—ιδεῖν διαφθοράν: "corruption" or "the pit," margin R.V. (O.T.), but in the N.T. simply "corruption" (A. and R.V.), Vulgate, *corruptio*. In the

LXX the Hebrew תַּחַשׁ is often rendered διαφθορά, "corruption," as if derived from תַּחַשׁ דיאφθέρειν, "to corrupt"; not, however, in the sense of corruption, putridity, but of destruction. The

derivation however is probably from תַּחַשׁ,

to sink down, hence it means a pit, and sometimes a sepulchre, a grave, Psalm xxx. 10, lv. 24, so here "to see the grave," i.e., to die and be buried, cf. Psalm xlix. 10 (see Robinson's *Gesenius*, p. 1053, note, twenty-sixth edition). Dr. Robertson Smith maintains that there are two Hebrew words the same in form but different in origin, one masculine = *putrefaction* or *corruption*, the other feminine = the *deep* or the *pit*. So far he agrees with the note in *Gesenius*, u.s., that the word διαφθορά should here be rendered by the latter, the *pit*, but he takes the rendering, the *deep* or the *pit*, as an epithet not of the grave but of Sheol or Hades (see *Expositor*, p. 354, 1876, the whole paper on "The Sixteenth Psalm," by Dr. R. Smith, should be consulted, and p. 354 compared with the note in *Gesenius*), and this view certainly seems to fit in better with the parallelism



ἄδου,<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. 28. ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς · πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου.” 29. Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐξὸν εἰπεῖν μετὰ παρρησίας πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου Δαβίδ, ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἐτάφη, καὶ τὸ μνήμα

<sup>1</sup> ἄδου EP, Chrys. (in LXX A); ἄδην ᾤABCD, Clem., Epiph., so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt (so in LXX B—τον ἄδην S<sup>1</sup>).

Ver. 28. ἐγνώρισάς μοι ὁδοὺς ζωῆς: St. Peter quotes from the LXX, which has the plural ὁδοὺς—so in Proverbs v. 6, where Hebrew has the same word as here in the singular, the LXX translates ὁδοὺς ζωῆς.—μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου, “with thy countenance” = “in thy presence,” margin; = Hebrew, “in thy presence”. The LXX πρόσωπον is a literal translation of the Hebrew פָּנֶיךָ, *face* or *countenance*, in the O.T. The expression is a common one in the O.T., “in God’s presence”; cf. Psalm iv. 6, xvii. 15, xxi. 6, cxl. 13. Grimm-Thayer explains (με) ὄντα μετὰ, *etc.*, “being in thy presence” (see *sub* μετά, i. 2 b). The force of the expression is strikingly seen in its repeated use in Numbers vi. 25; cf. Exodus xxxiii. 14; Oehler, *Theologie des A. T.*, pp. 46, 56, 62, and Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 272. And so the Psalm ends as it had begun with God; cf. ver. 2, and ver. 11. The Psalmist’s thoughts carried him beyond mere temporal deliverance, beyond the changes and chances of this mortal life, to the assurance of a union with God, which death could not dissolve; while as Christians we read with St. Peter a deeper and a fuller meaning still in the words, as we recall the Life, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of Him, of Whom it was written: ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν.

Ver. 29. ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί: an affectionate form of address as compared with vv. 14 and 22 (cf. vii. 2, xxii. 1), but still much more formal than iii. 17, where we have ἀδελφοί alone in St. Peter’s pity for those who crucifying the Saviour knew not what they did.—ἐξὸν, *sc.*, ἐστι (with infinitive), cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4, only in N.T. Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 200 (1893), cf. LXX Esther iv. 2; 4 Macc. v. 18; not “may I speak unto you,” but “I may say unto you,” R.V., not ἐστῶ, but ἐστὶ (ἐξεστὶ), Wendt, *in loco*.—μετὰ παρρησίας: on the phrase, see below, iv. 13, and its repeated use by St. Luke; cf. Heb. iv. 16; Lat., *cum fiducia*, Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 108. In the LXX

the phrase is found, Lev. xxvi. 13, Esther viii. 12, 1 Macc. iv. 18, 3 Macc. iv. 1, vii. 12. St. Peter will first of all state facts which cannot be denied, before he proceeds to show how the words used of David are fulfilled in “great David’s greater Son”. He speaks of David in terms which indicate his respect for his name and memory, and as Bengel well says, “est igitur hoc loco προθεραπεία, prævía sermonis mitigatio” (“est hæc προθερ. ut aiunt rhetores,” Blass, *in loco*). —τοῦ πατριάρχου, the name is emphatically used in the N.T. of Abraham; cf. Heb. vii. 4 (properly the ἄρχων (*auctor*), πατριᾶς), and of the sons of Jacob, Acts vii. 8, 9, and cf. 4 Macc. vii. 19, used of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In the LXX it is used of the “heads of the fathers’ houses,” 1 Chron. ix. 9, xxiv. 31, in a comparatively lower sense. Here used, as a term of high honour, of David, regarded as the ancestor of the kingly race. See on the word and its formation, Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek*, p. 114.—ὅτι καὶ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἐτάφη: “that he both died and was buried,” R.V. St. Peter states notorious facts, and refers to them in a way which could not wound the susceptibilities of his hearers, whilst he shows them that David’s words were not exhausted in his own case. The argument is practically the same as that of St. Paul in xiii. 36 from the same Psalm.—καὶ τὸ μνήμα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν, *i.e.*, in Jerusalem, the mention of the tomb emphasises the fact and certainty of the death of David, and implies that *his* body had seen corruption. That David’s tomb was shown in the time of Nehemiah we know from Neh. iii. 16. From Jos., *Ant.*, vii., 15, 3; xiii., 8, 4; *B. J.*, i., 2, 5, we learn that Solomon had buried a large treasure in the tomb, and that on that account one of its chambers had been broken open by Hyrcanus, and another by Herod the Great. According to Jos., *Ant.*, xvi., 7, 1, Herod, not content with rifling the tomb, desired to penetrate further, even as far as the bodies of David and Solomon, but a flame burst

αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης. 30. προφῆτης οὖν ὑπάρχων, καὶ εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅρκῳ ὤμοσεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς, ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὁσφύος αὐτοῦ τὸ κατὰ σάρκα ἀναστήσειν τὸν Χριστὸν,<sup>1</sup> καθίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ, 31. προῖδὼν ἐλάλησε περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι οὐ κατελείφθη<sup>2</sup> ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ εἰς ᾄδου, οὐδὲ ἡ σὰρξ

<sup>1</sup> το κατὰ σ. . . . τον Χ. om.  $\aleph$ ABCD<sup>2</sup> 61, Vulg., good versions, Eus., Cyr., Irenint., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (rejects as a marginal gloss, so Alford); but although a similar reading is found in DE Blass does not receive it in his  $\beta$  text (see Weiss on Codex D, p. 57). ὁσφυος, D reads καρδιας; Gig., Par., Syr. Pesh., so Hilg., Iren. κοιλίας (*ventris*); so in  $\beta$  (LXX Ps. cxxxi. 11, S<sup>2</sup>R).

<sup>2</sup> εγκατελειφθη  $\aleph$ BCDE, Eus., Chrys., Theodrt., so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, εν. A (alt. in W.H.), too well testified to suppose that it is simply derived from ver. 27 (Wendt). ᾄδου ACDEP, Chrys., Lach.; ἄδην  $\aleph$ B, Eus., Thaum., so Tisch., W.H., Wendt, Weiss. ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ om.  $\aleph$ ABC<sup>2</sup>D 61, 81, Syr. Pesh., Boh., Sah., Aeth., Eus., Irenint., Didint., Victorin. so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (from ver. 27, so also εν . . . ουδε, instead of ουτε . . . ουτε. ουδε; but ουτε  $\aleph$ ACD, Eus., Chrys., Cyr., so Tisch., W.H., Wendt; but Weiss ουτε . . . ουδε, following B).

forth and slew two of his guards, and the king fled. To this attempt the Jewish historian attributed the growing troubles in Herod's family. In the time of Hadrian the tomb is said to have fallen into ruins. Whatever its exact site, it must have been within the walls, and therefore could not correspond with the so called "tombs of the kings" which De Saulcy identified with it. Those tombs are outside the walls, and are of the Roman period (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. i., p. 276, E.T., "David," B.D.<sup>2</sup>). Wetstein, *in loco*, quotes the testimony of Maundrell as to the sepulchres of David and his family being the only sepulchres within the walls. St. Jerome, *Epist.*, xli., writing to Marcella, expresses a hope that they might pray together in the mausoleum of David; so that at the end of the fourth century tradition must still have claimed to mark the spot.

Ver. 30. προφῆτης: as David could not have spoken this Psalm of himself, he spoke it of some other, who was none other than the Messiah—here the word is used in the double sense of one declaring God's will, and also of one foretelling how that will would be fulfilled.—ὑπάρχων: another favourite word of St. Luke, in his Gospel, and especially in Acts; in the former it is found seven times, and in the latter no less than twenty-four times, and in all parts (excluding τὰ ὑπάρχοντα), Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 7. It is not used by the other Evangelists. In the N.T., as in later Greek, it is often weakened into an equivalent of εἶναι; Blass, *Gram-*

*matik des N. G.*, p. 239. Here it may indicate that David was a prophet, not only in this one instance, but constantly with reference to the Messiah.—ὅρκῳ ὤμοσεν, Hebraistic; cf. ver. 17. Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 141 (1896); for the oath cf. Ps. cxxii. 11, 2 Sam. vii. 16.—ἐκ καρποῦ τῆς ὁσφύος αὐτοῦ, i.e., of his offspring. It is a common Hebraistic form of expression—ὁσφύς read here, but κοιλία in Ps. cxxxi. 11 (LXX); cf. Gen. xxxv. 11 and 2 Chron. vi. 9 (Heb. vii. 5). With regard to the human element in the Person of Jesus, Peter speaks of him as a descendant of David according to prophecy, as in the Synoptists and Rom. i. 3 (Schmid). The exact expression, καρπὸς τῆς ὁσφύος, is not found in the LXX, but καρ. τῆς κοιλίας is found, not only in the Psalm quoted but in Mic. vi. 7 (Lam. ii. 20), where the same Hebrew words are used as in the Psalm: ὁσφύς in the LXX is several times a trans-

lation of another Hebrew word הַלְצִי (dual). This partitive construction (supply τινα) is also a Hebraistic mode of expression, and frequent in the LXX; cf. ii. 18, v. 2. See Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 151 (1896).

Ver. 31. προῖδων, cf. Gal. iii. 8. The word ascribes prophetic consciousness to David in the composition of the Psalm, but, as we learn from St. Peter himself, that prophetic consciousness did not involve a distinct knowledge of the events foretold (1 Pet. i. 10-12); that which the Holy Ghost presignified was only in part clear to the prophets, both as to the date of fulfilment and also as



αὐτοῦ εἶδε διαφθοράν. 32. τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀνέστησεν ὁ Θεός, οὐ πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες. 33. τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑψωθείς, τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος<sup>1</sup> λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> του Αγ. Πν.; but τον πν. τον αγ. **ABCE** 13, 61, 130, Vulg., Chrys., so W.H., Weiss; but TR. in DP, Irint., and accepted by Blass in β and by Hilg.

to historical shaping (Schmid, *Biblische Theol. des N. T.*, p. 395, and Alford, *in loco*).—**δτι**: introducing the words which follow as a fuller explanation, or simply as expressing a well-known fact.—**ἐγκατελείφθη . . . εἶδεν**: aorists, not futures, because from St. Peter's standpoint the prophecy had been already fulfilled (Felten, Wendt). With this verse we naturally compare the mention of Christ's descent into Hades and His agency in the realms of the dead in St. Peter's First Epistle, iii. 19 (*cf.* Phil. ii. 10, Ephes. iv. 9, Rom. x. 7; Zahn, *Das Apost. Symbolum*, pp. 71-74; but see also Schmid, *ubi supra*, p. 414). Thus while the words bore, as we have seen, a primary and lower reference to David himself, St. Peter was led by the Holy Ghost to see their higher and grander fulfilment in Christ.—**εἰς ἄδου**: on the construction see above on ver. 27, and on the Jewish view of Sheol or Hades in the time of our Lord as an intermediate state, see Charles, *Book of Enoch*, p. 168 and p. 94, and compare also the interesting although indirect parallel to 1 Pet. iii. 19, which he finds in *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, p. xlv. ff.; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 163, 341.

Ver. 32. **οὗ**: may be masculine = Christ, *cf.* xiii. 31, but is taken as neuter by Blass (so too Overbeck, Holtzmann, Weiss, Wendt, Felten). Bengel remarks "nempe Dei qui id fecit," and compares v. 32, x. 41, and 1 Cor. xv. 15.

Ver. 33. **οὖν**: the Ascension is a necessary sequel to the Resurrection, *cf.* Weiss, *Leben Jesu*, iii., 409 ff. and *in loco*. Or the word may mark the result of the assured and manifold testimony to the Resurrection, to which the Apostle had just appealed: "Confirmata resurrectione Christi, ascensio non potest in dubium vocari," Bengel.—**τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ**: best to take the words as an instrumental dative, so in v. 31, with the majority of recent commentators. On grammatical grounds it would be difficult to justify the rendering "to the right hand" (although taken in connection with v. 34 it would give very good sense), since such a combination of the dative alone is found only in the poets,

and never in prose in classical Greek. The only other instances adduced, Acts xxi. 16 and Rev. ii. 16, can be otherwise explained, *cf.* Winer-Moulton, xxxi., p. 268. On Judg. xi. 18 (LXX) quoted in support of the local rendering by Fritzsche, see Wendt's full note *in loco*. The instrumental meaning follows naturally upon ver. 32—the Ascension, as the Resurrection, was the mighty deed of God, Phil. ii. 9. There is therefore no occasion to regard the expression with De Wette as a Hebraism, see Wetstein, *in loco*.—**ὑψωθείς**, *cf.* especially John xii. 32, and Westcott's note on John iii. 14. The word is frequently found in LXX. As Lightfoot points out, in our Lord Himself the divine law which He Himself had enunciated was fulfilled, **ὁ ταπεινὼν ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται** (Luke xiv. 11, xviii. 14).—**τὴν τε ἐπαγγελίαν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κ.τ.λ.**, see above on i. 4 (Gal. iii. 14). The language of St. Peter is in agreement with, but yet independent of, that in St. John, whilst it calmly certifies the fulfilment of our Lord's promise.—**ἐξέχεε**: "hath poured forth," R.V. All previous English versions except Rhem. = A.V. The verb is used in the LXX in the prophecy cited above, Joel ii. 28, 29 (*cf.* also Zech. xii. 10), although it is not used in the Gospels of the outpouring of the Spirit.—**τοῦτο**: either the Holy Ghost, as the Vulgate takes it, or an independent neuter "this which ye see and hear," *i.e.*, in the bearing and speech of the assembled Apostles. St. Peter thus leads his hearers to infer that that which is poured out is by its effects nothing else than the Holy Ghost. It is noteworthy that just as Joel speaks of God, the Lord Jehovah, pouring out of His Spirit, so the same divine energy is here attributed by St. Peter to Jesus. See above on ver. 17.

Ver. 34. St. Peter does not demand belief upon his own assertion, but he again appeals to the Scriptures, and to words which could not have received a fulfilment in the case of David. In this appeal he reproduces the very words in which, some seven weeks before, our Lord Himself had convicted the scribes of error in their interpretation of this

πατὴρς, ἐξέχεε<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο ὁ νῦν ὑμεῖς βλέπετε καὶ ἀκούετε. 34. οὐ γὰρ Δαβὶδ ἀνέβη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, λέγει δὲ αὐτός, “Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου, Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, 35. ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου.” 36. Ἀσφαλῶς οὖν γινωσκέτω πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι καὶ<sup>2</sup> Κύριον καὶ Χριστὸν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε, τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ἡμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε.

<sup>1</sup> After ἐξέχεε and before τοῦτο D (Par.) insert ὑμιν, and E, Syrr. (Pesh. and Harc), Sah. tol. demid., Ir., Did., Ambr., Par. *hoc donum*. Harris ascribes this second addition, though dubiously, to a Montanist; but cf. ver. 38, x. 45, xi. 17, although in these passages δωρεα, not δωρον, is used.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ K.; καὶ in all uncials, also Vulg., Syr. H., W.H., R.V., Weiss; *om.* by many cursives, also Syr. Pesh. καὶ X. αὐτον EP 61, Ath., Epiph.; αὐτον καὶ X. **ABCD**<sup>2</sup> 15, 18, 61, 130, Vulg., Arm., Bas., Irml, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss.

same Psalm (Matt. xxii. 44, Mark xii. 35, Luke xx. 41), and, “unlearned” in the eyes of the scribes, had answered the question which they could not answer, how David’s Son was also David’s Lord. No passage of Scripture is so constantly referred to in the N.T. as this 110th Psalm, cf. references above, and also 1 Cor. xv. 25, Heb. i. 13, v. 6, vii. 17, 21, x. 13. The Psalm was always regarded as Messianic by the Jews (Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 357 (1897); Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 720 (Appendix); Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 35; Driver, *Introduction to O. T.*, pp. 362, 363; and if it had not been so in the time of our Lord, it is obvious that His argument would have missed its point if those to whom He addressed His question “What think ye of the Christ?” could have answered that David was not speaking of the coming Messiah. For earlier interpretations of the Psalm, and the patristic testimony to its Messianic character, see *Speaker’s Commentary*, iv., 427, and on the authorship see Gifford, *Authorship of the 110th Psalm*, with Appendix, 1895 (SPCK), and Delitzsch, *Psalms*, iii., pp. 163-176, E.T.—κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου: κάθου contracted for καθήσο (cf. also Mark xii. 36, Heb. i. 13); this “popular” form, which is also found in the Fragments of the comic writers, is the present imperative of καθήμαι in modern Greek, Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 162. In the LXX it is frequently used (see Hatch and Redpath, *sub. v.*).—ἕως: the word does not imply that Christ shall cease to reign subsequently: the word here, as elsewhere, does not imply that what is expressed will only have place up to a certain time (cf. Gen. xxxiii. 15, Deut. vii. 4, 2 Chron. vi. 23; cf. 1 Tim. iv. 13), rather is it

true to say that Christ will only then rightly rule, when He has subjugated all His enemies.—ἂν with ἕως as here, where it is left doubtful *when* that will take place to which it is said a thing will continue (Grimm-Thayer, and instances *sub* ἕως, i., 1 b).—ὑποπόδιον, cf. Josh. x. 24, referring to the custom of conquering kings placing their feet upon the necks of their conquered enemies (so Blass, *in loco*, amongst recent commentators).

Ver. 36. ἀσφαλῶς: used here emphatically; the Apostle would emphasise the conclusion which he is about to draw from his three texts; cf. xxi. 34, xxii. 30, and Wisdom xviii. 6 (so in classical Greek).—πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσρ., without the article, for οἶκος Ἰ. is regarded as a proper name, cf. LXX, 1 Sam. vii. 2, 1 Kings xii. 23, Neh. iv. 16, Ezek. xlv. 6, or it may be reckoned as Hebraistic, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 147, 158.—καὶ Κύριον καὶ Χριστόν: the Κύριος plainly refers to the prophetic utterance just cited. Although in the first verse of Ps. cx. the words τῷ Κυρίῳ μου are not to be taken as a name of God, for the expression is Adoni not Adonai (“the LORD saith unto my Lord,” R.V.), and is simply a title of honour and respect, which was used of earthly superiors, e.g., of Abraham, Moses, Elijah, Sisera, Naaman, yet St. Peter had called David a Prophet, and only in the Person of the Risen and Ascended Christ Who had sat down with His Father on His Throne could the Apostle see an adequate fulfilment of David’s prophecy, or an adequate realisation of the anticipations of the Christ. So in the early Church, Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i., 60, appeals to the words of “the prophet David” in this same Psalm as foretelling the Ascension of Christ and His reign



37. Ἀκούσαντες<sup>1</sup> δὲ κατενύγησαν τῇ καρδίᾳ, εἰπόν τε πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς<sup>2</sup> ἀποστόλους, Τί ποιήσομεν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί;

<sup>1</sup> ακουσαντες; before this word D (so Syr. Harcl. mg.) reads *τοτε παντες οι συνελθοντες και*, and after *κατενυγ. την καρδ.* D adds *και τινες εξ αυτων (ειπαν)*, so Hilg. According to Blass's theory this would show more account and detailed information, . . . all were pricked, etc., but only some inquired—but on the other hand it may have been inserted to explain an apparent difficulty. According to Weiss, Codex D, p. 57, this and the following addition in D, *υποδειξατε ημιν*, are emendations of a kind similar to those which we find in ii. 45. In *τοτε κ.τ.λ.* in D, Harris sees either a lectionary preface or reader's expansion. Others find a case of assimilation, e.g., to Luke xxiii. 48 (Chase points out that similar words occur in the Syriac of the two passages). In *τοτε* Weiss can only see one of the frequent ways in which the characteristic alterations of D are introduced.

<sup>2</sup> λοιπους om. by D, Gig., Aug.—Hilg., and Blass, who omits it in β also, say "recte fort. et in α"; cf. v. 29. *ποιήσωμεν* ΞABCEP, Epiph., Chrys.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (as against Meyer), so also Blass in β; but Hilg. follows T.R. *αδελφοί*; after this word D adds *υποδειξατε ημιν*, so E, Gig., Par., Wer. tol., Syr. Harcl. mg., Aug., Prom.; so Hilg. The word could be well connected with the *και τινες* as indicating their earnestness and willingness; cf. Luke iii. 7, Matt. iii. 7 (to which Chase sees an assimilation), Acts ix. 16, xx. 35.

over His spiritual enemies. On the remarkable expression *Χριστὸς Κύριος* in connection with Ps. cx. 1, see Ryle and James, *Psalms of Solomon*, pp. 141-143, cf. with the passage here x. 36, 42. In 1 Peter iii. 15 we have the phrase *Κύριον δὲ Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε κ.τ.λ.* (R.V. and W.H.), "sanctify in your hearts Christ as Lord" (R.V.), where St. Peter does not hesitate to command that Christ be sanctified in our hearts as Lord, in words which are used in the O.T. of the LORD of hosts, Isa. viii. 13, and His sanctification by Israel. If it is said that it has been already shown that in Ps. cx. 1 Christ is referred to not as the LORD but as "my lord," it must not be forgotten that an exact parallel to 1 Peter iii. 15 and its high Christology may be found in this first sermon of St. Peter, cf. note on vv. 18-21 and 33.—*τοῦτον τὸν Ι. ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε*, "hath made Him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified," R.V., so Vulgate. The A.V., following Tyndale and Cranmer, inverts the clauses, but fails to mark what Bengel so well calls *aculeus in fine*, the stinging effect with which St. Peter's words would fall on the ears of his audience, many of whom may have joined in the cry, Crucify Him! (Chrysostom). Holtzmann describes this last clause of the speech as "ein schwerer Schlusstein zur Krönung des Gebäudes".

Ver. 37. *κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν*: no word could better make known that the sting of the last word had begun to work (see Theophylact, *in loco*) = *compungo*, so in Vulg. The word is not

used in classical Greek in the same sense as here, but the simple verb *νύσσειν* is so used. In LXX the best parallels are Gen. xxxiv. 7, Ps. cviii. 16 (cix.): cf. Cicero, *De Orat.*, iii., 34. "Hoc poenitentiae initium est, hic ad pietatem ingressus, tristitiam ex peccatis nostris concipere ac malorum nostrorum sensu vulnerari . . . sed compunctioni accedere debet promptitudo ad parendum," Calvin, *in loco*.—*τί ποιήσωμεν*; conj., delib., cf. Luke iii. 10, 12, 14, Mark xii. 14, xiv. 12, John xii. 27, Matt. xxvi. 54, Burton, *Moods and Tenses of N. T. Greek*, pp. 76, 126, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 28 ff. (1893).—*ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί*: indicating respect and regard—St. Peter's address had not been in vain—"non ita dixerant prius" Bengel; but now the words come as a response to St. Peter's own appeal, v. 29, cf. also Oecumenius, (so too Theophylact), *καὶ οἰκειωτικῶς αὐτοὺς ἀδελφούς καλοῦσιν, οὓς πρῶην ἐχλεύαζον*.—*μετανοήσατε*, Luke xxiv. 47. The Apostles began, as the Baptist began, Matt. iii. 2, as the Christ Himself began, Matt. iv. 17, Mark i. 15, with the exhortation to repentance, to a change of heart and life, not to mere regret for the past. On the distinction between *μετανοεῖν* and *μεταμέλομαι*, see Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, i., 208. Dr. Thayer remarks that the distinction drawn by Trench is hardly sustained by usage, but at the same time he allows that *μετανοεῖν* is undoubtedly the fuller and nobler term, expressive of moral action and issues, as is indicated by the fact that it is often employed in the imperative (*μεταμέλομαι* never), and

38. Πέτρος δὲ ἔφη πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Μετανοήσατε, καὶ βαπτισθῆτω ἕκαστος ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· καὶ λήψεσθε τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος. 39. ὑμῖν γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ ἐπαγγελία καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ὑμῶν, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μακράν, ὅσους

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ **NAEP**, Bas., Chrys., so Tisch. and Weiss; but **en** in BCD, Cyr.-Jer., Epiph., Cyr., Theodrt., so W.H., R.V.; both expressions seem to be equally common in Luke and Acts.

by its construction with ἀπό, ἐκ, *cf.* also Acts xx. 31, ἡ εἰς θεὸν μετάνοια (Synonyms in Grimm-Thayer, *sub* μεταμέλομαι). Christian Baptism was not admission to some new club or society of virtue, it was not primarily a token of mutual love and brotherhood, although it purified and strengthened both, *cf.* ver. 44 ff.

Ver. 38. βαπτισθῆτω: "Non satis est Christocredere, sed oportet et Christianum profiteri, Rom. x. 10, quod Christus per baptismum fieri voluit," Grotius. John's baptism had been a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins, but the work of St. Peter and of his fellow-Apostles was not mere continuation of that of the Baptist, *cf.* xix. 4, 5. Their baptism was to be ἐπὶ (ἐν) τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰ. Χ. St. Peter's address had been directed to the proof that Jesus was the Christ, and it was only natural that the acknowledgment of the cogency of that proof should form the ground of admission to the Christian Church: the ground of the admission to baptism was the recognition of Jesus as the Christ. The reading ἐπὶ (see especially Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 35, 36) brings this out more clearly than ἐν. It is much better to explain thus than to say that baptism in the name of one of the Persons of the Trinity involves the names of the other Persons also, or to suppose with Bengel (so Plumptre) that the formula in Matt. xxviii. 19 was used for Gentiles, whilst for Jews or Proselytes who already acknowledged a Father and a Holy Spirit baptism in the name of the Lord Jesus sufficed; or to conjecture with Neander that Matt. xxviii. 19 was not at first considered as a formula to be adhered to rigidly in baptism, but that the rite was performed with reference to Christ's name alone. This difficulty, of which so much has been made, does not appear to have pressed upon the early Church, for it is remarkable that the passage in the *Didache*, vii. 3, which is rightly cited to prove the early existence of the Invocation of the Holy Trinity in baptism, is closely followed by another

in which we read (ix. 5) μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου, *i.e.*, Christ, as the immediate context shows.—εἰς ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ὑμῶν: εἰς, "unto" R.V., signifying the aim. It has been objected that St. Peter lays no stress upon the death of Christ in this connection, but rather upon His Resurrection. But we cannot doubt that St. Peter who had emphasized the fact of the crucifixion would have remembered his Master's solemn declaration a few hours before His death, Matt. xxvi. 28. Even if the words in this Gospel εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν are rejected, the fact remains that St. Peter would have connected the thought of the forgiveness of sins, a prerogative which, as every Jew was eager to maintain, belonged to God and to God alone, with the (new) covenant which Christ had ratified by His death. Harnack admits that however difficult it may be to explain precisely the words of Jesus to the disciples at the Last Supper, yet one thing is certain, that He connected the forgiveness of sins with His death, *Dogmengeschichte*, i., pp. 55 and 59, see also "Covenant," Hastings, B.D., p. 512.—ὑμῶν: the R.V. has this addition, so too the Vulgate (Wycl. and Rheims). As each individual ἕκαστος was to be baptised, so each, if truly penitent, would receive the forgiveness of his sins.—τὴν δωρεὰν, not χάρισμα as in 1 Cor. xii. 4, 9, 28, for the Holy Ghost, the gift, was a personal and abiding possession, but the χαρίσματα were for a time answering to special needs, and enjoyed by those to whom God distributed them. The word is used specially of the gift of the Holy Ghost by St. Luke four times in Acts, viii. 20, x. 45, xi. 17, but by no other Evangelist (*cf.*, however, Luke xi. 13), *cf.* Heb. vi. 4 (John iv. 10).

Ver. 39. ὑμῖν γὰρ: the promise was made to the very men who had invoked upon themselves and upon their children, St. Matt. xxvii. 25, the blood of the Crucified. See *Psalms of Solomon*, viii., 39 (Ryle and James' edition, p. 88).—



δὲν προσκαλέσεται Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. 40. ἐτέροις τε λόγοις πλείοσι διεμαρτύρετο καὶ παρεκάλει λέγων, Σώθητε ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης. 41. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀσμένως<sup>1</sup> ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ασμένως EP, Syrr. (Pesh. and Harcl.), Arm., Chrys.; but om. by  $\Sigma$  ABCD 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Aeth., Clem., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. For ἀποδεξάμενοι D substitutes πιστεύσαντες, and Syr. Harcl. mg. Aug. add καὶ πιστεύσαντες. (Harris sees a Montanist addition, necessity of faith for baptism.)

πᾶσι τοῖς εἰς μακράν: no occasion with Wendt and others to limit the words to the Jews of the Diaspora. It must not be forgotten that the Apostles were not surprised that the Gentiles should be admitted to the Christian Church, but only that they should be admitted without conforming to the rite of circumcision. If we compare iii. 26, and Ephes. ii. 13, 17 (cf. Rom. x. 13), it would seem that no restriction of race was placed upon the declaration of the Gospel message, provided that it was made to the Jew *first* (as was always Paul's custom). Hilgenfeld interprets the words as referring beyond all doubt to the Gentiles, since ἡμῶν . . . ἡμῶν had already expressed the Diaspora Jews. But he contends that as ver. 26 plainly intimates that the address was delivered only to Israelites, the words in question are added by "the author to Theophilus". He therefore places them in brackets. Jüngst in the same way thinks it well to refer them to the Redactor, and Feine refers them to Luke himself as Reviser. Weiss sees in the words an allusion to an O.T. passage which could only have been applied at first to the calling of the Gentiles, but which (in the connection in which it is here placed by the narrator) must be referred to the Jews of the Diaspora. It may well have been that (as in Holtzmann's view) St. Peter's audience only thought of the Jews of the Diaspora, but we can see in his words a wider and a deeper meaning, cf. Isaiah v. 26, and cf. also Isaiah ii. 2, Zech. vi. 15. Among the older commentators Oecumenius and Theophylact referred the words to the Gentiles.—*δσους δὲν προσκαλέσεται Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν*. Wendt presses the ἡμῶν to favour his view that St. Peter thinks only of the Jews and not of the Gentiles, since he speaks of "our God," but Blass catches the meaning much better in his comment: "ἡμῶν Israelitarum, qui idem gentes ad se vocat". This gives the true force of *προσκαλ.*, "shall call unto him" (so R.V.). Oecumenius also comments on the words as revealing the true peni-

tence and charity of Peter, *ψυχὴ γὰρ ὅταν ἐαυτὴν καταδικάσῃ, οὐκ ἐτι φθονεῖν δύναται*.

Ver. 40. *ἐτέροις τε λόγοις πλείοσιν τε* (not δὲ), as so frequent in Acts; "inducit quæ similia cognataque sunt, δέ diversa," Blass, *in loco*, and *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 258.—*διεμαρτύρατο*: the translation "testified," both in A. and R.V., hardly gives the full form of the word. Its frequent use in the LXX in the sense of protesting solemnly, cf. Deut. iv. 26, viii. 19, 1 Sam. viii. 9, Zech. iii. 7 (6), seems more in accordance with St. Peter's words, who here as elsewhere (x. 42, xliii. 5, xx. 21) was not simply acting as a witness *μαρτυρεῖν*, but was also protesting against the false views of those he was addressing. It must not, however, be forgotten that in other passages in the LXX the verb may mean to bear witness (see Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.*). In the N.T., as Wendt notes, it is used by St. Paul in the former sense of protesting solemnly in 1 Tim. v. 21, 2 Tim. ii. 14, iv. 1. With this Mr. Page rightly compares its use in Acts xx. 23 (cf. also v. 20, *μαρτύρομαι*), and Luke xvi. 28. So too in classical writers.—*παρεκάλει*: the imperfect suggests the continuous exhortation which followed upon the Apostles' solemn protest (Weiss, *in loco*).—*τῆς γενεᾶς τῆς σκολιᾶς ταύτης*: the adjective is used to describe the rebellious Israelites in the wilderness, LXX, Deut. xxxii. 5 (and Ps. lxxvii. 8), a description used in part by our Lord Himself, Matt. xvii. 17, Luke ix. 41, and wholly by St. Paul, Phil. ii. 15. The correct translation "crooked," R.V. (which A.V. has in Luke iii. 5, Phil. ii. 15), signifies perversity in turning off from the truth, whilst the A.V. "untoward" (so Tyndale) signifies rather backwardness in coming to the truth (Humphry, *Commentary on R. V.*), Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 41, 42.

Ver. 41. *Οἱ μὲν οὖν*: a truly Lucan formula, see i. 6. There is no anacoluthon, but for the answering δέ see v. 43. The words therefore refer to those mentioned in v. 37; in contrast to the three

λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθησαν· καὶ προσετέθησαν<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ  
ψυχαὶ ὥσει τρισχίλιαι.

42. Ἦσαν δὲ προσκατερούντες τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ

<sup>1</sup> προσετέθησαν; after the verb *εν* inserted by  $\aleph$  ABCD 15, 18, 61, Vulg., so T W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

thousand fear came upon every person, *ψυχῇ*, so Mr. Page, on *μὲν οὖν*, *in loco*. Mr. Rendall finds the answering *δέ* in v. 42; two phases of events are contrasted; three thousand converts are added in one day—they clave stedfastly to the Christian communion. See also his Appendix on *μὲν οὖν*, p. 162.—*ἀποδεξάμενοι τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ*: used in classical Greek, especially in Plato, of receiving a teacher or his arguments with acceptance, and in the N.T. of receiving with approval; *cf.* xxiv. 3. The verb is only found in St. Luke in the N.T. with varying shades of meaning, twice in his Gospel, and five times in Acts in all parts. Only found in LXX in Apocryphal books, Tob. vii. 17, Judith xiii. 13 (but see Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.*), and in the Books of the Maccabees; *cf.* xviii. 27, xxi. 17, xxiv. 3, xxxviii. 30, see below.—*ἐβαπτίσθησαν*. There is nothing in the text which intimates that the Baptism of the three thousand was performed, not on the day of Pentecost, but during the days which followed. At the same time it is not said that the Baptism of such a multitude took place at one time or in one place on the day of the Feast, or that the rite was performed by St. Peter alone. Felten allows that others besides the Twelve may have baptised. See his note, *in loco*, and also Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 183.—*προσετέθησαν*, *cf.* ver. 47, and v. 14, xi. 24. In the LXX the same verb is used, Isa. xiv. 1, for a proselyte who is joined to Israel, so too Esth. ix. 27.—*ψυχαι*, “souls,” *i.e.*, persons. See on ver. 43.—*ὥσει τρισχίλιαι*: the adverb is another favourite word of St. Luke (Friedrich)—it is not found in St. John, and in St. Mark only once, in St. Matthew three times, but in St. Luke’s Gospel eight or nine times, and in Acts six or seven times. As in i. 15 the introduction of the adverb is against the supposition that the number was a fictitious one. We cannot suppose that the influence and the recollection of Jesus had vanished within a few short weeks without leaving a trace behind, and where the proclamation of Him as the Christ followed upon the wonderful gift of tongues, in which many of the people

would see the inspiration of God and a confirmation given by Him to the claims made by the disciples, hearts and consciences might well be stirred and quickened—and the movement once begun was sure to spread (see the remarks of Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 60, on the birthday of the Church, in spite of the suspicion with which he regards the number three thousand).

Ver. 42. The growth of the Church not merely in numbers but in the increase of faith and charity. In R.V. by the omission of *καὶ* before *τῇ κλάσει* two pairs of particulars are apparently enumerated—the first referring to the close adherence of believers to the Apostles in teaching and fellowship, the second expressing their outward acts of worship; or the first pair may be taken as expressing rather their relation to man, the second their relation to God (Nösgen). Dr. Hort, while pointing out that the first term *τῇ διδαχῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων* (“the teaching,” R.V., following Wycliffe; *cf.* Matt. vii. 28, “doctrine,” A.V., which would refer rather to a definite system, unless taken in the sense of the Latin *doctrina*, *teaching*) was obviously Christian, so that the disciples might well be called scribes to the kingdom, bringing out of their treasures things new and old, the facts of the life of Jesus and the glory which followed, facts interpreted in the light of the Law and the Prophets, takes the next words *τῇ κοινωνίᾳ* as separated altogether from *τῶν ἀποστόλων*, “and with the communion”: *κοινωνία*, in Dr. Hort’s view by parallelism with the other terms, expresses something more external and concrete than a spirit of communion; it refers to the help given to the destitute of the community, not apparently in money, but in public meals, such as from another point of view are called “the daily ministration” (*cf.* Acts vi. 2, *τραπέζαις*). There are undoubtedly instances of the employment of the word *κοινωνία* in this concrete sense, Rom. xv. 26, 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 13, Heb. xiii. 26, but in each of these cases its meaning is determined by the context (and Zöckler, amongst recent commentators, would so



κοινωνία<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς. 43. ἐγένετο δὲ πάση ψυχῇ φόβος, πολλά τε τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα διὰ τῶν ἀποσ-

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῇ κλάσει; om. καὶ  $\aleph^* \text{ABCD}^* 61$ , so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg., so Alford. κοινωνία τῆς κλάσεως τοῦ ἄρτου, so d, Vulg., Sah. (so in Gigg., Par. τοῦ αρ. τῆς κλ.), of which Blass says "recte, nisi delenda τ. κλ.". But the Western readings look like attempts to remove a difficulty.

restrict its meaning here). But, on the other hand, there are equally undoubted instances of κοινωνία referring to spiritual fellowship and concord, a fellowship in the spirit; cf. 2 Cor. vi. 4, xiii. 14, Phil. ii. 1, Gal. ii. 9, 1 John i. 3, 6, 7; cf. also in classical writers, Arist., *Ethic.*, viii., 9, 12, ἐν κοινωνίᾳ ἢ φιλίᾳ ἐστί. Here, if the word can be separated from ἀποσ., it may be taken to include the inward fellowship and its outward manifestation, ver. 44. May not a good parallel to this signification of the word be found in Phil. i. 5, where κοινωνία, whilst it signifies co-operation in the widest sense, including fellowship in sympathy, suffering and toil, also indicates the special and tangible manifestation of this fellowship in the ready almsgiving and contributions of the Philippian Church; see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, in loco. The word naturally suggests the community of goods, as Weizsäcker points out, but as it stands here without any precise definition we cannot so limit it, and in his view Gal. ii. 9 gives the key to its meaning in the passage before us—the bond which united the μαθηταί was the consciousness of their belief in Christ, and in the name ἀδελφοί the relationship thus constituted gained its complete expression.—τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου: no interpretation is satisfactory which forgets (as both Weizsäcker and Holtzmann point out) that the author of Acts had behind him Pauline language and doctrine, and that we are justified in adducing the language of St. Paul in order to explain the words before us, cf. 1 Cor. x. 16, xi. 24, Acts xx. 7 (and xxvii. 35, Weizsäcker). But if we admit this, we cannot consistently explain the expression of a mere common meal. It may be true that every such meal in the early days of the Church's first love had a religious significance, that it became a type and evidence of the kingdom of God amongst the believers, but St. Paul's habitual reference of the words before us to the Lord's Supper leads us to see in them here a reference to the commemoration of the Lord's death, although we may admit that it is altogether

indisputable that this commemoration at first followed a common meal. That St. Paul's teaching as to the deep religious significance of the breaking of the bread carries us back to a very early date is evident from the fact that he speaks to the Corinthians of a custom long established; cf. "Abendmahl I." in Hauck's *Real-Encyclopädie*, heft i. (1896), p. 23 ff., on the evidential value of this testimony as against Jülicher's and Spitta's attempt to show that the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the early Church rested upon no positive command of Jesus. Weizsäcker's words are most emphatic: "Every assumption of its having originated in the Church from the recollection of intercourse with Him at table, and the necessity felt for recalling His death is precluded—the celebration must rather have been generally observed from the beginning" *Apostolic Age*, ii., p. 279, E.T., and cf. *Das apostol. Zeitalter*, p. 594, second edition (1892), Beyschlag, *Neutestamentliche Theol.*, i., p. 155. Against any attempt to interpret the words under discussion of mere benevolence towards the poor (Isaiah lviii. 7) Wendt regards xx. 6, 7 (and also xxvii. 35) as decisive. Weiss refers to Luke xxiv. 30 for an illustration of the words, but the act, probably the habitual act of Jesus, which they express there, does not exhaust their meaning here. Spitta takes vi. 2, διακονεῖν τραπέζαις as = κλάσις ἄρτου, an arbitrary interpretation, see also below. The Vulgate connects τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου with the preceding κοινωνία, and renders in *communicatione fractionis panis*, a rendering justified in so far as the κοινωνία has otherwise no definite meaning, and by the fact that the brotherly intercourse of Christians specially revealed itself in the *fractio panis*, cf. 1 Cor. x. 16, and Blass, in loco, and also β where he reads καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς κλάσεως τοῦ ἄρτου. But whilst Felten refers to the evidence of the Vulgate, and also to that of the Peshitto, which renders the words before us "in the breaking of the Eucharist" (so too in xx. 7), it is worthy of note that he refuses to follow the usual Roman

τόλων ἐγίνετο.<sup>1</sup> 44. πάντες δὲ οἱ πιστεύοντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, καὶ εἶχον<sup>2</sup> ἅπαντα κοινὰ, 45.<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς ὑπάρξεις ἐπιπρασ-

<sup>1</sup> In ver. 43 **NACE** 13, many cursives, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Boh. add *ἐν ἱερουσαλῇ* (which is added by D to *των αποστ.* in ver. 42); so Tisch., R.V. marg. But the addition is not found in BD 1, 31, 61, Sah., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Aeth., Chrys.; so W.H., R.V. text, Weiss, Wendt. **NAC** 40, Vulg., Boh. add also *φοβος τε τὴν μεγας ἐπὶ παντας*, so Tisch.; but omitted by BDE, Sah., Syrr. (P. and H.), Arm., Aeth., Chrys.—perhaps assimilation to iv. 33, v. 5; it has been already expressed in the first clause of the verse, and as the authorities for its retention are mainly the same as for *ἐν ἱερ.*, it would seem that the former addition may also be rejected.

<sup>2</sup> ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτο καὶ εἶχον, so Tisch., Hilg.; but B 57, Orig., so W.H., Weiss, Wendt have only *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτο εἶχον—ἦσαν* and *καὶ* might easily be added, but their falling out is difficult to imagine.

<sup>3</sup> D (*cf.* Pesch.) reads *καὶ οσοι κτήματα εἶχον ἡ υπαρξεις επιπρασκον*; so Hilg. Before *πασι* D, Gig., Par. insert *καθ' ἡμεραν*. For *καθοτι . . . εἶχε* D reads *τοῖς αν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν (τοῖς χρεῖαν εχουσιν in β)*; *cf.* iv. 35. The remarks of Belser and Weiss on the passage should be compared—the former sees in β a more precise account and, at the same time, a more moderate account of the “community of goods” at Jerusalem than is sometimes derived from this passage (see comments), whilst here Weiss sees in D nothing but fruitless and even senseless emendations.

interpretation, *viz.*, that the words point to a communion in one kind only, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 94. It is possible that the introduction of the article before at least one of the words *τῇ κλάσει* (*cf.* R.V.) emphasises here the Lord's Supper as distinct from the social meal with which it was connected, whilst ver. 46 may point to the social as well as to the devotional bearing of the expression (*cf.* Zöckler, note *in loco*), and this possibility is increased if we regard the words *τῶν ἀποστόλων* as characterising the whole sentence in ver. 42. But unless in both verses some deeper meaning was attached to the phrases *τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου—κλώντες ἄρτον*, it seems superfluous, as Schöttgen remarked, to introduce the mention of common food at the time of a community of goods. No doubt St. Chrysostom (so Oecum., Theophyl.) and Bengel interpret the words as simply = *victus frugalis*, but elsewhere St. Chrysostom speaks of them, or at least when joined with *κοινωνία*, as referring to the Holy Communion (see Alford's note *in loco*), and Bengel's comment on ver. 42 must be compared with what he says on ver. 46.—*καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς*, “and [in] the prayers” R.V. Dr. Hort suggests that the prayers may well have been Christian prayers at stated hours, answering to Jewish prayers, and perhaps replacing the synagogue prayers (not recognised in the Law), as the Apostles' “teaching” had replaced that of the scribes (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 44, and *Ecclesia*, p. 45). But the words may also be taken

to include prayers both new and old, *cf.* iv. 24, James v. 13 (Eph. ii. 19, Col. iii. 16), and also Acts iii. 1, where Peter and John go up to the Temple “at the hour of prayer,” *cf.* Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, ii., p. 159.

Ver. 43. *πάσῃ ψυχῇ*, *i.e.*, every person, and so iii. 23, Hebraistic, *cf.* *כָּל נַפְשׁוֹ*, Lev. vii. 17, xvii. 12, etc., and *cf.* i Macc. ii. 38. In ver. 41 the plural is used rather like the Latin *capita* in enumerations, *cf.* Acts vii. 14, xxvii. 37, and LXX, Gen. xlii. 15, Exod. i. 5, Num. xix. 18, etc. But Winer-Moulton (p. 194, xxii. 7) would press the meaning of *ψυχῇ* here, and contends that the fear was produced in the *heart*, the seat of the feelings and desires, so that its use is no mere Hebraism, although he admits that in Rom. xiii. 1 (1 Peter iii. 20) the single *πᾶσα ψυχῇ* = every person, but see *l.c.*—*φόβος*, *cf.* iii. 10, *i.e.*, upon the non-believers, for “perfect love casteth out fear”. Friedrich notes amongst the characteristics of St. Luke that in his two books one of the results of miraculous powers is fear. Here the *φόβος* means rather the fear of reverential awe or the fear which acted *quasi freno* (Calvin), so that the early growth of the Church was not destroyed prematurely by assaults from without. There is surely nothing inconsistent here with ver. 47, but Hilgenfeld ascribes the whole of ver. 43 to his “author to Theophilus,” partly on the ground of this supposed inconsistency, partly be-



κον, καὶ διεμέριζον αὐτὰ πᾶσι, καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχε· 46.<sup>1</sup> καθ' ἡμέραν τε προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, κλῶντές τε κατ'

<sup>1</sup> D omits καθ' ἡμέραν (see previous note) and reads πάντες τε προσκαρτεροῦν, perhaps for additional clearness, or perhaps some confusion (see also Weiss's comments). D reads also καὶ κατοικοῦσαν ἐπὶ το αὐτο—D<sup>2</sup> del. αν, and so Blass corrects καὶ κατ οἴκους ἦσαν; so too Hilg. Belser sees in κατ' οἴκους an answer to the objection that κατ' οἶκον in a text refers to the house of assembly of the Christians, and that as the number 3000 could not assemble in a single dwelling it must be an exaggeration—no doubt if Luke had meant one house of assembly he would have written κατὰ τὸν οἶκον, but the reading κατ' οἴκους puts the matter beyond a doubt, and shows how κατ' οἶκον must be taken as = vicissim per domos.

cause the mention of miracles is out of place. But it is nowhere stated, as Hilgenfeld and Weiss presuppose, that the healing of the lame man in iii. 1 ff. was the first miracle performed (see note there, and Wendt and Blass).

Ver. 44. πάντες δε κ.τ.λ., cf. iii. 24, all, i.e., not only those who had recently joined, ver. 41.—ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, see note on i. 15; here of place. Theophylact takes it of the unanimity in the Church, but this does not seem to be in accordance with the general use of the phrase in the N.T. = ὁμοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον (Hesychius). Blass points out that ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό demands ἦσαν, and if we omit this word (W.H.) we must supply ὄντες with ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, as ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό εἶχον could not stand (W.H.). The difficulty raised by Hilgenfeld, Wendt, Holtzmann, Overbeck, in this connection as to the number is exaggerated, whether we meet it or not by supposing that some of this large number were pilgrims who had come up to the Feast, but who had now returned to their homes. For in the first place, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό cannot be taken to mean that all the believers were always assembled in one and the same place. The reading in β, ver. 46, may throw light upon the expression in this verse καὶ κατ' οἴκους ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, or the phrase may be referred to their assembling together in the Temple, ver. 46, and v. 12 may be quoted in support of this, where all the believers apparently assemble in Solomon's Porch. It is therefore quite arbitrary to dismiss the number here or in iv. 4 as merely due to the idealising tendency of the Apostles, or to the growth of the Christian legend.—εἶχον ἅπαντα κοινά, "held all things common," R.V. Blass and Weiss refer these words with ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό to the assembling of the Christians together for common meals and find in the statement the exact antithesis to the selfish conduct in 1 Cor. xi. 20, 21. But the words also

demand a much wider reference. On the "Community of Goods," see additional note at end of chapter.

Ver. 45. τὰ κτήματα . . . τὰς ὑπάρξεις: according to their derivation, the former word would mean that which is acquired, and the latter that which belongs to a man for the time being. But in ordinary usage κτήματα was always used of real property, fields, lands, cf. v. 1, whilst ὑπάρξεις was used of personal property (= τὰ ὑπάρχοντα in Heb. x. 34). This latter word, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, was a favourite with St. Luke, who uses it eight times in his Gospel and in Acts iv. 32. No doubt κτήμα is used in LXX for field and vineyard, Prov. xxiii. 10, xxxi. 16, but the above distinction was not strictly observed, for τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, ὑπαρξεις, are used both of movable and immovable property (see Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.*).—ἐπίπρασκον: all three verbs are in the imperfect, and if we remember that this tense may express an action which is done often and continuously without being done universally or extending to a complete accomplishment (cf. iv. 34, xviii. 8, Mark xii. 41), considerable light may be thrown upon the picture here drawn (see Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 186, on the tense and this passage): "And kept getting . . . and distributing to all, as any man [τις] [not 'every man,' A.V.] had need". See Rendall, *Acts, in loco*, and on iv. 32, and *Expositor*, vii., p. 358, 3rd series.—καθότι: peculiar to St. Luke; in Gospel twice, and in Acts four times. ἂν makes the clause more indefinite: it is found in relative clauses after ὅς, ὅστις, etc., with the indicative—here it is best explained as signifying "accidisse aliquid non certo quodam tempore, sed quotiescumque occasio ita ferret," quoted by Wendt from Herm., *ad Vig.*, p. 820; cf. Mark vi. 56, Blass, *in loco*, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 142 (1893). Grimm renders καθότι ἂν here "in so far," *or*

"so often as," "according as". Spitta refers vv. 45-47 to the Apostles only, but to justify this he is obliged to refer ver. 44 to his reviser. Hilgenfeld brackets the whole verse, referring it to his "author to Theophilus," retaining ver. 44, whilst Weiss also refers the whole verse to a reviser, who introduced it in imitation of St. Luke's love of poverty as indicated in his Gospel. But by such expedients the picture of the whole body of the believers sharing in the Apostles' life and liberality is completely marred.

Ver. 46. ὁμοθυμαδόν, see note on i. 14.—προσκαρτεροῦντες, cf. i. 14.—ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ: we are not told how far this participation in the Temple extended, and mention is only made in one place, in xxi. 26, of any kind of connection between the Apostles or any other Christians and any kind of sacrificial act. But that one peculiar incident may imply that similar acts were not uncommon, and their omission by the Christians at Jerusalem might well have led to an open breach between them and their Jewish countrymen (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 44, 45). No doubt the Apostles would recommend their teaching to the people by devout attendance at the Temple, cf. iii. 1, v. 20, 42, like other Jews.—κατ' οἶκον, R.V. "at home" (so in A.V. margin). But all other English versions except Genevan render the words "from house to house" (Vulgate, *circa domos*), and this latter rendering is quite possible, cf. Luke viii. 1, Acts xv. 21, xx. 20. If we interpret the words of the meeting of the believers in a private house (*privatim* in contrast to the ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, *palam*), cf. Rom. xvi. 3, 5, 1 Cor. xvi. 19, Col. iv. 15, Philemon 2, it does not follow that only one house is here meant, as Wendt and Weiss suppose by referring to i. 13 (see on the other hand Blass, Holtzmann, Zöckler, Spitta, Hort)—there may well have been private houses open to the disciples, e.g., the house of John Mark, cf. Dr. Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, pp. 259, 260. Hilgenfeld, with Overbeck, rejects the explanation given on the ground that for this κατ' οἶκους, or κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους, would be required—an argument which does not however get over the fact that κατὰ may be used distributively with the singular—according to him all is in order if ii. 42 follows immediately upon 41a, i.e., he drops 41b altogether, and proceeds to omit also the whole of vv. 43 and 45.—κλῶντες ἄρτον: the question has been raised as to whether this expression has the same meaning here as

in ver. 42, or whether it is used here of merely ordinary meals. The additional words μετελάμβανον τροφῆς have been taken to support this latter view, but on the other hand if the two expressions are almost synonymous, it is difficult to see why the former κλῶντες ἄρτον should have been introduced here at all, cf. Knabenbauer *in loco*. It is not satisfactory to lay all the stress upon the omission of the article before ἄρτον, and to explain the expression of ordinary daily meals, an interpretation adopted even by the Romanist Beelen and others. In the *Didache* the expression κλάσατε ἄρτον, chap. xiv. 1, certainly refers to the Eucharist, and in the earlier chap. ix., where the word κλάσμα occurs twice in the sense of broken bread, it can scarcely refer to anything less than the *Agape* (Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 565, and Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 414, on the value of the Eucharistic teaching in the *Didache*).—μετελ.: the imperf. denotes a customary act, the meaning of the verb with the gen. as here is frequently found in classical Greek; cf. LXX, Wisdom xviii. 9, 4 Macc. viii. 8, AR., and xvi. 18.—ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει: exulting, bounding joy; Vulgate, *exultatione*, "extreme joy," Grimm, used by St. Luke twice in his Gospel, i. 14, 44—only twice elsewhere in the N.T., Heb. i. 9, quotation, and in Jude, ver. 24. The word, though not occurring in classical Greek, was a favourite in the LXX, where it occurs no less than eighteen times in the Psalms alone. This "gladness" is full of significance—it is connected with the birth of the forerunner by the angel's message to Zacharias, Luke i. 14; the cognate verb ἀγαλλιᾶω, -άομαι, common to St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts, denotes the spiritual and exultant joy with which the Church age after age has rejoiced in the Song of the Incarnation, Luke i. 47.—ἀφελότητι καρδίας: rightly derived from a priv. and φελλεύς, *stony ground* = a smooth soil, free from stones (but see Zöckler, *in loco*, who derives ἀφέλεια, the noun in use in Greek writers, from φέλα, πέλλα, Macedon. *a stone*). The word itself does not occur elsewhere, but ἀφέλεια, ἀφελής, ἀφελῶς are all found (Wetstein), and just as the adj. ἀφελής signified a man ἀπλοῦς ἐν τῷ βίῳ, so the noun here used might well be taken as equivalent to ἀπλότης (Overbeck) "in simplicity of heart," *simplicitate*, Bengel. Wendt compares the words of Demosthenes, ἀφελής καὶ παρρησίας μεστός.

Ver. 47. αἰνούντες τὸν Θεόν: a favourite expression with St. Luke, cf. Gospel



οἶκον ἄρτον, μετελάμβανον τροφῆς ἐν ἀγαλλιάσει καὶ ἀφελότητι καρδίας, 47. αἰνοῦντες τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἔχοντες χάριν πρὸς ὅλον τὸν

ii. 13, 20, xix. 37, Acts iii. 8, 9, elsewhere only in Rom. xv. 11 (a quotation), and Rev. xix. 5, with dative of person, W.H. The praise refers not merely to their thanksgivings at meals, but is characteristic of their whole devotional life both in public and private; and their life of worship and praise, combined with their liberality and their simplicity of life, helped to secure for them the result given in the following words, and an unmolested hearing in the Temple "Hunc invenium (favorem) qui Deum laudant" Bengel. αἰνέω is very frequent in the LXX, and nearly always of the praise of God, but cf. Gen. xlix. 8, Prov. xxxi. 28, 30, 31, Eccles. xlv. 1, etc.—ἔχοντες χάριν: if the life of the Church at this stage has been compared with that of her divine Master, inasmuch as it increased in wisdom and stature, another point of likeness may be found in the fact that the Church, like Christ, was in favour with God and man.—χάρις: very frequent in St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts (Friedrich), only three times in the Gospel of St. John, and not at all in St. Matthew or St. Mark. In the O.T. it is often used of finding favour in the sight of God, and in the N.T. in a similar sense, cf. Luke i. 30, Acts vii. 46. It is also used in the O.T. of favour, kindness, goodwill, especially from a superior to an inferior (Gen. xviii. 3, xxxii. 5, etc.), so too in the N.T., here, and in Acts vii. 10. See further note on Acts xiv. 3. In Luke's Gospel eight times, in Acts seventeen times. See also Plummer's full note on Luke iv. 22, Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, p. 10, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* Rendall would render "giving Him thanks before all the people," and he refers to the fact that the phrase is always so rendered elsewhere (though once wrongly translated, Heb. xii. 28). But the phrase is also found in LXX, Exodus xxxiii. 12, 1 Esdras vi. 5 (see also Wetstein, *in loco*) in the sense first mentioned.—ὁ δὲ κύριος προσετίθει, i.e., the Lord Christ, cf. ver. 36 (as Holtzmann, Wendt, Weiss, amongst others). The pure and simple life of the disciples doubtless commended them to the people, and made it easier for them to gain confidence, and so converts, but the growth of the Church, St. Luke reminds us, was not the work of any human agency or attractiveness.—τοὺς σωζομένους: natur-

ally connected with the prophecy in ver. 21 (cf. v. 40), so that the work of salvation there attributed to Jehovah by the Old Testament Prophet is here the work of Christ the inference is again plain with regard to our Lord's divinity. The expression is rightly translated in R.V. (so too in 1 Cor. i. 18, 2 Cor. ii. 15. See Burton, *Moods and Tenses in N. T. Greek*, pp. 57, 58). It has nothing to do, as Wetstein well remarks, with the secret counsels of God, but relates to those who were obeying St. Peter's command in ver. 40. An apt parallel is given by Mr. Page from Thuc., vii., 44.

*Gift of Tongues*, ii. 4. λαλεῖν ἑτέραις γλώσσαις.—There can be no doubt that St. Luke's phrase (cf. γλώσσαις καιναῖς, Mark xvi. 17, W.H., margin, not text), taken with the context, distinctly asserts that the Apostles, if not the whole Christian assembly (St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, including the hundred-and-twenty), received the power of speaking in foreign languages, and that some of their hearers at all events understood them, vv. 8, 11 (ἡμετέραις). (On the phrase as distinguished from those used elsewhere in Acts and in 1 Cor., see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, γλῶττα 2, and Blass, *Acta Apost.*, p. 50, "γλῶττα etiam ap. att. per se est lingua peregrina vel potius vocabulum peregrinum".) Wendt and Matthias, who have recently given us a lengthy account of the events of the first Christian Pentecost, both hold that this speaking with tongues is introduced by St. Luke himself, and that it is a legendary embellishment from his hand of what actually took place; the speaking with tongues at Pentecost was simply identical with the same phenomenon described elsewhere in x. 46, xix. 6, and in 1 Cor. xii. 14. This is plain from St. Peter's own words in xi. 15, 17; so in xix. 6, the speaking with tongues is the immediate result of the outpouring of the Spirit. So too Wendt lays stress upon the fact that St. Paul says λαλεῖν γλώσσαις or γλώσση, but not λαλ. ἑτέρ. γλ. The former was evidently the original mode of describing the phenomenon, to which Luke recurs in his own description in x. 46 and xix. 6, whereas in the passage before us his language represents the miraculous enhancement of the events of Pentecost. M'Giffert, in the same way, thinks that the writer of Acts, far re-

moved from the events, could hardly avoid investing even the common phenomena of the *Glossolalia* with marvel and mystery. Wendt however admits that this embellishment was already accomplished by Christian tradition before Luke. But if St. Luke must have had every means of knowing from St. Paul the character of the speaking with tongues at Corinth, it does not seem unfair to maintain that he also had means of knowing from the old Palestinian Christians, who had been in union with the Church at Jerusalem from the beginning, e.g., from a John Mark, or a Mnason (ἀρχαῖος μαθητής, xxi. 16), the exact facts connected with the great outpouring of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost (Schmid, *Biblische Theologie*, pp. 278, 279). But it is further to be noted that Wendt by no means denies that there was a miraculous element, as shown in the outpouring of the Spirit, in the events of the Pentecostal Feast, but that he also considers it quite unlikely that Luke's introduction of a still further miraculous element was prompted by a symbolising tendency, a desire to draw a parallel between the Christian Pentecost and the miraculous delivery of the Law, according to the Jewish tradition that the one voice which proceeded from Sinai divided into seventy tongues, and was heard by the seventy nations of the world, each in their mother tongue (so Zeller, Pfeiderer, Hilgenfeld, Spitta, Jüngst and Matthias, and so apparently Clemen in his "Speaking with Tongues," *Expository Times*, p. 345, 1899). But in the first place there is no convincing evidence at the early date of the Christian Pentecost of any connection in Jewish tradition between the Feast of Pentecost and the giving of the Law on Sinai (cf. Schmid, *Biblische Theologie*, p. 286; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 7, 1057, and Holtzmann, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 330), and it is significant that neither Philo nor Josephus make any reference to any such connection; and in the next place it is strange, as Wendt himself points out, that if Luke had started with the idea of the importance of any such symbolism, no reference should be made to it in the subsequent address of Peter, whereas even in the catalogue of the nations there is no reference of any kind to the number seventy; the number actually given, vv. 9, 11, might rather justify the far-fetched notice of Holtzmann (*u. s.*, p. 331), that a reference is meant to the sixteen grandsons of Noah, Gen. x. 1, 2,

6, 21. Certainly Heb. ii. 2-4 cannot, as Schmid well points out against Holtzmann, lead to any such connection of ideas as the *μερίσματα πνεύμ. ἁγ.* are evidently the distribution of the gifts of the Spirit. We may readily admit that the miracle on the birthday of the Christian Church was meant to foreshadow the universal progress of the new faith, and its message for all mankind without distinction of nation, position, or age. But even if the Jewish tradition referred to above was in existence at this early date, we have still to consider whether the narrative in Acts could possibly be a copy of it, or dependent upon it. According to the tradition, a voice was to be expected from Heaven which would be understood by different men in their mother tongues, but in our narrative the Apostles themselves speak after the manner of men in these tongues. For to suppose that the Apostles all spoke one and the same language, but that the hearers were enabled to understand these utterances, each in his own language, is not only to do violence to the narrative, but simply to substitute one miraculous incident for another. Nor again, as Wendt further admits, is there any real ground for seeing in the miraculous event under consideration a cancelling of the confusion of tongues at Babel which resulted from rebellion against God, for the narrative does not contain any trace of the conception of a unity of language to which the Jewish idea appears to have tended as a contrast to the confusion of Babel (*Test. xii.*, *Patr.*, *Jud.*, xxv.). The unity is not one of uniformity of speech but of oneness of Spirit and in the Spirit. At the same time there was a peculiar fitness in the fact that the first and most abundant bestowal of this divine gift should be given at a Feast which was marked above all others by the presence of strangers from distant lands, that a sign should thus be given to them that believed not, and that the firstfruits of a Gentile harvest should be offered by the Spirit to the Father (*Iren.*, *Adv. Haer.* iii., 17), an assurance to the Apostles of the greatness and universality of the message which they were commissioned to deliver. But there is no reason to suppose that this power of speaking in foreign languages was a permanent gift. In the first place the Greek language was known throughout the Roman Empire, and in the next place Acts xiv. 11 (see *in loco*) seems to forbid any such view. The speaking



λαόν.<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ Κύριος προσετίθει τοὺς σωζομένους καθ' ἡμέραν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τον λαον; D has τον κοσμον. Nestle and Chase point out Syriac as probable source; the former, with Blass, thinking that St. Luke first of all translated the word wrongly, κοσμον, and corrected it in later edition to λαον, whilst Chase gives the variation a much later origin. Harris supposes that the translator first introduced "mundum" (cf. "tout le monde") and thence it crept into the Greek. Belser finds no need for Syriac influence, as St. Luke in revising might easily substitute "people" for the more general term "world". Some Syriac influence may have been at work, or possibly a corruption of the Greek may be suggested. Hilg. also has κοσμον. See further Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. ἐπὶ το αὐτο (iii.) EP, Syrr. (P. and H.); but for omitting τῇ ἐκκλ. and concluding ii. with ἐπὶ το αὐτο ᾠΑΒCG 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Arm., Aeth., so Bengel, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. The T.R. was followed by Meyer, De Wette, Nösgen, on account of the extreme difficulty of the proposed correction, but the latter is too well attested. Hilg. has ἐπὶ το αὐτο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, so D.

with tongues in Acts ii. and in other passages of the N.T. may be classed as identical in so far as each was the effect of the divine Πνεῦμα, each a miraculous spiritual gift, marking a new epoch of spiritual life. But in Acts we have what we have not elsewhere—the speaking in foreign tongues—this was not the case in Corinth; there the speaking with tongues was absolutely unintelligible, it could not be understood without an interpreter, i.e., without another gift of the divine Spirit, viz., interpretation, 1 Cor. xii. 10, 30 (the word *unknown* inserted in A.V. in 1 Cor. xiv. is unfortunate), and the fact that the Apostle compares the speaking with tongues to a speaking in foreign languages shows that the former was itself no speaking in foreign tongues, since two identical things do not admit of comparison (Schmid, *u. s.*, pp. 288, 289).

Peter might well express his belief that Cornelius and those who spoke with tongues had also received the Holy Ghost, cf. x. 44, xi. 17, 24, *in loco*; but it does not follow that the gift bestowed upon them was identical with that bestowed at Pentecost—there were diversities of gifts from the bounty of the One Spirit. Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 78; Evans in *Speaker's Commentary* on 1 Cor., p. 334; Plumptre, B.D.<sup>1</sup> "Tongues, Gift of"; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, ii., pp. 272, 273, E.T., and Feine, *Eine Vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas*, n., p. 167; Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 177; Page, *Acts of the Apostles*, note on chap. ii., 4; and A. Wright, *Some N. T. Problems*, p. 277 ff.

The objection urged at length by Wendt and Spitta that foreign languages could not have been spoken, since in that case there was no occasion to

accuse the Apostles of drunkenness, but that ecstatic incoherent utterances of devotion and praise might well have seemed to the hearers sounds produced by revelry or madness (cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 23), is easily met by noting that the utterances were not received with mockery by all but only by some, the word ἑτεροὶ apparently denoting quite a different class of hearers, who may have been unacquainted with the language spoken, and hence regarded the words as an unintelligible jargon.

Spitta attempts to break up Acts ii. 1-13 into two sources, i.<sup>a</sup>, 4, 12, 13, belonging to A, and simply referring to a *Glossolalia* like that at Corinth, whilst the other verses are assigned to B and the Redactor, and contain a narrative which could only have been derived from the Jewish tradition mentioned above, and introducing the notion of foreign tongues at a date when the *Glossolalia* had ceased to exist, and so to be understood. Spitta refers συμπληροῦσθαι ii. 1 to the filling up of the number of the Apostles in chap. i., so that his source A begins καὶ ἐν τῷ συμπλ. . . ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες π. ἀγ., *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 52. It is not surprising that Hilgenfeld should speak of the narrative as one which cannot be thus divided, upon which as he says Spitta has in vain essayed his artificial analysis.

*Community of Goods*.—The key to the two passages, ii. 42 ff. and iv. 32 ff., is to be found in the expression in which they both agree, occurring in ii. 45 and iv. 35, καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν. Such expressions indicate, as we have seen, not reckless but judicious charity (see also Ramsay, *St. Paul*, etc., p. 373, and

reading in D, ii., 45); they show wise management, as in early days St. Chrysostom noted in commenting on the words, so that the Christians did not act recklessly like many philosophers among the Greeks, of whom some gave up their lands, others cast great quantities of money into the sea, which was no contempt of riches, but only folly and madness (*Hom.*, vii.). Not that St. Luke's glowing and repeated description (on St. Luke's way of sometimes repeating himself as here, see Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, p. 85) is to be confined to the exercise of mere almsgiving on the part of the Church. Both those who had, and those who had not, were alike the inheritors of a kingdom which could only be entered by the poor in spirit, alike members of a family and a household in which there was one Master, even Christ, in Whose Name all who believed were brethren. In this poverty of spirit, in this sense of brotherhood, "the poor man knew no shame, the rich no haughtiness" (Chrys.).

But whilst men were called upon to give ungrudgingly, they were not called upon to give of necessity: what each one had was still his own, τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ, iv. 32, although not even one (οὐδὲ εἷς) of them reckoned it so; the daily ministrations in vi. 1 seems to show that no equal division of property amongst all was intended; the act of Barnabas was apparently one of charity rather than of communism, for nothing is said of an absolute surrender of all that he had; the act of Ananias and Sapphira was entirely voluntary, although it presented itself almost as a duty (Ramsay, *u. s.*); Mark's mother still retains her home at Jerusalem, xii. 12, and it would seem that Mnason too had a dwelling there (see on xxi. 16). At Joppa, ix. 36, 39, and at Antioch, xi. 29, there was evidently no absolute equality of earthly possessions—Tabitha helps the poor out of her own resources, and every man as he prospered sent his contributions to the Church at Jerusalem.

It is sometimes urged that this enthusiasm of charity and of the spirit (ἐνθουσιασμός, as Blass calls it), which filled at all events the Church at Jerusalem, was due to the expectation of Christ's immediate return, and that in the light of that event men regarded lands and possessions as of no account, even if ordinary daily work was not neglected (O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 233). But it is strange that if this is the true account of the

action of the Church at Jerusalem, a similar mode of life and charity should not have found place in other Churches, *e.g.*, in the Church at Thessalonica, where the belief in Christ's speedy return was so overwhelmingly felt (Felten). No picture could be more extraordinary than that drawn by O. Holtzmann of the Christian Church at Jerusalem, driven by the voice of Christian prophets to enjoin an absolutely compulsory community of goods in expectation of the nearness of the Parousia, and of Ananias and Sapphira as the victims of this tyrannical product of fanaticism and overwrought excitement. It is a relief to turn from such a strange perversion of the narrative to the enthusiastic language in which, whilst insisting on its idealising tendency, Renan and Pfeiderer alike have recognised the beauty of St. Luke's picture, and of the social transformation which was destined to renew the face of the earth, which found its pattern of serving and patient love in Jesus the Friend of the poor, whose brotherhood opened a place of refuge for the oppressed, the destitute, the weak, who enjoyed in the mutual love of their fellows a foretaste of the future kingdom in which God Himself will wipe all tears from their eyes. Whatever qualifications must be made in accepting the whole description given us by Renan and Pfeiderer, they were at least right in recognising the important factor of the Person of Jesus, and the probability that during His lifetime He had Himself laid the foundations of the social movement which so soon ennobled and blessed His Church. It is far more credible that the disciples should have continued the common life in which they had lived with their Master than that they should have derived a social system from the institutions of the Essenes. There is no proof of any historical connection between this sect and the Apostolic Church, nor can we say that the high moral standard and mode of common life adopted by the Essenes, although in some respects analogous to their own, had any direct influence on the followers of Christ. Moreover, with points of comparison, there were also points of contrast. St. Luke's notice, ii. 46, that the believers continued steadfastly in the Temple, stands out in contrast to the perpetual absence of the Essenes from the Temple, to which they sent their gifts (*Jos.*, *Ant.*, xviii. 2, 5); the common meals of the Essene brotherhood naturally present a likeness to St. Luke's description of the



III. 1.<sup>1</sup> ἘΠΙ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀνέβαινον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς τὴν ἐνάτην. 2. καὶ<sup>2</sup> τις ἀνὴρ

<sup>1</sup> D begins *εν δε ταις ημεραις ταυταις*, so Par. Blass (so Harris) regards the phrase as addition "in principio novæ lectionis," but the addition is characteristic of Luke; Hilg. retains. After *ιερὸν* D also inserts *το δειλινον* (the acc. of time, like *τὸ πρῶτῳ*, v. 21—defended by Belser (and by Zöckler), who argues that it is more likely to have been struck out on revision than added by a later hand); Hilg. retains.

<sup>2</sup> After *καὶ* D, Par.<sup>2</sup>, Syr. Pesh. insert *ιδου. νῦν* *παρχων* om. D, Gig., Par.

early Christian Church, but whilst the Essenes dined together, owing to their scrupulosity in avoiding all food except what was ceremonially pure, the Christians saw in every poor man who partook of their common meal the real Presence of their Lord. Of all contemporary sects it may no doubt be said that the Christian society resembled most nearly the Essenes, but with this admission Weizsäcker well adds: "The Essenes, through their binding rules and their suppression of individualism, were, from their very nature, an order of limited extent. In the new Society the moral obligation of liberty reigned, and disclosed an unlimited future," *Apostolic Age*, i., 58 (E.T.). It is often supposed that the after-poverty of the Church in Jerusalem, Rom. xv. 26, Gal. ii. 10, etc., was the result of this first enthusiasm of love and charity, and that the failure of a community of goods in the mother city prevented its introduction elsewhere. But not only is the above view of the "communism" of the early Christians adverse to this supposition, but there were doubtless many causes at work which may account for the poverty of the Saints in Jerusalem, *cf.* Rendall, *Expositor*, Nov., 1893, p. 322. The collection for the Saints, which occupies such a prominent place in St. Paul's life and words, may not have been undertaken for any exceptional distress as in the earlier case of the famine in Judæa, Acts xi. 26, but we cannot say how severely the effects of the famine may have affected the fortunes of the Jerusalem Christians. We must too take into account the persecution of the Christians by their rich neighbours; the wealthy Sadducees were their avowed opponents. From the first it was likely that the large majority of the Christians in Jerusalem would possess little of this world's goods, and the constant increase in the number of the disciples would have added to the difficulty of maintaining the disproportionate number of poor. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there was another and a fatal cause at work—love itself had grown

cold—the picture drawn by St. James in his Epistle is painfully at variance with the golden days which he had himself seen, when bitter jealousy and faction were unknown, for all were of one heart and one soul, Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, p. 39 ff.; Zöckler, *u.s.*, pp. 191, 192; Wendt, *in loco*; M'Giffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 67; Conybeare, "Essenes," Hastings' B.D.; Kaufmann, *Socialism and Communism*, p. 5 ff.

CHAPTER III.—Ver. 1. St. Luke selects out of the number of *τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα* the one which was the immediate antecedent of the first persecution. "Non dicitur primum hoc miraculum fuisse, sed fuit, quanquam unum e multis, ipso loco maxime conspicuum," Blass, as against Weiss, Hilgenfeld, Feine.—*ἀνέβαινον*, *cf.* Luke xviii. 10. "Two men went up into the Temple to pray," *i.e.*, from the lower city to Mount Moriah, the hill of the Temple, "the hill of the house," on its site see "Jerusalem," B.D.<sup>2</sup>. The verb is in the imperfect, because the Apostles do not enter the Temple until ver. 8. St. Chrysostom comments: Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἦσαν καὶ τὸν Ἱησοῦν εἶχον μέσον, Matt. xviii. 20.—*ἐπὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς προσευχῆς*, not *during* or *about*, but marking a definite time, *for the hour*, *i.e.*, to be there during the hour—sometimes the words are taken to mean "towards the hour": see Plummer on Luke x. 35 (so apparently Weiss). Page renders "for, *i.e.*, to be there at the hour" (so Felten, Lumby). In going thus to the Temple they imitated their Master, Matt. xxvi. 55.—*τὴν ἐνάτην*, *i.e.*, 3 P.M., when the evening sacrifice was offered, Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 4, 3. Edersheim points out that although the evening sacrifice was fixed by the Jews as "between the evenings," *i.e.*, between the darkness of the gloaming and that of the night, and although the words of Psalm cxxxiv., and the appointment of Levite singers for night service, 1 Chron. ix. 33, xxiii. 30, seem to imply an evening service, yet in the time of our Lord

χωλὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων ἐβαστάζετο· ὃν ἐτίθουν  
καθ' ἡμέραν πρὸς τὴν θύραν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὴν λεγομένην Ὠραίαν, τοῦ

the evening sacrifice commenced much earlier, *The Temple; its Ministry and Services*, pp. 115, 116. According to Schürer, followed by Blass who appeals to the authority of Hamburger, there is no ground for supposing that the third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day were regular stated times for prayer. The actual times were rather (1) early in the morning at the time of the morning sacrifice (see also Edersheim, *u. s.*, p. 115); (2) in the afternoon about the ninth hour (three o'clock), at the time of the evening sacrifice; (3) in the evening at sunset (*Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., 290, E.T.). The third, sixth, and ninth hours were no doubt appropriated to private prayer, and some such rule might well have been derived from Psalm lv. 7; cf. Dan. vi. 11. This custom of prayer three times a day passed very early into the Christian Church, *Didache*, viii. 3. To Abraham, Isaac and Jacob the three daily times of prayer are traced back in the *Berachoth*, 26 b; Charles, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, p. 99.

Ver. 2. τῆς, by its position as in Luke xi. 27 directs attention to this man, "the man was conspicuous both from the place and from his malady" Chrys., *Hom.*, viii.—χωλὸς . . . ὑπάρχων: "a certain man that was lame" R.V., otherwise ὑπάρχων is not noticed, fittingly used here in its classical sense expressing the connection between the man's present state and his previous state, see on ii. 30.—ἐβαστάζετο: imperf., expressing a customary act, the man was being carried at the hour of worship when the Temple would be filled with worshippers (Chrysostom); or the verb may mean that he was being carried in the sense that the bearers had not yet placed him in the accustomed spot for begging, cf. 2 Kings xviii. 14, Ecclesiasticus vi. 25, Bel and the Dragon, ver. 36; Theod.—ὃν ἐτίθουν: the imperfect used of customary or repeated action in past time, Burton, *Syntax of Moods and Tenses*, etc., p. 12, on the form see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 121; Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 48: in Acts there are several undoubted instances of the way in which the imperfect 3rd plural of verbs in μι was often formed as if from a contract verb, cf. iv. 33, 35, xxvii. 1.—πρὸς τὴν θύραν: R.V. "door," although in ver. 10 we have not θύρα but πύλη.—τὴν λεγ. Ὠραίαν: it may have been the

gate of Nicanor (so called because Judas Maccabæus had nailed to the gate the hand of his conquered foe, 1 Macc. vii. 47). The description given of it by Josephus, *B. J.*, v., 5, 3, marks it as specially magnificent, cf. also Hamburger, *Real-Encycl.*, ii., 8, p. 1198. This view was held by Wetstein, see, *in loco*, Nicanor's gate. Another interpretation refers the term to the gate Shushan, which was not only close to the Porch of Solomon, but also to the market for the sale of doves and other offerings, and so a fitting spot for a beggar to choose (Zöckler). The gate may have been so called because a picture of the Persian capital Susa was placed over it (Hamburger, *u. s.*), i.e., Town of Lilies. Cf. Hebrew Shushan, a lily, the lily being regarded as the type of beauty. Wendt suggests that the title may be explained from the decoration on the pillars of lily work יָצְחָן יָצְחָן.

Mr. Wright, *Some N.T. Problems*, 1898, has recently argued that the eastern gate of the Court of the Women is meant, p. 304 ff. (so too Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 180, E.T.). This court was the place of assembly for the services, and a beggar might naturally choose a position near it. The decision as to which of these gates reference is made to is rendered more difficult by the fact that, so far as we know, no gate bore the name "Beautiful". But the decision apparently lies between these alternatives, although others have been proposed, cf. John Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, *in loco*, and Wright, *u. s.* In such notices as the mention of the Beautiful Gate, Solomon's Porch, Feine sees indications of a true and reliable tradition.—τοῦ αἰτεῖν: genitive of the purpose, very frequent in this form, genitive of the article with the infinitive both in the N.T. and in the LXX, cf. Gen. iv. 15, 1 Kings i. 35, Ezekiel xxi. 11; Luke xxiv. 16, see especially Burton, *Syntax of Moods and Tenses*, p. 159. It is very characteristic of St. Luke, and next to him of St. Paul—probably indicates the influence of the LXX, although the construction is found in classical Greek, cf. Xen., *Anab.*, iii., 5, see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 172 (1893). It was a common thing for beggars amongst the Jews as amongst the Christians (just as amongst the Romans, Martial, i., 112) to frequent the Temple



αἰτεῖν ἐλεημοσύνην <sup>1</sup>παρὰ τῶν εἰσπορευομένων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. 3. ὃς ἰδὼν <sup>2</sup>Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην μέλλοντας εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν ἡρώτα <sup>3</sup>ἐλεημοσύνην λαβεῖν. 4.<sup>4</sup> ἀτενίσας δὲ Πέτρος εἰς αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, εἶπε, <sup>5</sup>Βλέψον εἰς ἡμᾶς. 5.<sup>6</sup> ὁ δὲ ἐπέειχεν αὐτοῖς, προσδοκῶν

<sup>1</sup> For παρα των εισπ. εις το ιερον D has παρ' αυτων εισπορ. αυτων εις το ιερ., but not received by Blass in β (Chase sees in first part exact reproduction of Syriac αυτων being carelessly repeated).

<sup>2</sup> For ος ιδων D, Flor. read ουτος (so Gig., Par.) ατενισας τοις οφθαλμοις αυτου και ιδων (Chase: interpolation arose in Syriac). Belser again sees the longer form which Luke abbreviated in α.

<sup>3</sup> After ηρωτα D, Flor., Par.<sup>1</sup> insert αυτους. λαβειν (ΣABCE, b, 13, 61, Vulg., Boh., Arm., Chrys.) om. by DP, h, Fl., Gig., Par.<sup>1</sup>, Syr. Harcl., Lucif.—Blass "recte ut vid."—added by T.R., W.H.. Weiss.

<sup>4</sup> For ατενισας D, Flor., Par.<sup>2</sup> read εμβλεψας (εμβλεπειν not uncommon in the Gospels); (συν Ιωαννην in D is attributed by Chase to Syriac influence, cf. Aquila, συν τον ουρανον και συν την γην); Hilg. follows D.

<sup>5</sup> For ειπε Flor. has "(ad)stans dixit ei"; so in β επιστας ειπεν αυτω, in which Belser sees the simpler form of Luke's own revision. For βλεψ. εις ημας D, Flor. ατενισεν εις εμε (ημας D); εμε is curious, but may be earlier edition, or introduced later because John here says nothing. Throughout the passage D, as compared with T.R. or with W.H., introduces different synonyms for "see". Thus T.R. ιδων . . . ατενισας . . . βλεψον, D ατενισας (τους οφθ. και ιδων) . . . εμβλεψας . . . ατενισον, or from Belser's point of view, we must see in the T.R. three words for "see" which may be introduced by Luke in revising his rough draft. But it is difficult to account even in a rough draft for ατενισας in ver. 5 instead of ητενισεν, and for the και introduced before ειπεν without any construction in ver. 4.

<sup>6</sup> επειχεν αυτοις; D reads ατενισας; Flor. represents ητενισεν εις αυτον (so β), see above. But in the fact that D reads αυτοις instead of εις αυτους (ον), as we might expect after ατεν., Weiss sees a further proof of the secondary character of the reading.

and Churches for alms. St. Chrysostom notes the custom as common as it is to-day in continental cathedrals or modern mosques.—ἐλεημοσύνην: common in the LXX but not classical, sometimes used for the feeling of mercy (ἔλεος), Prov. iii. 3, xix. 22, and constantly through the book; and then for mercy showing itself in acts of pity, almsgiving, Tobit i. 3, xii. 8, cf. Acts ix. 36, x. 2, where it is used in the plural, as often in the LXX. Our word *alms* is derived from it and the German *Almosen*, both being corruptions of the Greek word.

Ver. 3. ἡρώτα λαβεῖν: "asked to receive," R.V., as other English versions except A.V. The expression is quite classical, αἰτῶν λαβεῖν, Aristoph., *Plut.*, 240, cf. Mark i. 17, and LXX, Exodus xxiii. 15, for similar instances of a redundant infinitive. The verb is in the imperfect, because the action of asking is imperfect until what is asked for is granted by another, Blass, *in loco*, and *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 187, 236, and Salmon, *Hermathena*, xxi. p. 228.

Ver. 4. ἀτενίσας, cf. i. 10. βλέψον εἰς ἡμᾶς: it has sometimes been thought that the command was given to see whether the man was a worthless beggar or not (Nösgen), or whether he was spiritually disposed for the reception of the benefit, and would show his faith (as in our Lord's miracles of healing), or it might mean that the man's whole attention was to be directed towards the Apostles, as he evidently only expects an alms, ver. 5. At the same time, as Feine remarks, the fact that the narrative does not mention that faith was demanded of the man, forms an essential contrast to the narrative often compared with it in xiv. 9.

Ver. 5. ὁ δὲ ἐπέειχεν, sc., νοῦν (not τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς); cf. Luke xiv. 7, 1 Tim. iv. 16, Ecclesiasticus xxxi. (xxxiv.) 2, 2 Macc. ix. 25 (Job xxx. 26, A.S.<sup>2</sup> al.) with dative *rei*; so in Polybius.

Ver 6. ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον: the words do not suggest the idea of a complete communism amongst the believers, although Oecumenius derives from them a proof of the absolute poverty of the Apostles.

τι παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν. 6. εἶπε δὲ Πέτρος, Ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐχ ὑπάρχει μοι· ὁ δὲ ἔχω, τοῦτό σοι δίδωμι. ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, <sup>1</sup> ἔγειραι καὶ περιπάτει. 7. καὶ πιάσας

<sup>1</sup> ἐγειραι καὶ περιπάτει; AEGP 61 ead ἐγειρε, found in ACEGP 61, Vulg., Boh., Syrr. (P. and H.), Arm., Aeth., Irint.; but omitted by  $\Sigma$ BD, Sah., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Hilg., Wendt (who sees in the preceding words assimilation to passages in the Gospels). *ἀναστα* Epiph.

They may perhaps be explained by remembering that if the Apostles had no silver or gold with them, they were literally obeying their Lord's command, Matt. x. 9, or that whatever money they had was held by them in trust for the public good, not as available for private charity. Spitta, who interprets ii. 45 of the Apostles alone (pp. 72-74), sees in St. Peter's words a confirmation of his view, and a further fulfilment of our Lord's words in Luke xii. 33, but if our interpretation of ii. 44 ff. is correct, our Lord's words were fully obeyed, but as a principle of charity, and not as a rule binding to the letter. St. Chrysostom (*Hom.*, viii.) justly notes the unassuming language of St. Peter here, so free from boasting and personal display. Compare 1 Peter i. 18 (iii. 3), where the Apostle sharply contrasts the corruptible gold and silver with higher and spiritual gifts (Scharfe).—ὁ δὲ ἔχω: the difference between this verb and ὑπάρχει may be maintained by regarding the latter as used of worldly belongings, ἔχω of that which was lasting and most surely held.—ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι: no occasion to prefix such words as λέγω σοι for the expression means "in the power of this name" (cf. Matt. vii. 22, Luke x. 17, Acts iv. 10, xvi. 18, James v. 14, Mark xvi. 17). So too the Hebrew  $\text{בְּשֵׁם}$

in the name of any one, i.e., by his authority, Exodus v. 23, and thus "in the name of Jehovah," i.e., by divine authority, Deut. xviii. 22, 1 Chron. xxii. 19, Jer. xi. 21, and frequently in the Psalms, cf. also *Book of Enoch*, xlvi. 7 (Charles, p. 48). On the use, or possible use, of the phrase in extra-biblical literature, see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 145, and also *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 25 (1897). When Celsus alleged that the Christians cast out demons by the aid of evil spirits, Origen claims this power for the name of Jesus: τοσοῦτον γὰρ δύναται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, cf. also Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, 85.—1. X. τοῦ Ναζωραίου: the words must n themselves have tested

the faith of the lame man. His part has sometimes been represented as merely passive, and as if no appeal of any kind were made to his faith contrasted with xiv. 9 (ver. 16 in this chapter being interpreted only of the faith of the Apostles), but a test of faith was implied in the command which bade the man rise and walk in the power of a name which a short time before had been placed as an inscription on a malefactor's cross, but with which St. Peter now bids him to associate the dignity and power of the Messiah (see Plumptre, *in loco*). It is necessary from another point of view to emphasise this implied appeal to the man's faith, since Zeller and Overbeck regard the omission of faith in the recipient as designed to magnify the magic of the miracle. Zeller remarks: "Our book makes but one observation on his state of mind, which certainly indicates a receptivity, but unfortunately not a receptivity for spiritual gifts". But nothing was more natural than that the man should at first expect to receive money, and his faith in St. Peter's words is rather enhanced by the fact that the Apostle had already declared his utter inability to satisfy his expectations. St. Luke much more frequently than the other Evangelists names our Lord from His early home Nazareth in which frequency Friedrich sees another point of likeness between St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts, *Das Lucas-evangelium*, p. 85. Holtzmann attempts to refer the whole story to an imitation of Luke v. 18-26, but see as against such attempts Feine, *Eine vorkanonische Überlieferung des Lukas*, pp. 175, 199, 200.

Ver. 7. πιάσας, cf. xii. 4: so in LXX, Cant. ii. 15, Ecclesiasticus xxiii. 21, A. al. χεῖρς very similar to, if not exactly, a partitive genitive, found after verbs of touching, etc., inasmuch as the touching affects only a part of the object (Mark v. 30), and so too often after verbs of *taking hold of*, the part or the limit grasped is put in the genitive, Mark v. 41 (accusative being used when the whole person is



αὐτὸν τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς <sup>1</sup> ἤγειρε· παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐστερεώθησαν αὐτοῦ αἱ βάσεις καὶ τὰ σφυρά, <sup>2</sup> 8. καὶ <sup>3</sup> ἐξαλλόμενος ἔστη καὶ περιπατεῖ, καὶ εἰσῆλθε σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν περιπατῶν καὶ ἀλλόμενος καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἠγειρε  $\Sigma$ ABCG 15, 18, 61, Syr. (P. and H.), Arm., Sah., Boh., Aeth., Bas., Cypr., Lucif. insert αὐτον; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (but omitted by Meyer) —omitted in DEP.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτου αἱ βάσεις DEGP, Chrys.; but αἱ β. αὐτου  $\Sigma$ ABC 61, Vulg., Bas., Tert., Lucif., so Tisch., W.H., Weiss. σφυρα  $\Sigma^2$ B<sup>3</sup>C<sup>2</sup>DEGP, so Hilg.; but σφυδρα  $\Sigma^2$ B<sup>3</sup>C<sup>2</sup>, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Blass (Winer-Schmiedel, p. 64).

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐξαλλόμενος ἔστη omit Flor. περιπατεῖ, after this word D inserts χαίρομενος (χαίρων E), Flor. *gaudens et exultans* = χαίρων καὶ ἐξαλλόμενος in β, so Hilg. περιπατῶν καὶ ἀλλ. καὶ omitted by D, Flor. It is difficult to determine the precise order of events—possibly “leaping” is not mentioned at all in Western text, and in it the healed man does not at all events “leap” in the Temple. It is again difficult to believe that in this passage the common text comes from a revision of the author, and not rather through corruption and confusion.

seized, Matt. xiv. 3), Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 100, cf. classical use in Eurip., *Hec.*, 523. The meaning of πιάζω in N.T. and in the LXX has passed into modern Greek = πιάνω = seize, apprehend (Kennedy). For a similar use see also 2 Cor. xi. 32, Rev. xix. 20, and John vii. 30, 32, 33, 44, viii. 20, x. 39, xi. 57, xxi. 3, 10.—παραχρῆμα, i.e., παρὰ τὸ χρῆμα, forthwith, immediately, *auf der Stelle*, on the spot, specially characteristic of St. Luke, both in Gospel and Acts (cf. εὐθὺς of St. Mark). It is found no less than ten times in the Gospel, and six to seven times in Acts, elsewhere in N.T. only twice, Matt. xxi. 19, 20; several times in LXX, Wisdom xviii. 17, Tobit viii. 3, S., 2 Macc. iv. 34, 38, etc., 4 Macc. xiv. 9, Bel and the Dragon, ver. 39, 42, Theod., and in Num. vi. 9, xii. 4, AB<sup>2</sup>R., Isaiah xxix. 5, for Hebrew, דַּחֲרָה; frequent in

Attic prose; see also Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, pp. 22, 29. But as the word is so manifestly characteristic of St. Luke it is noteworthy that in the large majority of instances it is employed by him in connection with miracles of healing or the infliction of disease and death, and this frequency of use and application may be paralleled by the constant employment of the word in an analogous way in medical writers; see, e.g., Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, and instances in Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides. —ἐστερεώθησαν: στερεώω = to make firm or solid; it cannot by any means be regarded only as a technical medical term, but as a matter of fact it was often employed in medical language (so also the adjective στερεός),

and this use of the word makes it a natural one for a medical man to employ here, especially in connection with βάσεις and σφυρά. It is used only by St. Luke in the N.T. (ver. 16 and xvi. 5), but very frequently in the LXX. The nearest approach to a medical use of the word is given perhaps by Wetstein, *in loco*, Xen., *Pad.*, viii.—αἱ βάσεις, “the feet” (βαῖνω). The word is constantly used in LXX, but for the most part in the sense of something upon which a thing may rest, but it is found in the same sense as here in Wisdom xiii. 18; cf. also Jos., *Ant.*, vii., 3, 5, so in Plato, *Timæus*, 92, A. It was in frequent use amongst medical men, and its employment here, and here only in the N.T., with the mention of the other details, e.g., the more precise σφυρά, “ankle-bones,” also only found in this one passage in N.T., has been justly held to point to the technical description of a medical man; see not only Hobart, p. 34 ff., u. s., and Belcher’s *Miracles of Healing*, p. 41, but Bengel, Zöckler, Rendall, Zahn.

Ver. 8. ἐξαλλόμενος: not leaping out of his couch (as has sometimes been supposed), of which there is no mention, but leaping up for joy (cf. Isaiah lv. 12, Joel ii. 5) (on the spelling with one λ see Blass, p. 51); cf. also Isaiah xxxv. 6. This seems more natural than to suppose that he leaped because he was incredulous, or because he did not know how to walk, or to avoid the suspicion of hypocrisy (Chrys., *Hom.*, viii., so too Oecumenius). St. Chrysostom remarks that it was no less than if they saw Christ risen from the dead to hear Peter saying: “In the name,” etc., and if Christ is not

αἰνῶν τὸν Θεόν. 9. καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς περιπατοῦντα καὶ αἰνοῦντα τὸν Θεόν· 10. ἐπεγίνωσκόν τε αὐτὸν ὅτι οὗτος ἦν ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἑλεημοσύνην καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῇ Ὠραΐα πύλῃ τοῦ ἱεροῦ· καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν θάμβους καὶ <sup>1</sup>ἐκστάσεως ἐπὶ τῷ συμβεβηκότι αὐτῷ.

<sup>1</sup> ἐκστάσεως, before this word Flor., Par.<sup>1</sup> insert παντες. For θαμβ. καὶ εκστασ. Flor., Par.<sup>1</sup> read εκστασ. καὶ εθαμβουντο εφ' ᾧ αὐτῷ συμβεβηκεν ιαοις; but D with α accepts γεγενημενω instead of συμβεβ., cf. iv. 22; so Hilg.

raised, how account for it, he asks, that those who fled whilst He was alive, now dared a thousand perils for Him when dead?—*ἔστη καὶ περιπάτει*: "he stood and began to walk" R.V., thus marking the difference between the aorist and the imperfect. Such vivid details may have been derived from St. Peter himself, and they are given here with a vividness characteristic of St. Mark's Gospel, of which St. Peter may reasonably be regarded as the main source. If St. Luke did not derive the narrative directly from St. Peter, he may easily have done so from the same Evangelist, John Mark, see on chap. xii., and Scharfe, *Die petrinische Strömung der N. T. Literatur*, pp. 59, 60 (1893).—*αἰνῶν τὸν Θεόν*: commentators from the days of St. Chrysostom have noted that by no act or in no place could the man have shown his gratitude more appropriately; characteristic of St. Luke, to note not only fear, but the ascription of praise to God as the result of miraculous deeds; cf., e.g., Luke xix. 37, xxiv. 53, Acts iii. 9, iv. 21, xi. 18, and other instances in Friedrich (*Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 77, 78). On the word see further, p. 97. Spitta regards ver. 8 as modelled after xiv. 10, a passage attributed by him to his inferior source B. But on the other hand both Feine and Jüngst regard the first part of ver. 8 as belonging to the original source.

Ver. 10. *ἐπεγίνωσκόν τε*: "took knowledge of him" or perhaps better still "recognised". The word is so used of recognising any one by sight, hearing, or certain signs, to perceive who a person is (Grimm), cf., e.g., Luke xxiv. 16, 31, Matt. xiv. 35, Mark vi. 54.—*ὁ . . . καθήμενος*: imperfect, may refer to the customary action of the man: or may be equivalent here to an imperfect, a force of the imperfect usual in similar cases when reference is made to a time before the actual time of recognition, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 188.—*ἐπὶ*: for the local dative cf. v. 9, Matt. xxiv. 33, Mark xiii. 29, John v. 2, Rev. ix. 14.—*θάμβους*, cf. Luke iv. 36 and v. 9. A

word peculiar to St. Luke in the N.T. (so St. Luke alone uses *ἐθαμβος*, ver. 11); used from Homer downwards, of amazement allied to terror or awe, cf. LXX, Ezek. vii. 18, Cant. iii. 8, vi. 3 (4), 9 (10).—*ἐκστάσεως*: for the word in a similar sense, Mark v. 42, xvi. 8, Luke v. 26. Its use in ordinary Greek expresses rather distraction or disturbance of mind caused by a shock. The word is very common both in Hippocrates and Aretaeus. In the LXX it is employed in various senses, cf. Deut. xxviii. 28, *ἐκστάσει διανοίας*; elsewhere it is used of agitation, trouble, 2 Chron. xxix. 8, and most frequently of terror, fear, 1 Sam. xi. 7, Ezek. xxvi. 16. See further on. Here the word expresses more than simple astonishment as its collocation with *θάμβος* shows (Wendt, *in loco*), rather "bewilderment," cf. Mark v. 42. See on ii. 43 for this characteristic of St. Luke. But there is no occasion to conclude with Weiss that these strong expressions as to the effect of the miracle show that it must have been the first which the disciples performed. It was the unique nature of the miracle which affected the beholders so powerfully.

Ver. 11. *κρατοῦντος*: in his joy and gratitude, "holding them" in a physical sense, although it is possible that it signifies that the healed man joined himself to the Apostles more closely as a follower (iv. 14), fearing like the demoniac healed by Christ (Luke viii. 38) lest he should be separated from his benefactors, cf. Cant. iii. 4.—*ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ καλ.* Σ.: better "portico," R.V. margin; colonnade, or cloister (John x. 23). It derived its name from Solomon, and was the only remnant of his temple. A comparison of the notices in Josephus, *B. J.*, v., 5, 1; *Ant.*, xv., 11, 5 and xx., 9, 7, make it doubtful whether the foundations only, or the whole colonnade, should be referred back to Solomon. Ewald's idea that the colonnade was so called because it was a place of concourse for the wise in their teaching has not found any support: Stanley's *Jewish Church*, ii.,



11. Κρατοῦντος δὲ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἱαθέντος χωλοῦ τὸν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην, συνέδραμε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τῇ στοᾷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Σολομῶντος, ἑκθαμβοί. 12. ἰδὼν δὲ Πέτρος ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς τὸν λαὸν, Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, τί θαυμάζετε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἢ ἡμῖν τί ἀτενίζετε,<sup>2</sup> ὡς ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ εὐσεβείᾳ πεποικηκόσι τοῦ περιπατεῖν αὐτόν;

<sup>1</sup> του ἱαθέντος; but αυτου in  $\aleph$  ABCDE 61, Vulg., Syrr. P. H., Sah., Boh., Arm., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss; Rec.=prob. beginning of a church lectionary. But in ver. 11 Western text quite different. D, Flor. εκπορευομενου (Fl. -νων) δε του Π. και ιω. συνεξορευετο κρατων αυτους, and D continues (not Flor. = α) οι δε θαμβηθεντες εστησαν εν τη στοα τη καλ. Σ. εκθαμβοι (but in  $\beta$  Blass brackets the last word); Hilg. follows D. There is a distinction evidently drawn between the area of the Temple and Solomon's Porch, "nam porticus illa extra aream sacram fuit," Blass; and ιερων might perhaps be so used as distinct from the outer court or cloisters. If so, the Western text may contain the more precise account of a writer who wishes to bring the Apostles and the lame man from the one into the other, in accordance with the topography with which he was familiar. But if, as Weiss admits, εκπορ. . . . συνεξορευετο is implied in the κρατων and change of locality, cf. vv. 8 and 11, we may have another case in which the theory of Blass may hold good, and Luke himself may have revised for shortness (see Belser's retention of the  $\beta$  reading, and Blass, *Acta Apost., in loco*). Σολομῶντος  $\aleph$ (A)BCP 1, 13, 31, 61; so Tisch., W.H., Weiss (but see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 93).

<sup>2</sup> D, Flor., Par. begin αποκριθεις δε ο Π. ειπεν προς αυτους—ο λαος και πας ο λαος both omitted. ως ιδια . . . περιπ. αυτον, for this D, Flor., Gig., Severian. read ως ημων τη ιδια δυν. η ευσεβ. πεποικηκωτων του περιπ. αυτον, so Hilg.—gen. abs. characteristic of the Western text (see Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 60); cf. ii. 1, 15; may be careless transcription or through translation. D has τουτο both before and after πεποικηκωτων (Harris, Latinising; Chase, due to Syriac); but see iv. 7—the second τουτο perhaps confusion with του or το.

184; Edersheim, *Temple and its Services*, pp. 20, 22, and Keim, *Geschichte Jesu*, iii., 161. It was situated on the eastern side of the Temple, and so was sometimes called the Eastern Cloister, and from its position it was a favourite resort.—τῇ καλ.: the present participle is used just as the present tense is found in the notice in St. John's Gospel, chap. v. 2 (see Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 241, 242), and if we cannot conclude from this that the book was composed before the destruction of the Temple, the vividness of the whole scene and the way in which Solomon's Porch is spoken of as still standing, points to the testimony of an eye-witness. Nösgen argues that this narrative and others in the early chapters may have been derived directly from St. John, and he instances some verbal coincidences between them and the writings of St. John (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 28). But if we cannot adopt his conclusions there are good reasons for referring some of these Jerusalem incidents to St. Peter, or to John Mark, see introduction and chap. xii. Feine rightly insists upon this notice and that in ver. 2 as bearing the stamp of a true and trustworthy tradition.

Ver. 12. This address of St. Peter divides itself into two parts, 12-16, 17-26, and although it covers much of the same ground as in chap. ii., there is no need to regard it with Overbeck and Holtzmann as unhistorical: see Blass, *in loco*, and Feine; the latter points out that St. Peter would naturally, as in chap. iii., take the incident before him as his text, place it in its right light, and draw from it an appeal to repentance and conversion. But whilst we may grant the common and identical aim of the two discourses, to proclaim the Messiahship of Jesus before the Jews, none can fail to see that in chap. iii. the Messianic idea becomes richer and fuller. Jesus is the prophet greater than Moses: Jesus is the fulfilment of the Abrahamic covenant, through which the blessing of Abraham is to extend to all the earth, Matt. viii. 11. And more than this: St. Peter has learnt to see in the despised Nazarene not only the suffering servant of Jehovah (παις), but in the servant the King, and in the seed of David the Prince of Life. And in the light of that revelation the future opens out more clearly before him, and he becomes the first prophet in the Messianic age—the spirit-

13.<sup>1</sup> ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἐδόξασε τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· ὃν ὑμεῖς<sup>2</sup> παρεδώκατε, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ὁ Θ. Αβρ. καὶ Ἰσ. καὶ Ἰακ. BEP 61, Sah., Syr. (Pesh. Harcl.); so W.H., Weiss, R.V., T.R.; Wendt, who explains the reading in Tisch., Hilg. introducing (ο) Θεος (ΞACD) before Ἰσ. and before Ἰακ. as out of LXX, Exod. iii. 6 (cf. Matt. xxii. 32).

<sup>2</sup> παρεδώκατε; D adds εἰς κρίσιν, so Hilg.; E εἰς κριτήριον (cf. also Flor., Par.<sup>1</sup>, Syr. Harcl. mg., Iren., cf. Luke xxiv. 30; see also Chase, *in loco*).

ual presence which the believers now enjoyed, and by which those mighty deeds are wrought, is only a foretaste of a more visible and glorious Presence, when the Messiah should return in His glory; and for that return repentance and remission of sins must prepare the way (see Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, pp. 31, 32). On St. Peter's discourses see additional note at end of chapter.—ἀπεκρίνατο: cf. Luke xiii. 14, xiv. 3, answered, *i.e.*, to their looks of astonishment and inquiry. The middle voice as here, which would be the classical usage, is seldom found in the N.T., but generally the passive aorist, ἀπεκριθῆ, and so in the LXX. "In Biblical Greek the middle voice is dying, in modern Greek it is dead," Plummer. Thus in modern Greek, ὑποκρίνομαι in the passive = to answer, Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 155, and Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 44.—ὡς πεποιηκόσιν τοῦ περιπατεῖν: this use of the infinitive with the genitive of the article, instead of the simple infinitive with or without ὥστε, to express a purpose, or result as here: "non de consilio sed de eventu" (Blass), may be illustrated from the LXX, Gen. xxxvii. 18, 1 Chron. xlv. 6, Isaiah v. 6.—εὐσέβεια: "godliness," R.V., as always elsewhere in A.V., *i.e.*, by our piety towards God, as always in the Bible, although εὐσέβεια may be used like the Latin *pietas* of piety towards parents or others, as well as of piety towards God. It is frequently used in the LXX of reverence towards God, εἰς, so too in Josephus, πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, cf. Prov. i. 7, xiii. 11, Isaiah xi. 2, Wisdom x. 12, and often in 4 Macc. In Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, ii., p. 196, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* In the N.T. the word is used, in addition to its use here, by St. Paul ten times in the Pastoral Epistles, and it is found no less than four times in 2 Peter, but nowhere else. St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* ix., comments: "Do you see how clear of all ambition he is, and how he repels the honour paid to him?" so too Joseph: Do not interpretations belong to God?

Ver. 13. ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ κ.τ.λ.: the

words were wisely chosen, not only to gain attention and to show that the speaker identified himself with the nation and hope of Israel, but also because in Jesus St. Peter saw the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham.—ἐδόξασε, John viii. 54, xi. 4. Again we mark the same sharp contrast as in St. Peter's former address—God hath glorified . . . but you put to an open shame. The objections of Weiss, who traces a reviser's hand in the double mention of the glorification of Jesus in ver. 13 and in 15, fail to secure the approval of Spitta, Feine, Jüngst, who all hold that ἐδόξασε refers to the power of the Risen Jesus, shown in the healing of the lame man, which Peter thus expressly emphasises. But the glorification was not, of course, confined to this miracle: "auxit gloria hoc quoque miraculo" (Blass).—τὸν παῖδα: "his Servant," R.V. (margin, "Child"). Vulgate has *filium*, which all other English versions (except A.V., "Child") seem to have followed. But the rendering "Servant" is undoubtedly most appropriate, cf. ver. 26, and iv. 27, 30 (employed in the Messianic sense of Isa. xlii. 1, lii. 13, liii. 11), where the LXX has παῖς, Hebrew עֶבֶד. In Matt. xii.

18 the Evangelist sees the fulfilment of the first passage in Jesus as the Christ, the Servant of Jehovah. Wendt rightly emphasises the fact that no Apostle ever bears the name παῖς Θεοῦ, but δούλος; cf. iv. 29. In the LXX Moses is called both παῖς and δούλος. The rendering of R.V. is generally adopted, and by critics of very varying schools, *e.g.*, Overbeck, Nösgen, Holtzmann, Felten, Hilgenfeld. Zöckler, whilst he adopts the rendering "Servant," still maintains that Luther's translation, *Kind Gottes*, cannot be regarded as incorrect (cf. the double meaning of the word in classical literature). Certainly he seems justified in maintaining that in the numerous parallels in the sub-apostolic writings the conception of the Servant by no means always excludes that of the Son, *e.g.*, *Epist. ad Diogn.*, viii., 11 and 9, where of





ἄνδρα φονέα χαρισθῆναι ὑμῖν, 15. τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀπεκτείνετε· ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, οὗ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρες ἐσμεν.

2 Cor. x. 1—the expression need not be explained as a Hebraism, it is found several times in Polybius; see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 23. In the LXX it is frequent in various senses, and sometimes simply in the sense of before, in the presence of, a person, 1 Sam. xvii. 8, 1 Kings i. 23, 1 Chron. xvii. 25, Ecclesiasticus xlv. 3, Jer. lii. 12, 33, Judith x. 23, xi. 5, etc. Rendall takes the words as usually denoting open encounter with an opposite party face to face, cf. xxv. 16, Gal. ii. 11, and so here; the Jews met Pilate's proposal to free the prisoner with a point-blank denial. 13<sup>b</sup> is referred by Hilgenfeld to the revising hand of "the author to Theophilus," and he sees in its introduction a proof of the anti-Judaism of the reviser, whilst Jünger prefers to regard the first part of ver. 14 as an insertion, but this Hilgenfeld will not accept, as thus the antithesis in ver. 15 is not marked.—κρίναντος: "when he had determined," R.V., not a purpose only, but a decision, Luke xxiii. 16.—ἐκείνου, not αὐτοῦ, emphasising the antithesis between what Pilate had determined and what *they* had done: ὑμεῖς ἐκείνου θελήσαντος οὐκ ἠθελήσατε (Chrys.).

Ver. 14. τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον: both epithets are used of John the Baptist, Mark vi. 20, ἄνδρα δίκαιον καὶ ἅγιον, but Jesus is emphatically "the Holy and Righteous One" R.V. Not only is the sinlessness of His human character emphasised, but also associated with the language of prophecy. St. Peter had already spoken of Jesus as God's Holy One, ii. 27, and if the word used here means rather one consecrated to God's service, it is the thought involved in the παῖς Θεοῦ (ἅγιος, e.g., ἐκλεκτός Θεοῦ, see Grimm, *sub v.*, and cf. Isaiah xlii. 1 LXX). The word was used by the demoniacs as they felt the power of the unique holiness of Christ, Mark i. 34, Luke iv. 34, and in St. John's Gospel vi. 69, it is the title given to Jesus by St. Peter in his great confession.—τὸν δικ.: the reference to the language of prophecy is unmistakable. The suffering Servant of Jehovah was also the righteous Servant, Isaiah liii. 11 (cf. xi. 5, and Jer. xxiii. 5), see Acts vii. 52, xxii. 14. Later, in the *Book of Enoch*, the title is applied to the Messiah as the *Righteous One*, xxxviii. 2, liii. 6, xlv. 3 (Charles' edition, pp. 48, 112, 144). In Acts vii. 52, 56, the

title is found on the lips of St. Stephen, and in xxii. 14, Ananias, a Jewish Christian, announces to Paul that God had chosen him to see the *Righteous One*. When we remember too that this title is used again in the writings of each of the Apostles, who now appealed to it, 1 Peter iii. 18, 1 John ii. 1, cf. ver. 20 (Rev. iii. 7), it would seem that it was not only a favourite one amongst these early believers, but that it affords in itself a marvellous proof of the impression made by the human life of Jesus upon those who knew Him best, or who at all events, like St. Stephen, had ample opportunities of learning the details of that life of holiness and righteousness, cf. also Matt. xxvii. 19, 24, Luke xviii. 47.—ἄνδρα φονέα: nearly all commentators dwell upon the marked contrast between this description of Barabbas and that just given of Jesus. Both St. Mark, xv. 7, and St. Luke, xxiii. 19, notice that Barabbas was not only a robber but a murderer. The addition, ἄνδρα, common in Luke, makes the expression stronger than the simple φονέα; cf. Soph., *O. C.*, 948, ἄνδρα πατροκτόνον, *O. R.*, 842, ἄνδρας ληστὰς. No crime was more abhorrent to the Christian life, as St. Peter himself indicates, 1 Peter iv. 15.—χαρισθῆναι: to be granted to you as a χάρις or favour, as if St. Peter would recall the fact that Pilate had given them a gratification! The verb is used several times in Luke, three times in his Gospel, vii. 21, 42, 43, and four times in Acts, cf. xxv. 11, 16, xxvii. 24, elsewhere only in St. Paul's Epistles, where it is found fifteen times. In the LXX, cf. Esther viii. 7, Ecclus. xii. 3, and several times in the Books of the Maccabees, cf. 2 Macc. iii. 31, 33, and other instances in Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.* St. Chrys. writes: "Peter shows the great aggravation of the act. As he has them under his hand, he strikes hard; while they were hardened he refrained from such language, but when their minds are most moved then he strikes home, now that they are in a condition to feel it" (*Hom.*, ix.).

Ver. 15. τὸν δὲ ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς: again the words stand in marked contrast not only to φονέα but also to ἀπεκτείνετε; magnificent antitheton, Bengel. The word is rendered "Author" in the margin of R.V. (Vulgate, *auctorem*) but "Prince" in the text and so in v. 31 (Vulgate, *principem*). In the two other passages in



16. καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ, τοῦτον, ὃν θεωρεῖτε καὶ οὔδατε, ἑσπερέωσε τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ ἔδωκεν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Ἰ<sup>8</sup>ACDEP, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Irnt., so Tisch., and so Weiss; but om. ἸB 61, Arm., so W.H. (Lachmann and Blass punctuate ἑσπερέωσεν· τὸ ὄνομα.)

which the word occurs in the N.T., viz., Heb. ii. 10, xii. 2, R.V. renders "Author," "the author of their salvation," "the author and perfecter of our faith," margin "captain" (Vulgate, *auctorem*); see Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 49, 395. Christ is both the Prince of life and the Source (*auctor*) of life: "Vitam aliis dat Christus, opp. φονεύς qui adimit" (Blass). Grimm and others draw a distinction between the meaning attaching to the word here and in v. 31. The use of the word in the LXX may help to justify such a distinction, for whilst it is found in the sense of a leader or a captain (Num. xiv. 4, Judith xiv. 2), or the chief of a family or tribe (R.V. renders it "every one a prince" in Num. xiii. 2, but in the next verse "heads of the children of Israel"), it is also used to signify the author, or beginner, the source, cf. 1 Macc. ix. 61, x. 47, Micah i. 13 (although it was never used for a prince or to describe kingly attributes); but in many respects the rendering "Prince" may be compared with the Latin *princeps*, which signifies the first person in order, a chief, a leader, an originator, the founder of a family (in the time of the emperors it was used of the heir to the throne). So in classical Greek the word was used for a leader, a founder, Latin *auctor*, for the first cause, author, so God τῶν πάντων, Plat., and also for a prince, a chief, and, especially in later Greek, of the person from whom anything good or bad first proceeds in which others have a share, e.g., ἀρχηγός καὶ αἷτιος combined (*antesignanus et auctor*), Polyb., i., 66, 10; Hadian., ii., 6, 22, and as Alford points out in Heb. ii. 10, this later usage throws a light upon its meaning in Acts iii. 15, cf. Chrys. on Heb. ii. 10, ἀρχηγὸν τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦτέστι τὸν αἷτιον τῆς σωτηρίας. Christ is the source of life, a life in which others share through Him; in this very place where St. Peter was speaking our Lord had spoken of Himself as the giver of eternal life, John x. 28, although doubtless the expression may include the thought that in Him was life in its fullest and widest sense — physical, intellectual, moral, spiritual. St. Chrysostom comments on the words "Prince of Life," *Hom.*, ix.:

"It follows that the life He had was not from another, the Prince or Author of Life must be He who has life from Himself". Theophylact and Oecumenius see in the words a contrast to the φονέα, in that Christ gives life, while the murderer takes it away—a contrast deepened by the words of St. Peter's fellow-disciple whom he here associates with himself in his appeal to the people, cf. 1 John iii. 15. In ver. 31 ἀρχ. in its rendering "Prince" of kingly dignity may be compared with the use of the word in Thuc., i., 132, Æsch., *Agam.*, 259. Rendall sees in the expression both here and Acts v. 31 a reference to Jesus (the name used by St. Peter) as the second Joshua. As Joshua was the captain of Israel and led them across the Jordan into the land of promise, so Jesus was the Captain of the living army of the Resurrection; and for Saviour, v. 31, he compares Matt. i. 21. Such associations may be included in St. Peter's words, but they seem much more applicable to v. 31. In modern Greek the word ἀρχηγός = leader, in the ordinary sense, Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 153; see Grimm, *sub v.*—οὗ may refer to ὃν, cf. i. 8, xiii. 31, or to the fact of the Resurrection, cf. ii. 32, v. 32, x. 39. R.V. reads "of whom" in the margin.

Ver. 16. ἐπὶ: so T.R., and so Weiss and Wendt; "on the ground of faith in His name;" R.V. margin; cf. Luke v. 5 (not expressing the aim as if it meant with a view to faith in His name). But the name is no mere formula of incantation, see xix. 13, nor is it used as, in Jewish tradition, the name of God, inscribed on the rod of Moses, was said to have given him power to work his miracles in Egypt and the wilderness, see above on ver. 5. On the use of ὄνομα in formulæ of incantation, see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 25-54.—ἡ πίστις ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ: "the faith which is through Him," not by it, i.e., the name—not only the healing power is through Christ, but also the faith of the Apostles as of the man who was healed, cf., especially, 1 Pet. i. 21. τοὺς δι' αὐτοῦ πιστοὺς εἰς Θεόν, i.e., his converts who through Christ are believers in God: He is the object and the author of our faith,

αὐτῷ τὴν ὀλοκληρίαν ταύτην ἀπέναντι πάντων ὑμῶν. 17. καὶ νῦν, ἀδελφοί,<sup>1</sup> οἶδα ὅτι κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν. 18. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἃ προκατήγγειλε διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Before ἀδελφοί DE, Flor., Par.<sup>1</sup> insert *ἀνδρες*. For οἶδα ὅτι D, Flor. read *ἐπισταμεθα ὅτι υμεῖς μὲν*, perhaps for emphasising contrast (*cf.* vv. 13, 14) with *ver.* 18, οὐδε Θεός (Chase, Syriac). *ἐπράξατε*, D, Fl., Gig., Par., Syr. H. mg., Irint, Aug., Ambrst. add *το πονηρον*, so Hilg., a gloss to explain *ἐπράξ.* since it is not in accordance with the exculpatory tone of the context (Weiss).

*Cf.* also Nestle, *Expository Times*, Feb., 1899, p. 238, and the connection of this phrase with Codex D, xviii. 8, and xx. 21 (see Blass, *i. c.*).—*ὀλοκληρίαν*: only here in N.T., *integrum sanitatem*, Vulgate, but the adjective *ὀλόκληρος* in an ethical sense, 1 Thess. v. 23, James i. 4. The noun is only used once in the LXX, and there in a physical sense, Isaiah i. 6. The adjective is used by Josephus of a sacrifice complete in all its parts (*integer*), *Ant.*, iii., 12, 2, *cf.* its use in Philo., but in LXX, Zach. xi. 16, its use in a physical sense is a very doubtful rendering of the Hebrew, see further Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, i., 85, and Mayor's *St. James*, p. 34. *Cf.* Plato, *Tim.*, 44.—*ὀλόκληρος ὕγις τε παντελῶς*. In Plutarch the noun is joined with *ὕγεια*, and also with *τοῦ σώματος* (Grimm), but whilst the noun does not seem to be used by the strictly medical writers, *ὀλόκληρος* is frequently used of complete soundness of body (Hobart, Zahn).

*Ver.* 17. *καὶ νῦν*: favourite formula of transition, *cf.* vii. 35, x. 5, xx. 25, xxii. 16, 1 John ii. 28, 2 John 5. See Wendt and Page, *in loco*. Bengel describes it as "formula transeuntis a præterito ad præsens". Blass, "i.e., quod attinet ad ea quæ nunc facienda sunt, *ver.* 19".—*ἀδελφοί*: affectionate and conciliatory, *cf.* *ver.* 12, where he speaks more formally because more by way of reproof: "One of the marks of truth would be wanting without this accordance between the style and the changing mental moods of the speaker" (Hackett).—*κατὰ ἄγνοιαν*: the same phrase occurs in LXX, Lev. xxii. 14 (*cf.* also Lev. v. 18, Eccles. v. 5). On *κατὰ* in this usage, see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 149, who doubts whether it is quite good Greek. It is used in Polybius, and Blass compares *κατ' ἀνάγκην* (Philem., *ver.* 14), which is found in Xen., *Cyr.*, iv., 3. Their guilt was less than if they had slain the Messiah *κατὰ πρόθεσιν*, *κατὰ προαίρεσιν*, or *ἐν χειρὶ ὑπερφανίας*, Num. xv. 30, and there-

fore their hope of pardon was assured on their repentance (*cf.* 1 Pet. i. 14, *ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ*, and *Psalms of Solomon*, xviii., 5, for the same phrase). St. Peter speaks in the spirit of his Master, Luke xxiii. 34. See instances in Wetstein of the antithesis of the two phrases *κατ' ἄγνοιαν* and *κατὰ πρόθεσιν* (*προαίρεσιν*) in Polybius.—*οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν*, *cf.* 1 Cor. ii. 8. The guilt of the rulers was greater than that of the people, but even for their crime St. Peter finds a palliation in the fact that they did not recognise the Messiah, although he does not hold them guiltless for shutting their eyes to His holiness and innocence.

*Ver.* 18. *δὲ*: a further mitigation; whilst they were acting in their ignorance, God was working out His unerring counsel and will.—*πάντων τῶν προφητῶν*: not to be explained by simply calling it hyperbolic. The prophets are spoken of collectively, because the Messianic redemption to which they all looked forward was to be accomplished through the death of Christ, *cf.* x. 43. The view here taken by St. Peter is in striking harmony with his first Epistle, i. 11, and ii. 22-25.—*παθεῖν τὸν Χ. αὐτοῦ*, R.V., "his Christ," *cf.* Luke xvii. 25, xxiv. 26. The phrase, which (W.H.) is undoubtedly correct, is found in Psalm ii. 2, from which St. Peter quotes in iv. 26, and the same expression is used twice in the Apocalypse, but nowhere else in the N.T.; xi. 15, xii. 10 (*cf.* also Luke ii. 26, ix. 20). See also the striking passage in *Psalms of Solomon*, xviii., 6 (and *ver.* 8), *ἐν ἀνάξει Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ*, and Ryle and James on *Psalm* xvii. 36. The paradox that the suffering Messiah was also the Messiah of Jehovah, His Anointed, which the Jews could not understand (hence their *ἀγνοία*), was solved for St. Peter in the Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Jesus. On the suffering Messiah, see note xxvi. 23.—*ἐπλήρωσεν οὗτω*: "He thus fulfilled," *i.e.*, in the way described, vv. 14, 15. On *πληρώω*, see i. 16. "In the gardens of the Carthusian Convent . . .



προφητῶν αὐτοῦ, παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν, ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτω. 19. μετανοήσατε οὖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε, εἰς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας,

near Dijon . . . is a beautiful monument. . . . It consists of a group of Prophets and Kings from the O.T., each holding in his hand a scroll of mourning from his writings—each with his own individual costume and gesture and look, each distinguished from each by the most marked peculiarities of age and character, absorbed in the thoughts of his own time and country. But above these figures is a circle of angels, as like each to each as the human figures are unlike. They, too, as each overhangs and overlooks the Prophet below him, are saddened with grief. But their expression of sorrow is far deeper and more intense than that of the Prophets, whose words they read. They see something in the Prophetic sorrow which the Prophets themselves see not: they are lost in the contemplation of the Divine Passion, of which the ancient saints below them are but the unconscious and indirect exponents:” Stanley’s *Jewish Church*, pref. to vol. ii.

Ver. 19. ἐπιστρέψατε: “turn again,” R.V.; cf. also Matt. xiii. 15, Mark iv. 12, and Acts xxviii. 27 (Luke xxii. 32), in each of these passages, as in the text, A.V., “should be converted,” following the Vulgate, *convertantur*. But the verb is in the active voice in each of the passages mentioned; cf. LXX, 1 Kings viii. 33, 2 Chron. vi. 24, 37, Isaiah vi. 10 (“turn again,” R.V.), Tobit xiii. 6—ἐπιστρέψατε ἁμαρτωλοὶ: this passive rendering in the Vulgate and A.V. testifies to the unwillingness in the Western Church to recognise the “conversion” to God as in any degree the spontaneous act of the sinner himself—men have enlarged upon Lam. v. 21, but have forgotten James iv. 8 (Humphry, *Commentary on the R. V.*, pp. 31, 32).—πρὸς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι: in the LXX the verb is found in the sense of obliterating ἀνομίας, Ps. l. (li.) 1, 9; Isaiah xliii. 25, Ecclesiasticus xlv. 20, Jer. xviii. 23, with ἁμαρτίας, 2 Macc. xii. 42, with ἁμαρτήματα (cf. 3 Macc. ii. 19, ἀπαλείφειν with ἁμαρτίας), and in N.T.; cf. Col. ii. 14. For other instances of its use in the N.T., cf. Rev. iii. 5, with Deut. ix. 14, Ps. ix. 5, etc., and see also Rev. vii. 17, xxi. 4. In *Psalms of Solomon* it is used twice—once of blotting out the memories of sinners from off the earth, Psalm ii. 19; cf. Exod. xvii. 14, etc., and once of blotting out the transgressions of Saints

by the Lord, Psalm xiii. 9. Blass speaks of the word as used “de scriptis proprie; itaque etiam de debita pecunia”; cf. Dem., 791, 12 (Wendt), and see also Wetstein, *in loco*. The word can scarcely be applied here to the Baptism (as Meyer), for which a word expressing washing would rather be required, cf. xxii. 16, although no doubt, as in ii. 38, Baptism joined with Repentance was required for the remission of sins.—ὅπως ἄν: not “when” (as if ὅπως = ὅτε), but “that so there may come,” R.V., ἄν with ὅπως indicates that the accomplishment of the purpose is dependent upon certain conditions; here dependent upon the repentance. In the N.T. there are only four instances of this use of ὅπως ἄν, all in pure final clauses, viz., in the text, Luke ii. 35, and in two quotations from the LXX, Acts xv. 17 (where ἄν is wanting in LXX, Amos ix. 12), and Rom. iii. 4 = LXX, Ps. l. (li.) 4, so that this usage is practically peculiar to St. Luke in the N.T. Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 80 (1893); Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 207, and Burton, *N.T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 85.—καίροι ἀναψύξεως: the word ἀνάψυξις, used only by St. Luke, means refreshing or refreshment. In the LXX it occurs in Exod. viii. 15 (but cf. Aq. on Isaiah xxviii. 12, and Sym. on Isaiah xxiii. 15), where it is translated “respite,” although the same Hebrew word רַחֵץ, in the only other place in which it occurs, Lam. iii. 56, may have the sense of “relief” (see Dr. Payne Smith, *in loco*, *Speaker’s Commentary*, vol. v.). In Strabo ἀνάψυξις is found in the sense of recreation, refreshment, x., p. 459; see also Philo, *De Abr.*, 29, and cf. the verb ἀναψύχω in 2 Tim. i. 16 (cf. Rom. xv. 32, ἀναψύξω μεθ’ ὑμῶν, DE, *refrigerer vobiscum*, Vulgate, and Nösgen on Acts iii. 19). Rendall would render it here “respite,” as if St. Peter urged the need of repentance that the people might obtain a respite from the terrible visitation of the Lord. But the καίροι ἀναψ. are identified by most commentators with the ἀποκατα. πάντων, and ἀναψ. need by no means be rendered “respite”. Nösgen, connecting the words with the thought of ἀνάπαυσις (cf. the various renderings in Rom. xv. 32), would see here a fulfilment of Christ’s promise, καὶ γὰρ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς, Matt. xi. 28, to those who turned to Him in true re-

ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κυρίου, 20. καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεκηρυγμένον ὑμῖν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, 21. ὃν δεῖ

penitance, and so in his view the expression applies to the seasons of spiritual refreshment which may be enjoyed by the truly penitent here and now, which may occur again and again as men repent (Isaiah lvii. 16); so J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, interprets the word of the present refreshing of the Gospel, and God's present sending of Christ in His ministry and power, and in the same manner ἀποστείλῃ, i.e., not at the end of the world, when Christ shall come as Judge, but in the Gospel, which is His voice. But the context certainly conceives of Christ as enthroned in Heaven, where He must remain until His Second Advent, although we may readily admit that there is a spiritual presence of the enthroned Jesus which believers enjoy as a foretaste of the visible and glorious Presence at the Parousia, Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 31 ff.—ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ Κ. πρόσωπ., lit., face, often used as here for "the presence"; cf. Hebrew, פְּנֵי, frequently in LXX, and see above

on ii. 28, here of the refreshment which comes from the bright and smiling presence of God to one seeking comfort (so Grimm). The phrase occurs three times in Acts v. 41, vii. 45, elsewhere in 2 Thess. i. 9, and three times in Apoc. On St. Luke's fondness for phrases with πρόσωπον (ἀπὸ, πρό, κατά), see Friedrich (*Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 8, 9, 89). The Lord is evidently God the Father, the καιροί are represented as present before God, already decreed and determined, and as coming down from His presence to earth (Weiss, Wendt). Christ speaks, i. 6, of the seasons which the Father hath set in His own power, and so St. Chrysostom speaks of God as αἵτιος of the seasons of refreshment.

Ver. 20. καὶ ἀποστείλῃ, i.e., at His Parousia. The construction is still ὅπως ἂν with the verb. ἀποστ. is here used as in Luke iv. 18, 43, expressing that the person sent is the envoy or representative of the sender (πέμπω is also used of the mission of our Lord).—τὸν προκεκηρυγμένον, T.R., see on ver. 18; but W.H., Blass, Weiss, τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν Χριστόν, Ἰησοῦν: "the Christ who hath been appointed for you, even Jesus". So R.V. This verb is found with accusative of the person in the sense of choosing, appointing, in Acts xxii. 14, xxvi. 16, and nowhere else in the N.T.; cf. Josh.

iii. 12, 2 Macc. iii. 7, viii. 9, Exod. vi. 13 (cf. its use also in Dem., Polyb., Plut., and instances in Weststein); Latin *eligere, destinare*. The expression here refers not only to the fact that Jesus was the appointed Christ, inasmuch as the covenant with Abraham was fulfilled in Him, ver. 25, but also to the return of Jesus as the Christ, the Messianic King, at His Parousia, in accordance with the voices of the Prophets. This is more natural than to suppose that the expression means foreordained, i.e., from eternity, although St. Peter's words elsewhere may well be considered in connection with the present passage, 1 Pet. i. 20.

Ver 21. μὲν: no answering δέ expressed, but the antithesis is found in the ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκ., "quasi dicat: ubi illud tempus venerit, ex coelo in terras redibit," Grotius (so Weiss, Blass).—ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν δέξασθαι: the words have been rendered in three ways: (1) "whom the heaven must receive," i.e., as the place assigned to Him by God until the Parousia, Phil. iii. 20, Col. iii. 4. In this case δεῖ is not used for εἰδει, as if St. Luke were referring to the past historical fact of the Ascension only, but Christ's exaltation to heaven is represented as a fact continually present until His coming again; or (2) the words have been taken as if ὃν were the subject, "who must possess the heaven". But the former seems the more natural rendering, so in A.V. and R.V., as more in accordance with the use of δέχασθαι, and κατέχειν would be rather the word in the second rendering (see Wendt's note). Zöckler takes the words to mean "who must receive heaven," i.e., from the Father. Here St. Peter corrects the popular view that the Messiah should remain on earth, John xii. 34, and if we compare the words with the question asked in i. 6, they show how his views had changed of his Master's kingdom (see Hackett's note).—ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως: the latter noun is not found either in LXX or elsewhere in N.T., but it is used by Polybius, Diodorus, Plutarch. In Josephus, *Ant.*, xi., 3, 8, 9, it is used of the restoration of the Jews to their own land from the captivity, and also in Philo, *Decal.*, 30, of the restoration of inheritances at the Jubilee. The key to its meaning here is found not in the question of the disciples in i. 6, but in our Lord's own saying, Matt. xvii. 11, Mark ix. 12, "Elias truly



οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, ὃν ἐλάλησεν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ στόματος<sup>1</sup> πάντων ἁγίων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν ἀπ'

<sup>1</sup> ἁγίων, prefix των instead of παντων NABCD 27, 61, Vulg. verss., Irint., Chrys., Orig.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. αὐτοῦ προφ. ἀπ' αἰωνος; but N<sup>2</sup>AB<sup>2</sup>C 61, 69 read ἀπ' αἰωνος αὐτοῦ προφητῶν, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. In D, Flor., Gig., Par., Iren., Tert., so Arm. ἀπ' αἰωνος omitted; so in Hilg.

first cometh, and shall restore all things," καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα, and cf. LXX, Mal. iv. 6, where the same verb is found (ἀποκαταστήσει). It was the teaching of the Scriptures that Elias should be the forerunner of the Messiah, Mal. iv. 5, and Matt. xvii. 11, and xi. 14. But his activity embraced both an external and an internal, i.e., a moral restoration, Ecclesiasticus xlvi. 10. He is said καταστήσει φυλὰς Ἰακώβ, to enable those who had been illegally excluded from the congregation to attain their inheritance. But he is eager also for the moral and religious renewal of his people. All disputes would be settled by him at his coming, and chiefly and above all he conducts the people to a great repentance, which will not be accomplished before he comes, Luke i. 16, 17 (Mal. iv. 6, LXX). This is the inward and moral side of the ἀποκατάστασις, Matt. xvii. 11, Mark ix. 12. But as in Acts i. 6 our Lord had corrected the ideas of the disciples as to an external restoration of the kingdom to Israel, so in the Gospels He had corrected their ideas as to the coming of Elias, and had bidden them see its realisation in the preaching of John the Baptist in turning the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just. And so the ἀποκατάστασις πάντων had already begun, in so far as men's hearts were restored to obedience to God, the beginning of wisdom, to the purity of family affection, to a love of righteousness and a hatred of iniquity. Even when the thoughts of the N.T. writers embrace the renewal of the visible creation, the moral and spiritual elements of restoration were present and prominent; cf. 2 Pet. iii. 13, Rom. viii. 19-21, Rev. xxi. 5. So too the παλιγγενεσία, in Matt. xix. 28, is joined with the rule which the disciples would share with their Lord, and involved great moral issues. A renewal of all things had no doubt been foretold by the prophets, Is. xxxiv. 4, li. 6, lxxv. 17; it was dwelt upon in later Jewish writings, and often referred to by the Rabbis (cf., e.g., *Book of Enoch*, xlv., 2; lxii., 1; xci., 16, 17; *Apocalypse of*

*Baruch*, xxxii., and instances in Eder-sheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., p. 343); but even amongst pious Israelites there was always a danger lest their hopes for the future should be mainly associated with material prosperity and national glorification. It is perhaps significant that Josephus uses the two terms ἀποκατάστασις and παλιγγενεσία in close conjunction of the restoration of the Jews to their own land after the exile. How this restoration of all things was to be effected, and what was involved in it, St. Peter does not say, but his whole trend of thought shows that it was made dependent upon man's repentance, upon his heart being right with God, see Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 352 ff. (1897); Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., pp. 343, 706; Hauck's *Real-Encyclopädie*, "Apokatastasis," p. 616 ff. (1896).—ὃν refers to χρόνων, so R.V. "whereof," i.e., of which times. Holtzmann and Wendt on the other hand refer ὃν to πάντων. But the words of our Lord in Matt. xvii. 11 certainly point to the former reference, and the words are so taken by Weiss, Page, Hackett. In the article from Hauck quoted above, the writer speaks of the reference to χρόνων as the more correct, and points out that if ὃν is the relative to πάντων, the restoration spoken of would no longer be a restoration of all things, but only of those things of which the prophets had spoken. On the prophecies referred to see above. All the words from πάντων to προφητῶν are ascribed by Hilgenfeld to his "author to Theophilus"; the thought of the prophets existing ἀπ' αἰῶνος (Luke i. 70) belongs in his opinion to the Paulinism of this reviser, just as in Luke's Gospel he carries back the genealogy of Jesus not to Abraham but to Adam. To a similar Pauline tendency on the part of the same reviser, Hilgenfeld refers the introduction in vv. 25, 26 of the promise made to Abraham embracing all the nations of the earth (Gal. iii. 16), and also the introduction of the word πρῶτον (Rom. i. 16, ii. 9), to show that not only upon the Jews, but also upon the Gentiles had

αἰῶνος. 22.<sup>1</sup> Μωσῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας εἶπεν, “Ὅτι προφήτην ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἂν λαλήσῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς.  
23. ἔσται δέ, πᾶσα ψυχὴ, ἣτις ἂν μὴ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ προφήτου ἐκείνου,

<sup>1</sup> Μωσῆς, so ΞEP; but Μωυσης in ABCD, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Hilg., so Winer-Schmiedel, p. 51. μὲν γὰρ; but only μὲν in ΞABCDE, vers., Iren., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας om. ΞABC 15, 18, 61, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Boh.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

God conferred the blessings of the Christ; cf. ii. 39, where the same revising hand is at work. But St. Peter's "universalism" here is in no way inconsistent with that of a pious Jew who would believe that all nations should be blessed *through Israel*, so far, i.e., as they conformed to the covenant and the law of Israel. Spitta sees no difficulty in referring both the passage before us and ii. 39 to the Jewish Diaspora (so too Jüngst).—διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγ. προφ.: cf. Luke i. 70, a periphrasis of which St. Luke is fond (Plummer), cf. i. 16, iii. 18, iv. 25, 30, xv. 7, not found in the other Evangelists except once in St. Matthew in a quotation, iv. 4.—ἀπ' αἰῶνος: in the singular the phrase is only used by St. Luke in the N.T., Luke i. 70, Acts iii. 21, and xv. 18, but the plural ἀπ' αἰώνων is used twice, Col. i. 26, Ephes. iii. 9 (Friedrich), cf. in LXX, Gen. vi. 4, Isaiah xlii. 9, Jer. xxxv. (xxviii.) 8. The phrase here may be taken simply = "of old time," cf. Tobit iv. 12.

Ver. 22. μὲν: answered by, or rather connected with, καὶ πάντες δὲ (ver. 24), "Moses indeed, yea and all the Prophets from Samuel"—not "truly" as in A.V., as if μὲν were an adverb. The quotation is freely made from Deut. xviii. 15. On the Messianic bearing of the passage see Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 364 (1897), and Lumby, *Acts*, in loco. Wetstein sees no necessity to refer the word προφήτην, ver. 22, to Jesus, but rather to the succession of prophets who in turn prophesied of the Coming One. But "similitudo non officit excellentiæ" (Bengel, so Wendt), and the words in Deuteronomy were fulfilled in Christ alone, the new Law-giver; the Revealer of God's will, of grace and truth, "Whom the Lord knew face to face," Who was from all eternity "with God". But the N.T. gives us ample reason for referring the verse, if not to the Messiah, yet at least to the Messianic conceptions of the age. To say nothing of St. Stephen's significant reference to the same pro-

phesy, vii. 37, it would certainly seem that in the conversation of our Lord with the Samaritan woman, John iv. 19 ff., the conception of the Messianic prophet is in her mind, and it was upon this prediction of a prophet greater than Moses that the Samaritans built their Messianic hopes (Briggs, *Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 272, and see also for Deut. xviii. 15, and its Messianic fulfilment, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 110 ff.). On other allusions in St. John's Gospel to the anticipation in Deut. xviii. 15 see Bishop Lightfoot, *Expositor*, i. (fourth series), pp. 84, 85; there are, he thinks, four passages, John i. 21, 25, vi. 14, vii. 40, in all of which "the prophet" is mentioned (so R.V. in each place). But whilst in St. John the conception is still Jewish (that is to say, St. John exhibits the Messianic conceptions of his countrymen, who regard the Christ and the prophet as two different persons), in Acts it is Christian. St. Peter identified the prophet with the Christ (and so inferentially St. Stephen). (But see also Alford's note on St. John vi. 14, and also Weber, *ubi supra*, p. 354, for the view that Jeremiah was ὁ προφ., in John i. 21, 25, vii. 40 (cf. 2 Macc. xv. 14), whilst Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, i., pp. 67-69, E.T., should also be consulted.)—ὡς ἐμέ: rendered by A.V. and R.V. "like me" (the meaning of the Hebrew, in loco), but in margin R.V. has "as he raised up me," a rendering adopted as the only admissible one of the Greek by Page and Rendall; as no doubt it is, if we read ὥσπερ, as in LXX, Deut. xviii. 18. But ὡς is found in the LXX in v. 15. Certainly the rendering in A.V. and R.V. could not be applied to any one prophet so truly as to Christ, and the ὡς ἐμέ is a rendering of the familiar Hebrew וְ (Lumby), which is so frequent in the LXX; see also Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen*, p. 46 ff., second edition (1899).

Ver. 23. ἔσται δέ, cf. ii. 17. The expression, which is not in the Hebrew.



ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ." 24. καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ προφῆται  
ἀπὸ Σαμουὴλ καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς,<sup>1</sup> ὅσοι ἐλάλησαν, καὶ προκατήγγειλαν

<sup>1</sup> ὅσοι, D has δ ἐλάλησεν—Harris accounts for as *quodquod* of *d*, read as *quod*, and so δ. T.R. has the support of  $\aleph$ BC<sup>2</sup>EP; so W.H., Weiss. οἱ in  $\aleph$ C<sup>2</sup>D<sup>3</sup>, Vulg., Gig., Par.<sup>2</sup>

seems to call attention to what follows.—ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ: "shall be utterly destroyed" (ἐξ), R.V. In the LXX, Deut. xviii. 19, following the Hebrew, the words are ἐγὼ ἐκδικήσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ, "I will require it of him". But the phrase which St. Peter uses was a very common one, from Gen. xvii. 14, for the sentence of death, cf. also Exod. xii. 15, 19, Lev. xvii. 4, 9, Num. xv. 30. Here again the quotation is evidently made freely or from memory. The strong verb, although frequent in the LXX, is found only here in the N.T. It is used by Josephus and by Philo, but not in classical Greek. The warning is evidently directed against wilful disobedience, and is expressed in terms signifying the utterness of the destruction from the people. But in their original meaning in the O.T. they need not refer to anything more than the penalty of the death of the body, and it is not necessary to see in them here any threat of eternal punishment in Gehenna (so Wendt, Holtzmann, Felten). If the word has any eschatological bearing it would support the theory of annihilation more easily. Grotius explains ἐξολεθ., "morte violenta aut immatura," and he adds "mystice etiam Rabbinii hoc ad poenas post hanc vitam referunt," but this is quite apart from the primary meaning of the word.

Ver. 24. Σαμουὴλ: On Samuel as the founder of the prophetic schools and the pattern of all later prophets, see Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 6, p. 854; "Prophet," cf. *Midrash Shemuel*, c. 24, where Samuel is called the Rabban, the chief and teacher of the prophets (Wetstein, *in loco*, and Lumby), cf. also Heb. xi. 32, Δαυεὶδ τε καὶ Σ. καὶ τῶν προφητῶν.—καὶ τῶν καθεξῆς: an unmistakable tautology. Wendt considers the expression as inaccurate, see his note, and for a full discussion cf. Winer-Moulton, lxvii. 2, who compares Luke xxiv. 27, = "all the series of prophets beginning from Samuel" (Page); "longa tamen successione, uno tamen consensu" (Calvin). καθεξ. used by St. Luke alone, Luke i. 3, viii. 1, Acts xi. 4, xviii. 23. In Greek writers =

ἐφεξῆς, not found in LXX.—καὶ κατήγγ. τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας: "have also told of these days," i.e., the present days, cf. v. 36, Luke xxiv. 18. This interpretation does not prevent the identification of "these days" with the χρόνοι τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως, since in one sense the restoration had already begun with the coming of the forerunner and of the Christ, and in the acceptance of the repentance which they had preached. Rendall renders "yea, so said all the prophets from Samuel . . . as many as have spoken and told of these days," as if the fact which St. Peter wished to emphasise was that all the prophets had spoken threats of utter destruction like Moses. But the Greek does not by any means of necessity bear this construction (Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 55 (1896), and such an interpretation seems too harsh. As Wendt admits, the reference is not merely to the prophetic sayings relating to the last judgment, but also to the promises of salvation and to all which is connected with the χρόνοι ἀποκατ. Moreover the reference to Samuel is made because of Nathan's prediction, "the fundamental prophecy respecting the seed of David," 2 Sam. vii. 12 ff., in which it is foretold that mercy shall not be taken away even in the midst of punishment. Blass explains the expression τὰς ἡμέρ. ταύτ. "regni felicitis Messianici"; but we must remember that it does not follow that the popular views of the Messianic kingdom and judgment were still held by St. Peter.

Ver. 25. ὑμεῖς, as in ver. 26, emphatic, "obligat auditores" Bengel, cf. ii. 39, Rom. ix. 4, xv. 8; their preference and destiny ought to make them more sensible of their duty in the reception of the Messiah; υἱοί, "sons" as in Matt. viii. 12, R.V. The rendering "disciples" (Matt. xii. 2), even if υἱοί could be so rendered with προφητῶν (J. Lightfoot, Kuinoel), could not be applied to τῆς διαθήκης. The expression is Hebraistic, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub* υἱός, 2, and on many similar expressions Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 163 ff.—διαθ. διέθετο, cf. Heb. viii. 10, x. 16, Gen. xv. 18, i Macc. i. 11, for a similar construction in LXX

τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας. 25. ὑμεῖς ἐστε<sup>1</sup> υἱοὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ τῆς διαθήκης ἧς διέθετο ὁ Θεὸς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας<sup>2</sup> ἡμῶν, λέγων πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> υἱοι, prefix οἱ NABCE 61, Boh., Sah.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμων N\*CDP 1, 13, 31, Vulg., Boh., Sah., Syrr. (P. and H.), Arm., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H. margin, Hilg.; ἡμων N<sup>3</sup>ABE, Sahwol., Armcodd., Chrys., so W.H. text, Weiss, Wendt.

in more than seventy places, so also frequently in classical writers.—*διαθήκης*: on the word, see below, vii. 8.—*ἐν τῷ σπέρματι σου*, cf. Gen. xxii. 18, xii. 3. For the application of the prophecy to the Messiah as the seed of Abraham by the Rabbinical writers, see Weststein on Gal. iii. 16 (and Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., p. 712); so by St. Luke, although the words of the prophecy were first uttered in a collective sense.—*πατριαί*: "families," R.V., Luke ii. 4, Eph. iii. 15; "kindreds," A.V., is the rendering of other words, iv. 5, vii. 3. *πατριαί* is found in LXX (and in Herodotus); in Gen. xii. 3 *φυλαί* is used, and in xviii. 18 *ἐθνη*, but in Ps. xxii. 27 and in 1 Chron. xvi. 28 we have the phrase *αἱ πατριαὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν* (but see Nösgen, *in loco*). In this quotation, cf. Gal. iii. 8, 16, and in the *πρῶτον* of the next verse we may see a striking illustration of the unity of Apostolic preaching, and the recognition of God's purpose by St. Peter and St. Paul alike (Rom. i. 16, ii. 9, 10).—*ἐνευλογηθῆσονται*: *ἐν* of the instrument as often: the verb is not used in classical writers, but Blass gives several instances of verbs similarly compounded with *ἐν*, cf. *ἐνευδαιμονεῖν*, *ἐνευδοκιμεῖν*. The compound verb is found several times in LXX.

Ver. 26. *ὑμῖν πρῶτον*—*ὑμῖν*: again emphatic. In the words of St. Peter we may again note his agreement with St. Paul, xiii. 46, Rom. i. 16 (x. 11), although no doubt St. Peter shared the views of his nation in so far that Gentiles could only participate in the blessings of the Messianic kingdom through acceptance of Judaism.—*ἀναστήσας*, cf. ver. 22, *τὸν παῖδα*, "his servant," R.V., see above on ver. 13. *ἀπέστειλεν* also shows that *ἀνασ.* here refers not to the Resurrection but to the Incarnation.—*εὐλογῶντα*: as in the act of blessing, present participle; the present participle expressing that the Christ is still continuing His work of blessing on repentance, but see also Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 171.—*ἐν τῷ*: this use of *ἐν* governing the dative with the infinitive is most commonly temporal, but it is used to

express other relations, such as manner, means, as here (cf. iv. 30, where the attempt to give a temporal sense is very far-fetched, Hackett, *in loco*); see Burton, *u. s.*, p. 162, and Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 232. This formula of *ἐν* with the dative of the article and the infinitive is very common in St. Luke, both in his Gospel and in the Acts, and is characteristic of him as compared with the number of times the same formula is used by other writers in the N.T., Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 37, and also Zeller, *of the Apostles*, ii., p. 196, E. *of the* LXX the same construction is found, cf. Gen. xix. 16, xxxiv. 15, etc.—*ἀποστρέφειν*: probably intransitive (Blass, Grimm, and so often in LXX, although the English A. and R.V. may be understood in either sense). Vulgate renders "*ut convertat se unusquisque*," but the use of the verb elsewhere in Luke xxiii. 14 (cf. also Rom. xi. 26, Isa. lix. 20) makes for the transitive sense (so Weiss, *in loco*). The argument from ver. 19 (as Alford points out) does not decide the matter either way (see also Holtzmann).—*πονηριῶν*, cf. Luke xi. 39, and adjective *πονηρός* frequent both in the Gospel and in the Acts; in LXX both words are very common. The word may denote miseries as well as iniquities, as Bengel notes, but the latter sense is demanded by the context. *πρῶτον* according to Jüngst does not mark the fact that the Jews were to be converted first and the Gentiles afterwards, but as belonging to the whole clause, and as referring to the first and past sending of Jesus in contrast to the second (ver. 20) and future sending in glory. But to support this view Jüngst has no hesitation in regarding 25<sup>b</sup> as an interpolation, and so nothing is left but a reference to the *διαθήκη* of God with the fathers, i.e., circumcision, which is quite in place before a Jewish audience.

*St. Peter's Discourses*.—More recent German criticism has departed far from the standpoint of the early Tübingen school, who could only see in these discourses the free composition of a later



Ἀβραάμ, “Καὶ τῷ σπέρματί σου ἐνευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς.” 26. ὑμῖν πρῶτον ὁ Θεὸς ἀναστήσας τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ

age, whilst Dr. McGiffert, in spite of his denial of the Lucan authorship of Acts, inclines to the belief that the discourses in question represent an early type of Christian teaching, derived from primitive documents, and that they breathe the spirit of St. Peter and of primitive Jewish Christianity. Feine sees in the contents of the addresses a proof that we have in them a truthful record of the primitive Apostolic teaching. Just the very points which were of central interest in this early period of the Church's life are those emphasised here, *e.g.*, the proof that Jesus of Nazareth, the Crucified One, is the Messiah, a proof attested by His Resurrection, the appeal to Israel, the chosen people, to repent for the remission of sins in His name. Nor is there anything against the speeches in the fact of their similarity; in their first and early preaching, as Feine urges, the Apostles' thoughts would naturally move in the same circle, they would recur again and again to the same facts, and their addresses could scarcely be otherwise than similar. Moreover we have an appeal to the facts of the life of Jesus as to things well known in the immediate past: “Jesus of Nazareth” had been working in the midst of them, and Peter's hearers were witnesses with him of His signs and wonders, “as ye yourselves know,” ii. 23; we become conscious in such words and in their context of all the moral indignation and the deep pain of the Apostles at the crucifixion of their Master, just as in iii. 13 we seem to listen to another personal reminiscence of the Passion history (see Beyschlag, *Neutest. Theol.*, i., pp. 304, 305; Scharfe, *Die Petrinische Strömung*, 2 c., pp. 184, 185).

The fact that no reference is made to, or at all events that no stress is laid upon, the doctrinal significance of the death of Christ, as by St. Paul, is again an intimation that we are dealing with the earliest days of Apostolic teaching—the death of the Cross was in itself the fact of all others which was the insuperable offence to the Jew, and it could not help him to proclaim that Christ died for his sins if he had no belief in Jesus as the Christ. The first and necessary step was to prove to the Jew that the suffering of the Messiah was in accordance with the counsels of God and with the voices of the prophets (Lechler, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, pp.

230, 231). But the historical fact accepted, its inner and spiritual significance would be imparted, and there was nothing strange in the fact that disciples who had themselves found it so difficult to overcome their repugnance to the mention of their Master's sufferings, should first direct their main efforts to remove the like prejudice from the minds of their countrymen. But we cannot adduce from this method that the Apostles had never heard such words as those of Christ (Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45, *cf.* 1 Peter i. 18) (*cf.* the striking passage in Beyschlag, *u. s.*, pp. 306, 307), or that they were entirely ignorant of the atoning significance of His Death. St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 1-3, speaks of the tradition which he had received, a tradition in which he was at one with the Twelve, ver. 11, *viz.*, that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures (Feine, *Die vorkanonische Ueberlieferung des Lukas*; see p. 230).

When we pass to the consideration of St. Peter's Christology, we again see how he starts from the actual experience of his hearers before him: “Jesus of Nazareth, a man,” etc.—plainly and fearlessly St. Peter emphasises the manhood of his Lord—the title which is never found in any of the Epistles leads us back to the Passion and the Cross, to the early records of the Saviour's life on earth, Acts xxiv. 9, xxii. 8. And yet the Crucified Nazarene was by a startling paradox the Prince or Author of Life (see note on ἀρχηγός); by a divine law which the Jews could not discern He could not save Himself—and yet—another paradox—there was no other Name given amongst men whereby they must be saved.

St. Paul could write of Him, Who took upon Him the form of a servant, Who humbled Himself, and became obedient to the death of the Cross, Phil. ii. 6; and St. Peter, in one familiar word, which so far as we know St. Paul never used, brings before his hearers the same sublime picture of obedience, humility, death and glory; Jesus is the ideal, the glorified “Servant” of God (see note on iii. 13). But almost in the same breath St. Peter speaks of the Servant as the Holy and Righteous One, iii. 14; holy, in that He was consecrated to the service of Jehovah (ἅγιος, iv. 27, 30, see note, and ii. 27); righteous, in that He was

Ἰησοῦν,<sup>1</sup> ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς, ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν  
ἐκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν ποτηριῶν ὑμῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦν om.  $\aleph$ BCDE 61, Vulg.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Hilg.  $\nu\mu\omega\nu$   
 $\aleph$ AC<sup>3</sup>DEP 1, 31, 61, Syrr. (P. and H.), Arm., Aeth., so Tisch. [W.H.], Weiss; in  
B, Chrys., Theophyl. omitted; C<sup>3</sup> 13, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Iriat. read  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$ .

also the impersonation of righteousness, a righteousness which the Law had proclaimed, and which Prophets and Kings had desired to see, but had not seen (Isaiah liii. 11). But whilst we note these titles, steeped each and all of them in O.T. imagery, whilst we may see in them the germs of the later and the deeper theology of St. Paul and St. John (see Dr. Lock, "Christology of the Earlier Chapters of the Acts," *Expositor*, iv. (fourth series), p. 178 ff.), they carry us far beyond the conception of a mere humanitarian Christ. It is not only that Jesus of Nazareth is set before us as "the very soul and end of Jewish Prophecy," as Himself the Prophet to whom the true Israel would hearken, but that He is associated by St. Peter even in his earliest utterances, as none other is associated, with Jehovah in His Majesty in the work of salvation, ii. 34; the salvation which was for all who called upon Jehovah's Name, ii. 21, was also for all in the Name, in the power of Jesus Christ, iv. 12 (see notes, l. c, and cf. the force of the expression  $\epsilon\pi\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  τὸ ὄνομα in 1 Cor. i. 2, Schmid, *Biblisches Theologie*, p. 407); the Spirit which Joel had foretold would be poured forth by Jehovah had been poured forth by Jesus raised to the right hand of God, ii. 18, 33 (see further notes in chap. x. 36, 42, 43).

One other matter must be briefly noticed—the correspondence in thought and word between the St. Peter of the early chapters of the Acts and the St. Peter of the First Epistle which bears his name. A few points may be selected. St. Peter had spoken of Christ as the Prince of Life; quite in harmony with this is the thought expressed in 1 Pet. i. 3, of Christians as "begotten again" by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead. St. Peter had spoken of Christ as the Holy and Righteous One, so in the First Epistle he sets forth this aspect of Christ's peculiar dignity, His sinlessness. As in Acts, so also in 1 Pet. the thought of the sufferings of Christ is prominent, but also that of the glory which should follow, chap. i., ver. 11. As in Acts, so also in 1 Pet. these

sufferings are described as undeserved, but also as foreordained by God and in accordance with the voices of the Prophets, 1 Pet. i. 11 and ii. 22-25. As in Acts, so in 1 Pet. it is the special task of the Apostles to be witnesses of the sufferings and also of the resurrection of Christ, chap. v. 1. As in Acts, so in 1 Pet. we have the clearest testimony to the  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$  of Christ, 1 Pet. i. 21 and iv. 11. As in Acts stress is laid not only upon the facts of the life of Christ, but also upon His teaching, x. 34 ff., so also in 1 Pet., while allusions are made to the scenes of our Lord's Passion with all the force of an eye-witness, we have stress laid upon the word of Christ, the Gospel or teaching, i. 12, 23, 25, ii. 2, 8, iii. 19, iv. 6. As in Acts, so in 1 Pet. we have a reference to the agency of Christ in the realm of the dead, 1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6. As in Acts, x. 42, so in 1 Pet. Christ is Himself the judge of quick and dead, iv. 6, or in His unity with the Father shares with Him that divine prerogative, cf. i. 17. As in Acts, so in 1 Pet. the communication of the Holy Spirit is specially attributed to the exalted Christ, cf. Acts ii. 33, 1 Pet. i. 11, 12. As in Acts, so in 1 Pet. Christ is the living corner-stone on which God's spiritual house is built, Acts iv. 12 and 1 Pet. ii. 4-10. As in Acts, so in 1 Pet. not only the details but the whole scope of salvation is regarded in the light and as a fulfilment of O.T. prophecy, cf. Acts iii. 18-25, 1 Pet. ii. 22, 23, and i. 10-12. But this correspondence extends to words, amongst which we may note  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\gamma\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ , Acts ii. 23, 1 Pet. i. 2, a word found nowhere else in the N.T., and used in each passage in the same sense;  $\epsilon\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\lambda\eta\mu\tau\omega\varsigma$ , 1 Pet. i. 17, and only here in N.T., but cf. Acts x. 34,  $\sigma\upsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\nu\ \epsilon\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\lambda\eta\mu\tau\eta\varsigma$ .  $\xi\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$  twice used by St. Peter in Acts v. 30, x. 39 (once by St. Paul), and again in 1 Pet. ii. 24;  $\alpha\lambda\epsilon\mu\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma$  only in the Cornelius history, Acts x. 28, by St. Peter, and in 1 Pet. iv. 3;  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\varsigma$  with the genitive of that to which testimony is rendered, most frequently in N.T. used by St. Peter, cf. Acts i. 22, vi. 32, x. 39, and 1 Pet. v. 1; and further, in



IV. 1. ΛΑΛΟΥΝΤΩΝ δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ἐπέστησαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἱερεῖς<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι, 2. διαπονού-

<sup>1</sup> ἱερεῖς NADEP 1, 31, 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syrr. (P. and H.), Lucif., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H. margin, R.V. text, Weiss, Hilg.; ἀρχιερεῖς BC 4, Arm., Aeth., so W.H. text, R.V. margin, Wendt; ο στρατ. του ιερου om. by D, but accepted by Blass in β.

Acts iv. 11 = 1 Pet. ii. 7, Acts x. 42 = 1 Pet. iv. 5, the verbal correspondence is very close.

See on the whole subject Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 48; Lechner, *Das Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 428 ff.; Scharfe, *Die Petrinische Strömung*, 2 c., p. 122 ff.; Lumby, *Expositor*, iv. (first series), pp. 118, 123; and also Schmid, *Biblische Theologie*, p. 389 ff. On the striking connection between the *Didache*, and the language of St. Peter's sermons, and the phraseology of the early chapters of Acts, see Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, p. 416.

CHAPTER IV.—Ver. 1. λαλούντων δὲ αὐτῶν: the speech was interrupted, as the present participle indicates, and we cannot treat it as if we had received it in full. It is no doubt possible to infer from αὐτῶν that St. John also addressed the people.—ἐπέστησαν αὐτοῖς: commonly used with the notion of coming upon one suddenly, so of the coming of an angel, xii. 7, xxiii. 11, Luke ii. 9, xxiv. 4, sometimes too as implying a hostile purpose, cf. vi. 12, xvii. 5, and St. Luke (x. 40), xx. 1. For its use in the LXX cf. Wisdom vi. 5, 8, xix. 1.—οἱ ἱερεῖς: "the priests," so A. and R.V., but the latter, margin, "the chief priests," see critical note. ἀρχιερεῖς would comprise probably the members of the privileged high-priestly families in which the high-priesthood was vested (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., pp. 203-206, E.T.), Jos., *B. J.*, vi., 2, 2. That the members of these families occupied a distinguished position we know (cf. iv. 6), and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the description ἀρχιερεῖς would include them as well as the ex-high-priests, and the one actually in office; this seems justified from the words of Josephus in the passage referred to above (Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, p. 231).—ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ: the captain of the Temple (known chiefly in Jewish writings as "the man of the Temple Mount"). He had the chief superintendence of the Levites and priests who were on guard in and around the Temple, and under him were στρατηγοί, who were also captains of the Temple police,

although subordinate to the στρατηγός as their head. The στρατ. τοῦ ἱεροῦ was not only a priest, but second in dignity to the high-priest himself (Schürer, *u. s.*, pp. 258, 259, 267, and Edersheim, *u. s.*, and *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 139), Acts v. 24, 26, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 6, 2, *B. J.*, vi., 5, 3. For the use of the term in the LXX, see Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 258. In 2 Macc. iii. 4 the "governor of the Temple" is identified by some with the officer here and in v. 24, but see Rawlinson's note in *loco* in *Speaker's Commentary*.—καὶ οἱ Σαδδουκαῖοι: at this time, as Josephus informs us, however strange it may appear, the high-priestly families belonged to the Sadducean party. Not that the Sadducees are to be identified entirely with the party of the priests, since the Pharisees were by no means hostile to the priests as such, nor the priests to the Pharisees. But the Sadducees were the aristocrats, and to the aristocratic priests, who occupied influential civil positions, the Pharisees were bitterly opposed. Jos., *Ant.*, xvii., 10, 6, xviii., 1, 4, xx., 9, 1. Schürer, *u. s.*, div. ii., vol. ii., pp. 29-43, and div. ii., vol. i., p. 178 ff. The words of Σαδδ. and ἡ οὐσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σ., ver. 17, are referred by Hilgenfeld to his "author to Theophilus," as also the reference to the preaching of the Resurrection as the cause of the sore trouble to the Sadducees; but the mention of the Sadducees at least shows (as Weizsäcker and Holtzmann admit) that the author of Acts had correct information of the state of parties in Jerusalem: "The Sadducees were at the helm, and the office of the high-priest was in Sadducean hands, and the Sadducees predominated in the high-priestly families" (Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i., 61, E.T.).

Ver. 2. διαπονούμενοι, cf. xvi. 18, only in Acts in the N.T., not, as often in classical Greek, referring to the exertions made by them, but to the vexation which they felt, "being sore troubled," R.V. (πόνος, *dolor*, Blass), cf. LXX, Eccles. x. 9, used of pain caused to the body, and 2 Macc. ii. 28, R. (A. α. ἀπονούντες), but cf. Aquila, Gen. vi. 6, xxxiv. 7, 1 Sam. xx. 3, 34, of mental grief.—ἐν τῷ ἱησοῦ:

μενοι διὰ τὸ διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὸν λαόν, καὶ<sup>1</sup> καταγγέλλειν ἐν τῇ Ἰησοῦ τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν· 3. καὶ ἐπέβαλον αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἔθεντο εἰς τήρησιν εἰς τὴν αὔριον· ἦν γὰρ ἑσπέρα ἤδη. 4. πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἀκουσάντων τὸν λόγον ἐπίστευσαν· καὶ ἐγενήθη ὁ

<sup>1</sup> D reads ἀναγγέλλειν τὸν Ι. ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν νεκρῶν, but Blass rejects (Chase contends for Syriac); τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν NABCE, Vulg., Boh., Syrr. (P. and H.); τῶν νεκρῶν DP, h, 31, Flor., Gig., Par., Sah., Arm., Aeth., Lucif., Ir., Chrys.

<sup>2</sup> χεῖρας; after this word Flor. inserts ἐκρατῆσαν αὐτοὺς (which Zöckler and Belser regard as original); for ἐπέβαλον D reads ἐπιβαλοντες.

not "through," but as in R.V., "in Jesus," i.e., "in persona Jesu quem resurrexisset dicebant" (Blass). Others render it "in the instance of Jesus" (so Holtzmann, Wendt, Felten, Zöckler).—τὴν ἀνάστασιν τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν: on the form of the expression see Plummer on St. Luke, xx. 35, and Lumby's note, *in loco*. It must be distinguished from (ἡ) ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν. It is the more limited term implying that *some* from among the dead are raised, while others as yet are not; used of the Resurrection of Christ and of the righteous, *cf.* with this passage 1 Peter i. 3 (Col. i. 18), but see also Grimm-Thayer, *sub* ἀνάστασις. It was not merely a dogmatic question of the denial of the Resurrection which concerned the Sadducees, but the danger to their power, and to their wealth from the Temple sacrifices and dues, if the Resurrection of Jesus was proclaimed and accepted (see Wendt and Holtzmann, *in loco*, and Plummer on Luke xxiii. 1-7, note). Spitta agrees with Weiss, Feine, Jüngst, in regarding the mention of the distress of the Sadducees at the preaching of the Apostles as not belonging to the original source. But it is worthy of notice that in estimating the positive value of his source, A., he decides to retain the mention of the Sadducees in iv. 1—it would have been more easy, he thinks, for a forger to have represented the enmity to the Church as proceeding not from the Sadducees but from the Pharisees, as in the Gospels. But the Sadducees, as Spitta reminds us, according to Josephus, included the high-priestly families in their number, and it was by this sect that at a later date the death of James the Just was caused. Only once in the Gospels, John xii. 10, the chief priests, rather than the Pharisees, take the initiative against our Lord, but this was in the case of what was essentially a question for the Sadducees (as here in Acts iv. 2), the advisability of getting rid of Lazarus, a living witness to the truth

which the Sadducees denied. It is no unfair inference that the chief priests in St. John occupy the place of the Sadducees in the Synoptists, as the latter are never mentioned by name in the fourth Gospel; and if so, this is exactly in accordance with what we should expect from the notices here and in Acts v. 17, and in Josephus; see on the point Lightfoot in *Expositor*, 1890, pp. 86, 87.

Ver. 3. ἐπέβαλον αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας: the verb is always as here joined with the same noun in Acts, and twice in the Gospel; the phrase is found once in Matthew and Mark, and twice in John; see Luke xx. 19, xxi. 12, Acts iv. 3, v. 18, xii. 1, xxi. 27, *cf.* in LXX, Gen. xxii. 12, 2 Sam. xviii. 12; Esther vi. 2, so also in Polybius.—τήρησιν, *cf.* v. 18, only used elsewhere in N.T. by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vii. 19; in Thuc., vii., 86 (Wendt), it denotes not only the act of guarding, but also a place of custody. Five times in LXX, but in the former sense. For another instance of its meaning as a place of custody (see Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 55), on papyrus in Egypt, second or third century after Christ.—ἦν γὰρ ἑσπέρα ἤδη, *cf.* iii. 1, the judicial examination must therefore be postponed until the next day, see Jer. xxi. 12, on which it appears that the Rabbis founded this prohibition against giving judgment in the night (Lumby and Felten, *in loco*).—ἑσπέρα: only in St. Luke in the N.T., Luke xxiv. 29, Acts iv. 3 (xx. 15, W.H. margin) and xxviii. 23.

Ver. 4. ἐγενήθη: "came to be" R.V., only here in St. Luke, except in the quotation in i. 20 (see also vii. 13, D., and Blass in β—hellenistic, frequently in LXX; in N.T. *cf.* 1 Thess. ii. 14, Col. iv. 11; also Jos., *Ant.*, x., 10, 2, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 108, note).—ἀνδρῶν. This word here appears to be used of *men* only (so Weststein, Blass), *cf.* Matt. xiv. 21, Mark vi. 40, for although we cannot argue with Weiss from v. 14, that women in great



ἀριθμὸς<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡσεὶ χιλιάδες πέντε. 5. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐριον<sup>2</sup> συναχθῆναι αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ γραμματεῖς εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, 6. καὶ Ἄνναν<sup>3</sup> τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Καϊάφαν καὶ Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ ὅσοι ἦσαν ἐκ γένους ἀρχιερατικοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἀριθμός, so AEP 31, 61, Chrys.; but article om. ΞBD, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss. ὡσεὶ EP, Chrys.; ὡς BD, so W.H., Weiss, Hilg.; om. ΞA 61, Vulg. verss., so Tisch., Wendt (who compares ii. 41 and regards ὡς or ὡσεὶ as added accordingly).

<sup>2</sup> After αὐριον D, Flor. add ἡμεραν, so Hilg.; Chase by assim. to Syriac, Harris by assim. to Bezan Latin—*crastinum diem*. But cf. σημερον ἡμερα in N.T., Acts xx. 26, Rom. xi. 8, 2 Cor. iii. 14. εἰς ἑρ. ΞP 1, 31, Syr. Harcl., so Tisch., Wendt; εν ABDE 61, Chrys., so W.H., R.V., Weiss, Hilg.; Flor., Syr. Pesh. omit. συναχθῆναι, D, Flor. change constr. συνηχθησαν οἱ αρχ.

<sup>3</sup> Ἄνναν, acc., EP 1, 31, 61, Chrys.; Ἄννας, nom. (and so all the proper names), ΞBD 15, 18, 36, 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (who holds, as against Meyer, that the noms. are not derived from συνηχθησαν in D, but that the latter was occasioned by the noms.). Ἰωάννην, D, Gig., Par.<sup>1</sup> read Ἰωναθας. Blass contends for the correctness of D, so Hilg., Ἰωναθας = Jonathan, son of Annas, who succeeded Caiaphas, Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii., 4, 3 (see Blass, *Acta Apost.*, 72 and 35), Ἰωαννης being a common name and an unknown man. But we cannot conceive that Luke would himself have altered Ἰωναθας into Ἰωαννης, so Blass regards the former as the reading in α and β—Ἰωαννης a later blunder.

numbers did not join the Church until a later period (cf. also ii. 41, where women may well have been included), yet it seems that St. Luke, by his use of one word, ἀνδρῶν, here refers to the additional number of *men*. St. Luke does not say that five thousand of St. Peter's hearers were converted, in addition to those already converted at Pentecost (although Dr. Hort, following Chrys., Aug., Jer., takes this view, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 47), or that five thousand were added, but his words certainly mark the growing expansion of the Church in spite of threatening danger, as this is also evident on the view that five thousand represent the total number of believers. The instances above from the Gospels are generally quoted to confirm the view here taken, but Wendt, *in loco*, curiously quotes the same passages in proof that ἀνδρῶν here includes women. The numbers are regarded by him as by Weizsäcker as artificial, but see above on i. 15.

Ver. 5. ἐγένετο δὲ: the formula is another characteristic of St. Luke's style, Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 13, also Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 26, 29. Compare for the type of construction, according to which what takes place is put in the infinitive mood, depending upon ἐγένετο, ix. 32, 37, 43, xi. 26, xiv. 1, and other instances in Dr. Plummer's exhaustive note, *St. Luke*, p. xlv.—ἐπὶ τὴν αὐριον: here only and in Luke x. 35, in N.T. For the tem-

poral use of ἐπὶ iii. 1.—συναχθῆναι, i.e., the Sanhedrim. ἄρχοντας here = ἀρχιερεῖς, who are mentioned first as a rule, where the N.T. enumerates the different orders of the Sanhedrim, whilst οἱ ἄρχοντες is an interchangeable expression, both in the N.T. and in Josephus (see, for instance, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., pp. 177, 205, E.T.), although there are two instances in which both words occur together, Luke xxiii. 13 and xxiv. 20. Whatever may have been the precise significance of the term ἀρχιερεῖς, Schürer, *u. s.*, pp. 203-206, E.T., it included, beyond all doubt, the most prominent representatives of the priesthood, belonging chiefly, if not entirely, to the Sadducean party.—πρεσβυτέρους: those members were known simply by this title who did not belong to either of the two special classes mentioned.—γραμματεῖς: the professional lawyers who adhered to the Pharisees, Jos., *Ant.*, xvii., 6, 2. Even under the Roman government the Sanhedrim possessed considerable independence of jurisdiction, both civil and criminal. Not only could it order arrests to be made by its own officers, but it could dispose, on its own authority, of cases where the death penalty was not involved, Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 187, E.T., and Edersheim, *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 103 ff.—εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ: Weiss would restrict ἐν Ἱερ. to the scribes of Jerusalem to distinguish them

7. καὶ στήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ, ἐπυνθάνοντο, Ἐν ποίᾳ δυνάμει ἢ ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο ὑμεῖς; 8. Τότε Πέτρος, πλησθεὶς Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, εἶπε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Ἀρχοντες τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ πρεσ-

from the scribes of Galilee, but it is doubtful whether the words can bear this (see also Rendall, who favours the same view as Weiss). Holtzmann and Wendt, on the other hand, defend εἰς, and suppose that the members of the Sanhedrim were obliged to hurry into the city from their country estates. Zöckler applies ἐν ἴερ. not only to γραμματεῖς, but also to the other members of the Sanhedrim, and sees in the words an intimation that the sitting was hurriedly composed of the members actually present in Jerusalem.

Ver. 6. Ἄννας: Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Annas, was the high priest actually in office, but like other retired high priests, the latter retained not only the title, but also many of the rights and obligations of the office. Josephus certainly appears to extend the title to ex-high priests, and so in the N.T. where ἀρχιερεῖς appear at the head of the Sanhedrim as in this passage (ἀρχόντες), the ex-high priests are to be understood, first and foremost, as well as the high-priest actually in office. The difficulty here is that the title is given to Annas alone, and this seems to involve that he was also regarded as president of the Sadducees, whereas it is always the actual ἀρχιερεὺς who presides, cf. Acts v. 17, vii. 1, ix. 1, xxii. 5, xxiii. 2, 4, xxiv. 1. But not only is the laxity of the term to be considered, but also the fact that Annas on account of his influence as the head of the γένος ἀρχιερατικόν may have remained the presiding ἀρχιερεὺς in spite of all the rapid changes in the tenure of the high-priestly office under the Romans. These changes the Jews would not recognise as valid, and if the early chapters of Acts came to St. Luke as seems probable from Jewish Christian sources, Annas might easily be spoken of as high-priest. His relationship to Caiaphas helps to explain the influence and power of Annas. On Hamburger's view (*Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 8, p. 1151, "Synhedrion"), that a Rabbi and not the high-priest presided over the Sadducees, see Edersheim, *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 522, and Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 180. For Annas, see Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 2, 12, xx., 9, 1, and see further "Annas" in B.D.<sup>2</sup> and Hastings' B.D.—Ἰωάννης: identified by J. Lightfoot (cf. also Wetstein) with

the famous Johanan ben Zacchai, president of the Great Synagogue after its removal to Jamnia, who obtained leave from Vespasian for many of the Jews to settle in the place. But the identification is very uncertain, and does not appear to commend itself to Schürer; see critical note above.—Ἀλέξανδρος: of him too nothing is known, as there is no confirmatory evidence to identify him with the brother of Philo, alabarch of Alexandria, and the first man of his time amongst the Jews of that city, Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 8, 1, xix., 5, 1, xx., 5, B.D.<sup>2</sup> and Hastings' B.D., "Alexander".

Ver. 7. ἐν τῷ μέσῳ: according to the Mishnah the members of the court sat in a semicircle, see Hamburger, *u. s.*, to be able to see each other. But it is unnecessary to press the expression, it may be quite general, cf. Matt. xiv. 6, Mark iii. 3, John viii. 3. On the usual submissive attitude of prisoners, see Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 9, 4. In this verse R.V. supplies "was there" as a verb, Annas being its subject. Various attempts to amend the broken construction—all the proper names are in the nominative (not in accusative as T.R.), so W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss; D. reads συνήχθησαν, so Blass in β.—ἐν ποίᾳ: by what kind of power; or may = τίς, xxiii. 34.—ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι: in virtue of what name? "nomen hic vis ac potestas" Grotius and Wetstein, *in loco*. They ask as if they would accuse them of referring to some magical name or formula for the performance of the miracles, xix. 13 (on ὄνομα see iii. 16), cf. LXX, Exodus v. 23. Probably they would like to bring the Apostles under the condemnation pronounced in Deut. xiii. 1. "So did they very foolishly conceit that the very naming of some name might do wonders—and the Talmud forgeth that Ben Sadha wrought miracles by putting the unutterable name within the skin of his foot and then sewing it up," J. Lightfoot.—ὁμοῖς: as if in scorn, with depreciatory emphasis at the close of the question, so Wendt, and Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 160.—ταῦτο: not this teaching (Olshausen), but the miracle on the lame man.

Ver. 8. πλησθεὶς πνεύ. ἁγ.: the whole phrase is characteristic of St. Luke, who employs it in the Gospel



βύτεροι τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,<sup>1</sup> 9. εἰ ἡμεῖς σήμερον ἀνακρινόμεθα ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ ἀνθρώπου ἀσθενοῦς, ἐν τίνι οὗτος σέσωσται· 10. γνωστὸν ἔστω πᾶσιν ὑμῖν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, ὃν ὁ Θεὸς ἤγειρεν ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> του Ἰσραηλ om. NAB, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Aeth., Cyr., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss; but retained in DEP, Flor., Par., Syrr. (P. and H.), Irint., Chrys., Cyr., so Meyer, Blass, Hilg. D adds ἐν ἀλλῷ δε οὐδενι to this verse, so E, Flor., Syr. Harcl. mg., Cyr.; but see Weiss, Codex D, p. 64, and, on the other hand, Belser.

three times and in Acts five (Friedrich, Lekebusch, Zeller). Acts has sometimes been called the Gospel of the Holy Spirit, and the number of times St. Luke uses the title "Holy Spirit" justifies the name, see above also p. 63. All three expressions, πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, and τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον are found in the Gospel and Acts, though much more frequently in the latter, the first expression (in the text) occurring quite double the number of times in Acts as compared with the Gospel, cf. in the LXX, Ps. l. (li.) 11, Isa. lxiii. 10, 11, Wisdom i. 5, ix. 17; and with 1 Cor. ii. 10, 12, cf. Wisdom ix. 17, and Isa. lxiii. 10, 11. On the omission of the article see Simcox, *Language of N. T. Greek*, p. 49. πλησθεῖς—the verb πίμπλημι common both in Gospel and in Acts, only found twice elsewhere in N.T., as against thirteen times in Gospel and nine times in Acts (Friedrich, Lekebusch). The word was also very frequent in LXX, cf. Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 12, A. The phrase πλησθῆναι πνεύμ. ἁγ. is peculiar to St. Luke, in Gospel three times, i. 15, 41, 67, and Acts ii. 4, iv. 31, ix. 17, xiii. 9, cf. Luke xii. 12, and xxi. 14; see also Matt. x. 20, Mark xiii. 11. St. Peter's courage in thus openly proclaiming the Crucified for the first time before the rulers of his people might well be significantly emphasised, as in ver. 13. St. Chrysostom comments (*Hom.*, x.) on the Christian wisdom of St. Peter on this occasion, how full of confidence he is, and yet how he utters not a word of insult, but speaks with all respect.

Ver. 9. εἰ: chosen not without oratorical nicety, *if, as is the case = ἐπεὶ ἡμεῖς*, expressing at the same time the righteous indignation of the Apostles in contrast to the contemptuous ὑμεῖς of ver. 7, and their surprise at the object of the present inquiry; so too in ἐπ' εὐεργεσίᾳ St. Peter again indicates the unfairness of such inquisitorial treatment ("cum alias dijudicari debeant, qui malum fecerunt," Bengel).—ἀνακρινόμεθα: used

here of a judicial examination, see xii. 19 and Luke xxiii. 14, and cf. Acts xxiv. 8, xxviii. 18, and 1 Cor. ix. 3, although the strictly technical sense of ἀνάκρισις as a preliminary investigation cannot be pressed here.—ἐπ' εὐεργ. ἁ. ἀσθενοῦς: "concerning a good deal done to an impotent man"—the omission of the articles in both nouns adds to St. Peter's irony; "he hits them hard in that they are always making a crime of such acts, finding fault with works of beneficence," Chrys., *Hom.*, x.; ἀνθρώπου on the objective genitive, Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 260 and 267.—ἐν τίνι: "by what means," R.V.; "in whom," margin. The neuter instrumental dative, cf. Matt. v. 13, is supported by Blass, Weiss, Holtzmann, and others, as if the expression embraced the two questions of ver. 7. Rendall, following the older commentators, regards the expression as masculine.—οὗτος: the healed man is thought of as present, although nothing is said of his summons; "this man," R.V.—σέσωσται: the word familiar to us in the Gospels, Luke vii. 50, Mark x. 52, with the pregnant meaning of health for body and soul alike.

Ver. 10. St. Peter does not hesitate to refer his judges to the same passage of Scripture which a few short weeks before Jesus of Nazareth had quoted to a deputation of the Sanhedrim. In that case too the question put to Jesus had been as to the authority by which He acted, Matt. xxi. 42, Mark xii. 10, Luke xxi. 17. It is possible that the words from Ps. cxviii. 22 were already regarded as Messianic, from the fact that the people had welcomed Jesus at His public entry into Jerusalem with part of a verse of the same Psalm, ver. 26, Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 368. Moreover, the passage, Isa. xxviii. 16, which forms the connecting link between the Psalm and St. Peter's words, both here and in his First Epistle (1 Pet. ii. 7, cf. Rom. ix. 33, x. 11), was interpreted as Messianic, apparently by the Targums, and un-

νεκρῶν, ἐν τούτῳ οὗτος παρέστηκεν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ὑγίης. 11. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ λίθος ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν οἰκοδομούντων, ὁ γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας. 12.<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῃ οὐδενὶ ἢ σωτηρία· οὔτε γὰρ ὄνομά ἐστιν ἕτερον ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν τὸ δεδομένον ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἐν ᾧ δεῖ σωθῆναι ἡμᾶς.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ οὐκ . . . ἡ σωτηρία omit Flor., Ir., Cypr., Aug.; D and Par.<sup>1</sup> omit also ἡ σωτηρία.

doubtedly by Rashi in his Commentary, cf. also Wetstein on Matt. xxi. 42; Eder-sheim, u. s., ii., 725. In the original meaning of the Psalm Israel is the stone rejected by the builders, i.e., by the heathen, the builders of this world's empires, or the expression may refer to those in Israel who despised the small beginnings of a dawning new era (Delitzsch); but however this may be, in the N.T. the builders are the heads and representatives of Israel, as is evident from our Lord's use of the verse, and also by St. Peter's words here, "you the builders," R.V. But that which the Psalmist had spoken of the second Temple, that which was a parable of the history of Israel, had its complete and ideal fulfilment in Him Who, despised and rejected of men, had become the chief corner-stone of a spiritual Temple, in whom both Jew and Gentile were made one (1 Cor. iii. 11, Eph. ii. 20).—*ἐσταυρώσατε*: mentioned not merely to remind them of their fault, cf. ii. 36, but perhaps also that they might understand how vain it was to fight against God (Calvin).—*ἐν τούτῳ*: "in him," or "in this name" R.V. margin. For the former Wendt decides, although in the previous verse he takes *ἐν τίνι* as neuter; so too Page and Holtzmann. On the other hand Rendall (so De Wette, Weiss) adopts the latter rendering, while admitting that the reference to Jesus Himself is quite possible, as in ver. 12.—*ἐνώπιον*: Hebraism, characteristic of St. Luke in his Gospel and in the Acts. The expression is never used in Matthew and Mark, and only once in John, xx. 30, but thirty-one times in the Hebraistic Apocalypse—frequent in LXX, but not found in classical or Hellenistic Greek, although τὰ ἐνώπια in Homer, Blass, *in loco*, and *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 125. The word is also found on papyri twice, so Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 40.

Ver. 11. οὗτος: "He," as in R.V. All E.V. previously translated it "this," referring it to ὁ λίθος, but in the next verse a person is directly spoken of, not under the metaphor of a stone, and the

pronoun finds its subject better in the *ἐν τούτῳ*, masculine of ver. 10. See Winer-Schmiedel, p. 216.—ὁ ἐξουθενηθεὶς: in the LXX and in the Gospels the word used is ἀπεδοκίμασαν. St. Peter, quoting apparently from memory, used a word expressing still greater contempt. It is used, e.g., very significantly by St. Luke in his Gospel, xxiii. 11, and again in xviii. 9. The word is found in none of the other Gospels, and is characteristic of St. Luke and of St. Paul (cf. Rom. xiv. 3, 10, 1 Cor. i. 28, 1 Cor. vi. 4, etc.). It occurs several times in the LXX; cf. Wisdom, iii. 11, iv. 18, Ecclesiasticus xix. 1, 2 Macc. i. 27, and *Psalms of Solomon*, ii. 5. In classical writers it is not found at all.—ὁ γενόμενος, "which was made," R.V. Blass compares the

Hebrew phrase לְיָדָה and finds parallels in v. 36, Luke xiii. 19, but γίνεσθαι εἰς, while common in the LXX, is a correct expression in classical Greek, although the places in the N.T. in which the formula is found in O.T. quotations are undoubtedly Hebraisms (see below on v. 36), Winer-Schmiedel, p. 257, and with this may be connected the frequency of its occurrence in the Apocalypse (see Simcox on the phrase, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 143).—κεφαλὴν γωνίας: not "the topmost pinnacle-stone," but a corner-stone uniting two walls, on which they rested and were made firm, cf. the meaning of ἀκρογωνιαίος (Isa. xxviii. 16), 1 Pet. ii. 6-8, Eph. ii. 20, which is used here by Symmachus instead of κεφ. γων. The Hebrew קַנְיָ elsewhere always refers not to the upper part of the building, but to the lower (Isa. xxviii. 16, Jer. li. 26, Job xxxviii. 6, ὁ βαλὼν λίθον γωνιαῖον, Delitzsch). Probably therefore the expression here refers to a foundation-stone at the base of the corner. On the occurrence of the phrase from Ps. cxviii. 22 in St. Peter's First Epistle, and in his speech here, see p. 119, and also Scharfe, *Die Petrinische Strömung*, 2 c, p. 126.



13. θεωροῦντες δὲ τὴν τοῦ Πέτρου παρρησίαν καὶ Ἰωάννου, καὶ καταλαβόμενοι ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ἀγράμματοί εἰσι καὶ ἰδιῶται, ἐθαύ-

Ver. 12. ἡ σωτηρία, cf. v. 31, xvii. 11, i.e., κατ' ἐξοχήν, the Messianic salvation. The interpretation which would limit ἡ σωτ. to bodily healing is less satisfactory; infinitely higher than the healing of one man, ver. 9, stands the Messianic salvation, for which even the Sanhedrists were hoping and longing, but see also Rendall's note, *in loco*. A parallel to the expression is found in Jos., *Ant.*, iii., 1, 5, but there are many passages in the O.T. which might have suggested the words to St. Peter, cf. Isa. xii. 2, xlix. 6-8, lii. 10.—οὔτε γὰρ ὄνομα, see on i. 15, ii. 21. οὐδὲ is the best reading, Winer-Moulton, liii. 10, "for not even is there a second name"—the claim develops more precisely and consequently from the statement ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ· ἕτερος μὲν, ἐπὶ δυοῖν· ἄλλος δὲ, ἐπὶ πλείων (cf. 1 Cor. xii. 8, 2 Cor. xi. 1, Gal. i. 6, 7), Ammonius, quoted by Bengel.—τὸ δεδομένον: on the force of the article with the participle, see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, pp. 183, 184 (1893) = τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα, τὸ δεδομ. ἐν ἀνθρώποις, μόνον ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ δεῖ . . . and Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 238; cf. Luke xviii. 9, Gal. i. 7, Col. ii. 8.—ὃ δεῖ σωθῆναι: "Jesus when He spoke of the rejection as future, predicted that the stone would be a judgment-stone to destroy the wicked builders. But Peter takes up the other side, and presents the stone as the stone of Messianic salvation; this name is the only name under heaven that is a saving name. Here Peter apprehends the spiritual significance of the reign of the Messiah," Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 34, and the whole passage.

Ver. 13. θεωροῦντες δὲ, cf. iii. 16, not merely βλέπ., as in ver. 14, but "inest notio contemplandi cum attentione aut admiratione," Tittm., *Synon. N. T.*, p. 121. The present participle marks this continuous observation of the fearless bearing of the Apostles during the trial (Rendall).—παρρησίαν: either boldness of speech, or of bearing; it was the feature which had characterised the teaching of our Lord; cf. Mark viii. 32, and nine times in St. John in connection with Christ's teaching or bearing; and the disciples in this respect also were as their Master, c. iv. 29, 31 (ii. 29); so too of St. Paul, xxviii. 31, and frequently used by St. Paul himself in his Epistles; also by St. John four times in his First Epistle

of confidence in approaching God: "urbem et orbem hac parrhesia vicerunt," Bengel. Cf. παρρησιάζεσθαι used of Paul's preaching, ix. 27, 28, and again of him and Barnabas, xiii. 46, xiv. 3, of Apollos, xviii. 26, and twice again of Paul, xix. 8, xxvi. 26; only found in Acts, and twice in St. Paul's Epistles, Eph. vi. 20, 1 Thess. ii. 2, of speaking the Gospel boldly. For παρρησία, see LXX, Prov. xiii. 5, 1 Macc. iv. 18, Wisdom v. 1 (of speech), cf. also Jos., *Ant.*, ix., 10, 4, xv., 2, 7.—Ἰωάννου: even if St. John had not spoken, that "confidence towards God," which experience of life deepened, 1 John iv. 17, v. 14, but which was doubtless his now, would arrest attention; but it is evidently assumed that St. John had spoken, and it is quite characteristic of St. Luke's style thus to quote the most telling utterance, and to assume that the reader conceives the general situation, and procedure in the trial, Ramsay's *St. Paul*, pp. 371, 372.—καὶ καταλαβόμενοι: "and had perceived" R.V., rightly marking the tense of the participle; either by their dress or demeanour, or by their speech (cf. x. 34, xxv. 25, Eph. iii. 18, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 181).—ὅτι . . . εἰσι . . . ὅτι σὺν τῷ ἴ. ἦσαν in dependent clauses where English usage would employ a past tense and a pluperfect, N.T. usage employs a present and an imperfect "perceived that they were . . . that they had been . . .," Blass, and see Salmon on Blass's Commentary, *Hermathena*, xxi., p. 229.—ἄνθρωποι: Wendt sees in the addition something depreciatory.—ἀγράμματοι: lit., unlettered, i.e., without acquaintance with the Rabbinic learning in τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (2 Tim. iii. 15), the Jewish Scriptures (lit., letters, hence γραμματεῖς), cf. John vii. 15, Acts xxvi. 24, where the word is used without ἱερὰ, so that it cannot be confined to the sacred Scriptures of the O.T., and includes the Rabbinic training in their meaning and exposition. In classical Greek the word = "illiterati," joined by Plato with ἄρειος, ἄμουσος, see also Xen., *Mem.*, iv., 2, 20; by Plutarch it is set over against the μεμουςμένος, and elsewhere joined with ἄγροικος, Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, ii., p. 134, and Weststein, *in loco*, cf. Athenæus, x., p. 454 B., βοτήρ δ' ἐστὶν ἀγράμματος.—ἰδιῶται: the word properly signifies a private person (a man occupied with τὰ ἴδια), as opposed to any one who

μαζον, ἐπεγίνωσκόν τε αὐτοὺς ὅτι σὺν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ἦσαν· 14. τὸν δὲ  
ἄνθρωπον βλέποντες σὺν αὐτοῖς ἐστῶτα τὸν τεθεραπευμένον, οὐδὲν

holds office in the State, but as the Greeks held that without political life there was no true education of a man, it was not unnatural that ἰδιώτης should acquire a somewhat contemptuous meaning, and so Plato joins it with ἀπράγμων, and Plutarch with ἀπρακτος and ἀπαίδευτος (and instances in Wetstein). But further: in Trench, *u. s.*, p. 136, and Grimm, *sub v.*, the ἰδιώτης is "a layman," as compared with the ἱατρός, "the skilled physician," Thuc. ii. 48, and the word is applied by Philo to the whole congregation of Israel as contrasted with the priests, and to subjects as contrasted with their prince, *cf.* its only use in the LXX, Prov. vi. 8 (*cf.* Herod., ii., 81, vii., 199, and instances in Wetstein on 1 Cor. xiv. 16). Bearing this in mind, it would seem that the word is used by St. Paul (1 Cor. xiv. 16, 23, 24) of believers devoid of special spiritual gifts, of prophecy or of speaking with tongues, and in the passage before us it is applied to those who, like the ἀγράμματοι, had been without professional training in the Rabbinical schools. The translation "ignorant" is somewhat unfortunate. ἰδιώτης certainly need not mean ignorant, *cf.* Plato, *Legg.*, 830, A., ἀνδρῶν σοφῶν ἰδιωτῶν τε καὶ συνετῶν. St. Paul uses the word of himself, ἰδιώτης ἐν λόγῳ, 2 Cor. xi. 6, in a way which helps us to understand its meaning here, for it may well have been used contemptuously of him (as here by the Sadducees of Peter and John) by the Judaizers, who despised him as "unlearned" and a "layman": he would not affect the Rabbinic subtleties and interpretations in which they boasted. Others take the word here as referring to the social rank of the Apostles, "plebeians" "common men" (Kuinoel, Olshausen, De Wette, Bengel, Hackett), but the word is not so used until Herodian, iv., 10, 4. See also Dean Plumptre's note on the transition of the word through the Vulgate *idiota* to our word "idiot": Tyndale and Cranmer both render "laymen".—ἐπεγίνωσκόν τε: if we take those words to imply that the Sanhedrim only recognised during the trial that Peter and John had been amongst the disciples of Jesus, there is something unnatural and forced about such an interpretation, especially when we remember that all Jerusalem was speaking of them, vv. 16, 21, and that one of them was personally known to the high priest (John xviii. 15).

In Codex D (so β) an attempt is apparently made to meet this difficulty by reading *τινες δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπεγίνωσκον αὐτοὺς*. Others have pointed out that the same word is used in iii., 10 of the beggar who sat for alms, and that here, as there, ἐπεγίν. implies something more than mere recognition (see especially Lumby's note on the force of ἐπί); thus the revisers in both passages render "took knowledge of". But here as elsewhere Professor Ramsay throws fresh light upon the narrative, *St. Paul*, p. 371. And however we interpret the words, St. Chrysostom's comment does not lose its beauty: ἐπεγίν. τε . . . ἦσαν, *i. e.*, in His Passion, for only those were with Him at the time, and there indeed they had seen them humble, dejected—and this it was that most surprised them, the greatness of the change; *Hom.*, x.—The τε after ἐπεγίν., and its repetition at the commencement of ver. 14 (so R.V., W.H., Weiss), is very Lucan (see Ramsay's paraphrase above); for this closely connecting force of τε *cf.* Weiss's commentary, *passim*. With σὺν κ.τ.λ. Weiss compares Luke viii. 38, xii. 56.

Ver. 14. ἐστῶτα: standing, no longer a cripple, *firmiter talo* (Bengel), and by his presence and attitude affording a testimony not to be gainsaid.—σὺν αὐτοῖς, *i. e.*, with the disciples. We are not told whether the man was a prisoner with the disciples, but just as the healed demoniac had sought to be with Jesus, so we may easily imagine that the restored cripple, in his gratitude and faith, would desire to be with his benefactors: "great was the boldness of the man that even in the judgment-hall he had not left them: for had they (*i. e.*, their opponents) said that the fact was not so, there was he to refute them," St. Chrysostom, *Hom.*, x. On St. Luke's fondness for the shorter form, ἐστὼς not ἐστηκώς, both in Gospel and Acts, see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 8.—οὐδὲν εἶχον ἄντ.: this meaning of εἶχω with the infinitive is quite classical; *cf.* the Latin *habeo dicere*; on St. Luke's fondness for phrases with εὐρίσκειν and εἶχειν see Friedrich, *u. s.*, pp. 11, 12.—ἀντειπεῖν: only used by St. Luke in the N.T., Luke xxi. 15. The miracle, as St. Chrysostom says, spoke no less forcibly than the Apostles themselves, but the word may be taken, as in the Gospel, of contradicting personal adversaries, *i. e.*,



εἶχον ἀντεπεῖν.<sup>1</sup> 15. κελεύσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ συνεδρίου ἀπελθεῖν, συνέβαλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 16. λέγοντες, Τί ποιήσομεν<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ γνωστὸν σημεῖον γέγονε δι' αὐτῶν, πᾶσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν Ἱερουσαλὴμ φανερόν,<sup>3</sup> καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀρνήσασθαι· 17. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον διανεμηθῇ εἰς τὸν λαόν, ἀπειλῇ<sup>4</sup> ἀπειλησώμεθα αὐτοῖς μηκέτι λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ

<sup>1</sup> ἀντεπεῖν; D, Flor. insert before, ποιῆσαι η. D also omits last clause of ver. 13, and puts in altered form at end of ver. 14 τινες δε εἰς αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. The τινες δε would follow naturally enough if we read with Flor. ἀκουσαντες δε παντες at the beginning of ver. 13; but see connection of passage in comment.

<sup>2</sup> ποιήσομεν DP, Flor., Gig., Par., Vulg., Bas., Chrys., so Meyer and Hilg.; ποιήσωμεν ΞABE, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, and so Blass in β.

<sup>3</sup> φανερόν, D reads φανερώτερον, according to Blass (in β retained), for superl. defended by Belser and Hilg.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπειλῇ om. ΞABD vers., Lucif., Bas., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Hilg.; but retained by EP, Syr. Harcl., Chrys., so by Meyer and Weiss (Wendt doubtful but on the whole against retention); cf. v. 28, Blass retains: "optime".

here, the Apostles, so Weiss, and cf. Rendall, *in loco*.

Ver. 15. συνέβαλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, sc., λόγους: only in St. Luke's writings, in different significations; cf. for the construction here, Eurip., *Iphig. Aul.*, 830, and Plutarch, *Mor.*, p. 222, C.—see on xvii. 18.

Ver. 16. τί ποιήσομεν: for the deliberative subjunctive, which should be read here, cf. ii. 37; it may express the utter perplexity of the Sanhedrists (so Rendall); in questions expressing doubt or deliberation, the subjunctive would be more usual in classical Greek than the future indicative, Blass, *u. s.*, p. 205.—ὅτι μὲν: μὲν answered by ἀλλὰ in ver. 17 (omitted by D.), cf. Mark ix. 12, see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 168, and for other instances of μὲν similarly used, see also Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 74, 75.—γνωστὸν, that which is a matter of knowledge as opposed to δοξαζόν, that which is matter of opinion (so in Plato). The word is characteristic of St. Luke, being used by him twice in the Gospel, ten times in Acts, and elsewhere in N.T. only three times (Friedrich).

Ver. 17. ἐπὶ πλείον may be taken as = *latius* (2 Tim. ii. 16, iii. 9) or = *diutius* (Acts xx. 9, xxiv. 4), but the context favours the former. The phrase is quite classical, and it occurs several times in LXX, cf. Wisdom viii. 12; 3 Macc. v. 18.—διανεμηθῇ: only here in N.T. but frequently used in classical writers in active and middle—to divide into portions, to distribute, to divide

among themselves — here = lest it should spread abroad (or better perhaps in D (β)) It has been taken by some as if it had a parallel in ὡς γάγραйна νομὴν ἔξει, 2 Tim. ii. 17, and expressed that the report of the Apostles' teaching and power might spread and feed like a cancer (see Bengel, Blass, Zöckler, Rendall), but although νέμω in the middle voice (and possibly ἐπινέμω) could be so used, it is very doubtful how far διανέμω could be so applied. At the same time we may note that διανέμω is a word frequently used in medical writers, Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, pp. 196, 197, and that it, with the two other great medical words of similar import, διασπείρειν and ἀναδιδόναι, is peculiar to St. Luke. In the LXX διανέμω is only found once, Deut. xxix. 26 (25), in its classical sense

as a translation of the Hebrew לָחֵץ.

—ἀπειλῇ ἀπειλησώμεθα: if we retain the reading in T.R., the phrase is a common Hebraism, cf. v. 28, xxiii. 14, ii. 17, 30, Luke xxii. 15, cf. John vi. 29, James v. 7, and from the LXX, Matt. xiii. 14, xv. 4. The form of the Hebrew formula giving the notion of intenseness is rendered in A.V. by "straitly," as by the revisers (who omit ἀπειλῇ here) in v. 28. Similar expressions are common in the LXX, and also in the Apocrypha, cf. Eccclus. xlviii. 11, Judith vi. 4, and occasionally a similar formula is found in Greek authors, see especially Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 83, and Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 116, 117.—

μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων. 18.<sup>1</sup> καὶ καλέσαντες αὐτούς, παρήγγειλαν αὐτοῖς τὸ καθόλου μὴ φθέγγεσθαι μηδὲ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. 19. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος καὶ Ἰωάννης ἀποκριθέντες πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἶπον, Εἰ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὑμῶν ἀκούειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ Θεοῦ, κρίνατε. 20. οὐ δυνάμεθα γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἃ<sup>2</sup> εἶδομεν καὶ ἡκούσαμεν μὴ

<sup>1</sup> At begin. of ver. D, Flor., Syr. Harcl. mg., Lucif., Hilg. add *συγκατατιθεμένων δε αὐτῶν τῇ γνώμῃ*. Belser sees here the hand of Luke who omitted the clause in revision, as he thinks no one could have added it (so *τα ρήματα αὐτῶν* after *λαόν* in ver. 17, see β); but, on the other hand, Weiss, Codex D, p. 61. *καλεσαντες*, D has *φωνησαντες*. *αὐτοῖς* om. *ABDE 13*, Vulg., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss; so *το* before *καθόλου* *AB*, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> *εἶδομεν* B<sup>3</sup>EP, Chrys., Cyr.; *εἶδαμεν* *AB*\*D 4, Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Hilg.; see W.H., *Abb.*, p. 171 (so for *ειπαν* above), Winer-Schmiedel, p. 112.

ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι: on the name, *i.e.*, resting on, or with reference to, this name, as the basis of their teaching, Winer-Moulton, xlviii. c., *cf.* v. 28, and Luke xxiv. 47, ix. 48, xxi. 8. The phrase has thus a force of its own, although it is apparently interchangeable with *ἐν*, ver. 10 (Simcox, see also Blass, *in loco*); Rendall takes it = "about the name of Jesus," *ἐπὶ* being used as often with verbs of speech.—*τούτῳ*: "quem nominare nolunt, v. 28, vid. tamen 18," Blass; (on the hatred of the Jews against the name of Jesus and their periphrastic titles for him, *e.g.*, *otho ha'ish*, "that man," "so and so," see "Jesus Christ in the Talmud," H. Laible, pp. 32, 33 (Streane)).

Ver. 18. *καθόλου*: only here in N.T. The word which had been very common since Aristotle (previously *καθ' ὅλου*) is quite classical in the sense in which it is used here, and it is also found a few times in the LXX (see Hatch and Redpath for instances of its use without and with the art., as here in T.R.). It is frequently used by medical writers, Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, p. 197.—*μὴ φθέγγεσθαι*: "not to utter a word," so Rendall, *ne muttire quidem* (Blass). The word seems to indicate more than that the disciples should not speak, "ne hiscerent aut ullam vocem ederent," Erasmus. In contrast to *διδάσκειν* we might well refer it to the utterance of the name of Jesus in their miracles, as in iii. 6; only found twice elsewhere in N.T., and both times in 2 Peter, ii. 16, 18, but its use is quite classical, and it is also found several times in LXX.

Ver. 19. Parallel sayings may be quoted from Greeks and Romans, and from Jewish sources, see instances in

Wetstein, *cf.* Plato, *Apol.*, 29, D., the famous words of Socrates: *πεισόμεθα τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν*, and Livy, xxxix., 37; Jos., *Ant.*, xvii., 6, 3; xviii. 8, 2; on *ἐνώπιον* see ver. 10; *ἀκούειν* = *πειθαρχεῖν*, v. 29, and *cf.* iii. 22, Luke x. 16, xvi. 31; *μᾶλλον* = *potius*, *cf.* Rom. xiv. 13, 1 Cor. vii. 21.—*κρίνατε*: this appeal to the Sadducees could only be justified on the ground that the Apostles were sure of the validity of their own appeal to a higher tribunal. No man could lay down the principle of obedience to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether to the king or to governors, more plainly than St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 13, *cf.* Rom. xiii. 1), and he and his fellow-disciples might have exposed themselves to the charge of fanaticism or obstinacy, if they could only say *οὐ δυν. . . μὴ λαλεῖν*; but they could add *ἃ εἶδομεν καὶ ἡκούσ.*, *cf.* Acts i. 8. The same appeal is made by St. John, both in his Gospel (i. 14) and in his First Epistle (i. 1, 2), in vindication of his teaching; and here the final answer is that of St. John and St. Peter jointly.

Ver. 20. *οὐ . . . μὴ*: on the two negatives forming an affirmative *cf.* 1 Cor. xii. 15; Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 220 (1893). Winer-Moulton, lv., 9, compares Aristoph., *Ran.*, 42; see also Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 184.

Ver. 21. *προσαπειλησάμενοι*: "when they had further threatened them" R.V., or the word may mean "added threats to their warning" ver. 18 ("prius enim tantum præceperunt," Erasmus). So Wendt as against Meyer; *cf.* in LXX, Eccclus. xiii. 3, S., and Dem., p. 544, 26.—*ἀπέλυσαν*: "dimiserunt [iii. 13] non absolverunt," Blass; see St. Chrysostom's striking contrast between the boldness of the Apostles and the fear of their judges (*Hom.*, xi.).—



λαλεῖν. 21. οἱ δὲ προσαπειλησάμενοι ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς,<sup>1</sup> μηδὲν εὐρίσκοντες τὸ πῶς κολάσωνται αὐτούς, διὰ τὸν λαόν, ὅτι πάντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι. 22. ἐτῶν γὰρ ἦν πλείονων τεσσαράκοντα<sup>2</sup> ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐφ' ὃν ἐγεγόνει τὸ σημεῖον τοῦτο τῆς ἰάσεως.

23. Ἀπολυθέντες δὲ ἦλθον πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους, καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ὅσα πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ ἄρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι εἶπον. 24. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες,<sup>3</sup> ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἤραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, καὶ εἶπον,

<sup>1</sup> D seems to read *μη εὐρισκοντες αιτιαν*, so Hilg., see Harris (p. 90).

<sup>2</sup> *τεσσαρ.*, see on i. 3.

<sup>3</sup> After *ακουσαντες* D adds *καὶ ἐπιγινοντες την του θεου ενεργειαν*, so Hilg.—Belser and Zöckler hold that the clause cannot be a later addition, but Weiss objects that no reference is found to the words in *ver.* 29 which follows. *ἐπιγινωσκω* is used more frequently by St. Luke than by the other Evangelists, but *ενεργεια* is entirely confined to St. Paul in the N.T.

τὸ πῶς: finding nothing, namely (τὸ), how they might, etc.; this use of the article is quite classical, drawing attention to the proposition introduced by it and making of it a compound substantive expressing one idea, most commonly with an interrogation; it is used by St. Luke and St. Paul, and both in St. Luke's Gospel and in the Acts, *cf.* Luke i. 62, ix. 46, xix. 48, xxii. 2, 4, 23, 24, Acts xxii. 30, Rom. viii. 26, 1 Thess. iv. 1, *cf.* Mark ix. 23. So here the Sanhedrists are represented as asking themselves τὸ πῶς κολ. (Friedrich and Lekebusch both draw attention to this characteristic of St. Luke's writings). See Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, pp. 67, 68 (1893). κολ. only here and in 2 Pet. ii. 9 in N.T.; *cf.* 3 Macc. vii. 3, where it is also used in middle, expressing to cause to be punished, *cf.* 1 Macc. vii. 7, AS.—διὰ τὸν λαόν belongs not to ἀπέλυσαν, but rather to μὴ εὐρίσκ. κ.τ.λ.—ἐδόξαζον: see on ii. 46; *cf.* Luke ii. 20, 2 Cor. ix. 13, for the construction; the verb never has in Biblical Gr. mere classical meaning of *to think, suppose, entertain an opinion* (but *cf.* Polyb., vi., 53, 10; *δεδοξασμένοι ἐπ' ἀρετῇ*); in the LXX very frequently of glory ascribed to God, see Plummer's note on Luke ii. 20.

*Ver.* 22. Characteristic of St. Luke to note the age, as in the case of Æneas, ix. 33, and of the cripple at Lystra, xiv. 8, *cf.* also Luke viii. 42 (although Mark also here notes the same fact), xiii. 11. The genitive with εἶναι or γίνεσθαι, instead of the accusative, in reference to the question of age, is noted by Friedrich as characteristic of St. Luke; *cf.*

Luke ii. 42 (iii. 23), viii. 42, and here; but *cf.* Mark v. 42.—ἐγεγόνει: in this episode "with its lights and shades" Overbeck (so Baur) can only see the idealising work of myth and legend, but it is difficult to understand how a narrative which purports to describe the first conflict between the Church and the Sanhedrim could be free from such contrasts, and that some collision with the authorities took place is admitted to be quite conceivable (Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i., 46, E.T.); we should rather say that St. Luke's power as an historian is nowhere more visible than in the dramatic form of this narrative (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, ii. s.).

*Ver.* 23. τοὺς ἰδίους: not necessarily limited to their fellow-Apostles (so Meyer, Blass, Weiss), but as including the members of the Christian community (so Overbeck, Wendt, Hilgenfeld, Zöckler), *cf.* xxiv. 23, John xiii. 1, 1 Tim. v. 8, and also of one's fellow-countrymen, associates, John i. 11, 2 Macc. xii. 22.

*Ver.* 24. ὁμοθυμαδόν, see above on i. 14. The word must not be pressed to mean that they all simultaneously gave utterance to the same words, or that they were able to do so, because they were repeating a familiar Hymn; it may mean that the Hymn was uttered by one of the leaders, by St. Peter, or St. James (Zöckler), and answered by the responsive Amen of the rest, or that the words were caught up by the multitude of believers as they were uttered by an inspired Apostle (so Felten, Rendall).—ἤραν φωνήν: the same phrase is used in Luke xvii. 13, so in Acts ii. 14, xiv. 11,

Δέσποτα, σὺ<sup>1</sup> ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς, 25.<sup>2</sup> ὁ διὰ στόματος Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδὸς σου εἰπὼν, “Ἵνα τί ἐφρύαξαν ἔθνη, καὶ λαοὶ ἐμελέτησαν.

<sup>1</sup> ο Θεός DEP, Gig., Par., verss., Irnt., Luc., so Meyer, so Hilg.; but om. **Σ**BA, best MS. of Vulg., Boh., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (who refers the construction of the words to Isaiah xxxvii. 16).

<sup>2</sup> ο δια στοματος Δαβιδ του παιδους σου ειπων P 1, 31, Chrys., so Meyer; but του omitted by **Σ**ABDEP. ο του πατρος ημων δια πνευματος αγιου στοματος Δαυειδ παιδους σου ειπων, so **Σ**ABE 13, 15, 27, 29, 36, 38; so Lach., Treg., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Alford. ο δια πν. αγ. δια στομ., του πατρος ημων Δ., so Vulg., Iren., apparently for improvement in order. D reads δια πν. αγ. δια του στοματος λαλησας Δ., omit. του πατρος ημων; so apparently Syr. Pesch., Boh. P, Hil., and Aug. omit πνευματος αγιου—Syr. Harcl., Arm. place δια πν. αγ. after παιδους σου; so Par. Blass in β omits του πατρος ημων and brackets πν. αγ., practically agreeing with T.R. (see also *Acta Apost.*, p. 77). W.H. mention the extreme difficulty of the text and hold that it contains a primitive error (so also Holtzmann), and each makes an attempt at solution, App., *Select Readings*, p. 92. Felten follows the solution offered by Westcott. Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 39, 40 (1893), speaks of πνευματος αγιου as perfectly senseless (so too Zöckler, who follows T.R.) and regards the expression as an old gloss for στομα Δ., but which afterwards came into the text with the latter words; or some scribe, as he thinks, may have introduced δια πν. αγ. expected by him from i. 2, 16 (see also Blass, *in loco*), and then continued the text lying before him. Weiss therefore follows P although it omits του πατρος ημων, which Weiss retains and reads ο του πατρος ημων δια στομ. Δ. παιδους σου ειπων. Wendt and Alford maintain that the more complicated readings could scarcely have arisen through additions to the simpler text of T.R. and that the contrary is more probable.

xxii. 22, ἐπαίρειν, and also in Luke xi. 27. Both phrases are peculiar to St. Luke, but both are found in the LXX, and both are classical (Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 29, and Plummer on Luke xi. 27).—Δέσποτα κ.τ.λ.: the words form the earliest known Psalm of Thanksgiving in the Christian Church. In its tenor the Hymn may be compared with Hezekiah's Prayer against the threats of Assyria, Isa. xxxvii. 16, 20. It begins like many of the Psalms (xviii., xix., liii.) with praising God as the Creator, a thought which finds fitting expression here as marking the utter impotence of worldly power to withstand Him. The word Δέσποτα, thus used in the vocative in addressing God here and in Luke ii. 29 only (found nowhere else in Gospels, although several times in the Epistles), expresses the absolute control of a Master over a slave, cf. also Luke ii. 29, where τὸν δούλόν σου answers to it, as here τοῖς δούλοις in ver. 29. It also expresses here as often in the LXX the sovereignty of God over creation, cf. Job v. 8, Wisdom vi. 7, Judith ix. 12. So Jos., *Ant.*, iv., 3, 2, puts it into the mouth of Moses. It is very rarely used in the N.T. as a name of God or of Christ, but cf. Rev.

vi. 10 of God, and 2 Pet. ii. 1 of Christ (where the metaphor of the master and slave is retained), and see Jude ver. 4, R.V. (although the name may refer to God); and so in writings ascribed to men who may well have been present, and have taken part in the Hymn. The word is also used of the gods in classical Greek; but the Maker of heaven and earth was no “despot,” although His rule was absolute, for His power was never dissociated from wisdom and love, cf. Wisdom xi. 26, Δέσποτα φιλόφρονε. On the use of the word in *Didache*, x., 3, in prayer to God, see Biggs' note.

Ver. 25. The words form an exact quotation from the LXX (Psalm ii. 1). Ἵνα τί, again in quotation, vii., 26; cf. Luke xiii. 7, 1 Cor. x. 29; twice in Matt. ix. 4, xxvii. 46, quotation; W.H., Blass (Weiss, *ἱνατί*), sc., γέννηται, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 14, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 36.—ἐφρύαξαν: in the active form the verb occurs once in LXX, viz., in this passage, as a translation of שָׁחַח, φρυάσσομαι, primarily of the snorting and neighing of a high-spirited horse, then of the haughtiness and insolence of men; twice it is used as a dep. in LXX, 2 Macc. vii. 34, R.; iii. 2,



κενά; 26. παρέστησαν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς, καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες συνήχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.”  
 27. συνήχθησαν γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ἐπ’ ἀληθείας ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου, Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἔχρισας, Ἡρώδης τε καὶ Πόντιος<sup>2</sup> Πιλάτος, σὺν ἔθνεσι καὶ λαοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ’ ἀληθείας; ὩABDE, Vulg., Syr. P. H., verss., Eus., Ir., Tert.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. add ἐν τῇ πολει ταυτῇ (wanting in the Psalm).

<sup>2</sup> Πιλάτος; but B\* Πειλάτος, so Tisch., W.H.; see on iii. 13.

2, and so in profane writers.—ἔθνη, i.e., the Gentiles, see on ver. 27. λαός might be used, and is used of any people, but it is used in Biblical Greek specially of the chosen people of God, cf. Luke ii. 32, Acts xxvi. 17, 23, Rom. xv. 10, and it is significant that the word is transferred to the Christian community, which was thus regarded as taking the place of the Jewish theocracy, Acts xv. 14, xviii. 10, Rom. ix. 25, 1 Peter ii. 10; Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 11, 12, Grimm, *sub v.* λαός; so too in the LXX, ἔθνος in the plural is used in an overwhelming number of instances of other nations besides Israel, cf. Psalm lvi. (lvii.) 9, Zech. i. 15; in N.T., ἔθνη = pagans, Rom. iii. 29, and Roman Christians, Rom. xv. 27, cf. *populus*, the Roman people, as opposed to *gentes*, Lucan, *Phars.*, i., 82, 83 (Page); Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 98.

Ver. 26. παρέστησαν: not necessarily of hostile intent, although here the context indicates it; R.V., “set themselves in array,” lit. “presented themselves,” an exact rendering of the Hebrew בָּרָא, which sometimes implies rising up against as here, Psalm ii. 2, and cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 13 (R.V. margin). Of the generally accepted Messianic interpretation of the Psalm, and of the verses here quoted, there can be no doubt, cf. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 716 (appendix on Messianic passages), and Wetstein, *in loco*. The Psalm is regarded as full of Messianic references (Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 132-140, and 492, 493), cf., e.g., the comment on this verse of the Psalm in the *Mechilta* (quoted in the *Yalkut Shimeoni*, ii., f. 90, 1 Sch. p. 227), Perowne, *Psalms* (small edition), p. 16; and Edersheim, *u. s.* The Psalm carries us back to the great Davidic promise in 2 Sam. vii. 11-16, and it reflects the Messianic hopes of the Davidic period. That hope the N.T. writers who quote this Psalm very frequently or refer to it, cf. xiii. 33, Heb. i. 5, v. 5, see fulfilled in Christ, the antitype of David and

of Solomon. Thus the gathering together of the nations and their fruitless decrees find their counterpart in the alliance of Herod and Pilate, and the hostile combination of Jew and Gentile against the holy Servant Jesus, the anointed of God, and against His followers; although the words of the Psalm and the issues of the conflict carry on our thoughts to a still wider and deeper fulfilment in the final triumph of Christ's kingdom, cf. the frequent recurrence of the language of the Psalm in Rev. xii. 5, xix. 15, and cf. i. 5, ii. 26, 27.

Ver. 27. γάρ: confirms the truth of the preceding prophecy, by pointing to its historical fulfilment, and does not simply give a reason for addressing God as ὁ εἰπών—to emphasise this fulfilment συνήχ. is again quoted, and placed first in the sentence.—ἐπ’ ἀληθείας, of a truth, i.e., assuredly, Luke iv. 25, xx. 21, xxii. 59, Acts x. 34; so too in LXX, Job ix. 2, and also in classical Greek. The phrase is characteristic of St. Luke, and is only used elsewhere in N.T. in Mark xii. 14, 32, the usual expression being ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, never used by St. Luke (Friedrich).—παῖδα, see on iii. 13.—ὃν ἔχρισας: showing that Jesus = τοῦ Χριστοῦ named in the quotation just made, cf. Luke iv. 18, and Isa. lxi. 1 and Acts x. 38. Nösgen compares also John x. 36, and refuses to limit the reference to iii. 21. The words may no doubt be referred to the Baptism, but they need not be confined to that.—Ἡρώδης = βασιλεῖς of the Psalm, Π. Πειλάτος = ἄρχοντες, but Nösgen, referring to iii. 17, regards the ἄρχ. as included in the λαοί. Ἡρ. instead of Ἡρωίδης, Blass, *in loco*, and *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 7, 8, the iota subscript W.H. thus accounted for; Winer-Schmiedel, p. 41.—ἔθνεσιν καὶ λαοῖς ‘I.: the first word = the centurion and soldiers, those who carried out the orders of Pilate; λαοί the plural (quoted from the Psalm) does not refer with Calvin to the different nationalities out of which the Jews

Ἰσραήλ, 28. ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἡ χεὶρ σου καὶ ἡ βουλή σου<sup>1</sup> προώρισε γενέσθαι. 29. καὶ τὰ νῦν, Κύριε, ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ δὸς τοῖς δούλοις σου μετὰ παρρησίας πάσης λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου, 30. ἐν τῷ τὴν χεὶρά σου ἐκτείνειν σε εἰς Ἰασιν, καὶ σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γίνεσθαι διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου παιδὸς σου Ἰησοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> σου omit A\*B, Arm., Lucif. (Cod. Am. of Vulg.), so W.H., Weiss, Wendt; retained by  $\aleph$ A\*DEP, Vulg., vers., Irint, so Tisch. Here, as commonly, Tisch. follows  $\aleph$ , W.H., B—and difficult, as often, to decide; insertion appears more obvious than omission.

who came up to the Feast were gathered, but possibly to the tribes of Israel, Grimm-Thayer, *sub*, λαός, like  $\text{עַמִּי}$ , Gen. xlix. 10, Deut. xxxii. 8, Isa. iii. 13, etc., R.V., "the peoples of Israel". St. Luke's Gospel alone gives us the narrative of Herod's share in the proceedings connected with the Passion, xxiii. 8-12; see Plumptre, *in loco*, and Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 54, 55.

Ver. 28. ποιῆσαι, infinitive of purpose, see on iii. 2; but even this purpose was overruled by God to the accomplishment of His will, *cf.* Luke xxii. 22, xxiv. 26, συνῆλθον μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοι ὡς ἐχθροὶ . . . ἐποιοῦν δὲ ἃ σὺ ἐβούλου, Oecum.—ἡ χεὶρ σου, a common expression to signify the controlling power of God, *cf.* in the N.T. (peculiar to St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts) the phrases χεὶρ Κυρίου, Luke i. 66, Acts xi. 21, xiii. 11.—ἡ βουλή: only used by St. Luke, *cf.* Luke vii. 30, Acts ii. 23, xiii. 36, xx. 27.—προώρισε: only in St. Luke and St. Paul, but never in LXX or Apocrypha, Rom. viii. 29, 30, 1 Cor. ii. 7, Ephes. i. 5, 11, but the thought which it contains is in striking harmony with St. Peter's words elsewhere; *cf.* ii. 23, x. 42, and 1 Pet. i. 2, 20, ii. 4-6—see above on Peter's speeches—*cf.* Ignat., *Ephes.*, tit.—ἡ χεὶρ connected with β. by Zeugma, since only βουλή directly suits the verb; *cf.* 1 Cor. iii. 2, and Luke i. 64. (The two verses (27, 28) are referred by Hilgenfeld to the "author to Theophilus". In his view there is a want of fitness in introducing into the Church's prayer the words of the Psalm, and their reference to the closing scenes of the life of Jesus; he thinks with Weiss that in the αὐτῶν of ver. 29 there is quite sufficient reference to the words of the Psalm.)

Ver. 29. τὰ νῦν (*cf.* iii. 17) only used in the Acts v. 38, xvii. 30, xx. 32, xxvii. 22, but frequently found in classical writers (Wetstein), *cf.* also 1 Macc. vii.

35, ix. 9; 2 Macc. xv. 8, Klostermann, *Vindicia Lucanae*, p. 53. As elsewhere St. Peter's words have a practical bearing and issue, ii. 16, iii. 12 (Felten).—ἔπιδε: only used here and in Luke i. 25, and both times of God; so in Homer, of the gods regarding the affairs of men (and so too in Dem. and Herod.), *cf.* the use of the simple verb ἰδεῖν in Gen. xxii. 14, and also of ἐπιθεῖν in Gen. xvi. 13, 1 Chron. xvii. 17, Ps. xxx. (xxxii. 7), 2 Macc. i. 27, and viii. 2.—τὸν λόγον σου: a characteristic phrase in St. Luke, *cf.* his use of ὁ λόγ. τοῦ Θεοῦ, ver. 31, four times in his Gospel, and twelve times in Acts, as against the use of it once in St. Mark, St. John and St. Matthew, xv. 6 (W.H.). The phrase is of frequent occurrence in St. Paul's Epistles, and it is found several times in the Apocalypse.—μετὰ παρρησίας, see above on iv. 13. There is an antithesis in the Greek words, for boldness of speech was usually the privilege, not of slaves, but of freemen—but it is the duty of those who are in the service of Christ (Humphry, *Acts, in loco*).

Ver. 30. ἐν τῷ κ.τ.λ., iii. 26: a Hebraistic formula; for similar expressions used of God *cf.* Exodus vii. 5, Jeremiah xv. 6, Ezek. vi. 14, etc., most frequently in the act of punishment; but here the context shows that it is for healing, Luke v. 13, vi. 10; "while thou stretchest forth thine hand"—the construction is very frequent in Luke and the Acts, see Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 162, and Friedrich, p. 37. Commenting on the prayer, St. Chrysostom writes: "Observe they do not say 'crush them, cast them down,' . . . let us also learn thus to pray. And yet how full of wrath one would be when fallen upon by men intent upon killing him, and making threats to that effect! how full of animosity! but not so these saints."—γίνεσθαι: A. and R.V. make γγ. to depend upon δός, but better to regard it



31. Καὶ δεηθέντων αὐτῶν ἔσαλεύθη ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἦσαν συνηγμένοι, καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, καὶ ἐλάλουν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ παρρησίας.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At end of ver. D (E, Ir., Aug.) adds παντι τω θελοντι πιστευσεν (last word omitted by Aug.); so Hilg. Chase points out that Syriac often inserts "will" when nothing corresponding in Greek, but see Harris on a primitive Latin redaction, *Four Lectures*, etc., pp. 89, 90.

as infinitive of purpose, subordinate to ἐν τῷ κ.τ.λ. (see Wendt and Page). Weiss regards from καὶ σημ. το γιν. as the reviser's insertion.—εἰς ἱασιν: St. Luke alone employs the good medical word ἱασις, see ver. 22, and Luke xiii. 32, so whilst ἰασθαι is used only three or four times by St. Matthew, two or three times by St. John, and once by St. Mark, it is used by St. Luke eleven times in his Gospel, and three or four times in the Acts. The significant use of this strictly medical term, and of the verb ἰασθαι in St. Luke's writings, comes out by comparing Matt. xiv. 36, Mark vi. 56, and Luke vi. 19, see Hobart. ἱασιν — Ἰησοῦ, paronomasia; Wordsworth. In this ver., 30, Spitta, agreeing with Weiss as against Feine, traced another addition in the reviser's hand through the influence of source B, in which the Apostles appear, not as preachers of the Gospel, but as performers of miraculous deeds.

Ver. 31. δεηθέντων, cf. xvi. 26, where a similar answer is given to the prayer of Paul and Silas: the verb is characteristic of St. Luke and St. Paul, and is only used by these two writers with the exception of one passage, Matt ix. 38; in St. Luke's Gospel it is found eight times, and in Acts seven times, and often of requests addressed to God as here, cf. x. 2, viii. 24, Luke x. 2, xxi. 36, xxii. 32, 1 Thess. iii. 10. See on αἰτέω, Grimm-Thayer (Synonyms). This frequent reference to prayer is characteristic of St. Luke both in his Gospel and the Acts, cf. Acts i. 14, ii. 42, iv. 31, vi. 4, x. 2, xiii. 3, xiv. 23, xvi. 13, 25, xxviii. 8; Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 59, 60.—ἔσαλεύθη, xvi. 26; Luke (vi. 38, 48, vii. 24) xxi. 26; Heb. xii. 26, 27; in the O.T. we have similar manifestations of the divine Presence, cf. Ps. cxiv. 7, Amos ix. 5, where the same word is used; cf. also Isa. vi. 4, Hag. ii. 6, Joel iii. 16, Ezek. xxxviii. 19. For instance of an earthquake regarded as a token of the presence of a deity, see Wetstein, *in loco*; Virgil, *Æneid*, iii., 90; Ovid, *Met.*, xv., 672, and so amongst the Rabbis,

Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.*, *in loco*. In the Acts it is plainly regarded as no chance occurrence, and with regard to the rationalistic hypothesis that it was merely a natural event, accidentally coinciding with the conclusion of the prayer, Zeller admits that there is every probability against the truth of any such hypothesis; rather may we see in it with St. Chrysostom a direct answer to the appeal to the God in whose hands were the heaven and the earth (cf. Iren., *Adv. Haer.*, iii., 12, 5). "The place was shaken, and that made them all the more unshaken" (Chrysostom, Theophylact, Oecumenius). —συνηγμένοι, "were gathered," so in ver. 27; the aorist in the former verse referring to an act, but here the perfect to a state, but impossible to distinguish in translation, Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 45. That the shaking is regarded as miraculous is admitted by Weiss, who sees in it the reviser's hand introducing a miraculous result of the prayer of the Church, in place of the natural result of strengthened faith and popular favour.—καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν, ver. 8. So here the Holy Ghost inspired them all with courage: He came *comfortari*, to strengthen; they had prayed that they might speak the word μετὰ παρρ. and their prayer was heard and fulfilled to the letter (ver. 31) as Luke describes "with simple skill".—ἐλάλουν: mark the force of the imperfect. ἐπλήσθ. (aorist), the prayer was immediately answered by their being filled with the Holy Ghost, and they proceeded to speak, the imperfect also implying that they continued to speak (Rendall); there is no need to see any reference to the speaking with tongues. Feine sees in the narrative a divine answer to the Apostles' prayer, so that filled with the Holy Ghost they spoke with boldness. And he adds, that such divine power must have been actually working in the Apostles, otherwise the growth of the Church in spite of its opposition is inexplicable—a remark which might well be considered by the deniers of a miraculous Christianity. It is in reality the same

32. ΤΟΥ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων ἦν ἡ καρδιά καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία<sup>1</sup>· καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῷ ἔλεγεν ἴδιον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα κοινά. 33. καὶ μεγάλῃ δυνάμει ἀπεδίδουν τὸ μαρτύριον οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, χάρις

<sup>1</sup> After *μία* DE, Cypr., Amb., Zeno. insert *καὶ οὐκ ἦν διακρισις (χωρισμος, E) ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμία (τις, E)*; so Hilg. Belser (so too Zöckler) again sees an original reading which, beautiful as it is, was sacrificed to brevity; but Weiss objects that the words are no explanation of the preceding words, which point, as the context shows, to a fulness of love rather than to the mere absence of division. But it is possible that the words may at first have been written in close connection with what follows as a fuller picture of the *ψυχὴ μία* and afterwards abbreviated. Chase suggests Syriac—*assim.* to John ix. 16, where Greek has *σχίσμα*—see further on this and other points in connection with parallel passage in ii. 44 ff., Harris, *Four Lectures, etc.*, pp. 57, 85.

argument so forcibly put by St. Chrysostom: "If you deny miracles, you make it all the more marvellous that they should obtain such moral victories—these illiterate men!" Jüngst refers the whole verse to a redactor, recording that there was no one present with reference to whom the *παρρησία* could be employed. But the distinction between the aorist *ἐπλήσ.* and the imperfect *ἐλάλουν* shows that not only the immediate but the continuous action of the disciples is denoted.

Ver. 32. *δέ* marks no contrast between the multitude and the Apostles; it introduces a general statement of the life of the whole Christian community, *cf.* xv. 12, 30. On St. Luke's frequent use of words expressing fulness, see iv. 32. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 59 (1897), points out that in the inscriptions *πλήθος* with a genitive has a technical significance, not only in official political life, but also in that of religious communities, *cf.* Luke i. 10, xix. 37, Acts ii. 6, but especially xv. 30; so too iv. 32, vi. 2, 5, xv. 12, xix. 9, xxi. 22, where the word = not *Menge* or *Masse*, but *Gemeinde*. —*καρδιά καὶ ψυχὴ μία*: it is difficult to distinguish precisely between the two words, but they undoubtedly imply entire harmony in affection and thought according to a common Hebrew mode of expression; *cf.* passages in the LXX in which both *ψυχὴ* and *καρδιά* occur as here with *μία*, 1 Chron. xii. 38, 2 Chron. xxx. 12 (Wetstein); but in each passage the

Hebrew word is the same, *לב*, and it would include not only affection and emotion, but also understanding, intelligence, thought; *cf.* Phil. i. 27, ii. 2, 20. "Behold heart and soul are what make the together!" Chrys. *δύο φίλοι, ψυχὴ μία*, Plutarch, *cf.* instances in Blass, *in loco*, from Aristotle and Cicero. Grotius

comments "erant ut Hebræi loquuntur

·*ἓν ὡς ἓν*", —*καὶ οὐδὲ εἰς*, "and not one of them said," R.V., *i.e.*, not one among so many; *cf.* John i. 3. *οὐδὲ ἓν*, "not even one thing"; *cf.* Rom. iii. 10; see above on ii. 45 and J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, *in loco*. On the difference between the classical and N.T. use of the infinitive after verbs of declaring, see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, pp. 51, 52, 153, 155 (1896); except in Luke and Paul the infinitive tends to disappear, whilst these two writers retain the more literary usage.

Ver. 33. *ἀπεδίδουν τὸ μαρτύριον*, "gave the Apostles their witness," R.V. See ver. 12. *τὸ μαρτ.*, prop., "res quæ testimonio est," but sometimes in N.T. pro *μαρτυρία* (Blass). *ἀπεδ.*, however, implies paying or rendering what is due; it suggests that there is a claim in response to which something is given (Westcott on Heb. xiii. 11); *cf.* Matt. xii. 36, Luke xii. 59, xvi. 2, xx. 25, Rom. xiii. 7, 1 Cor. vii. 3, etc. This was its first and strict significance in classical Greek, *cf.* also its use in LXX, frequently. The Apostles therefore bear their witness as a duty to which they were pledged, *cf.* i. 8, 22, iv. 20; *καὶ ὡς περὶ ὀφλήματος λέγει αὐτό, Oecum.*—*δυνάμει μεγάλῃ*: the words may include miraculous powers, as well as steadfast witness. But the *τε* must not, as Weiss maintains, be so taken as to indicate that *χάρις μεγάλη* was the result, as in ii. 47. For if we regard *χάρις* as referring to the favour of the people (as in the former narrative in ii.), the *γάρ* in ver. 34 seems to point to the love and liberality of the Christians as its cause. But many commentators prefer to take *χάρις* as in vi. 8 (and as in Luke ii. 40, Hilgenfeld), of the grace of God, since here as there it is used absolutely, and ver. 34 would thus be a proof of the efficacy of this grace, *cf.* 2 Cor. ix. 14.



τε μεγάλη ἦν ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς. 34. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεής τις ὑπῆρχεν<sup>1</sup> ἐν αὐτοῖς· ὅσοι γὰρ κτήτορες χωρίων ἢ οἰκιῶν ὑπῆρχον, πωλοῦντες ἔφερον τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πιπρασσομένων, 35. καὶ ἐτίθουν παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων· διεδίδото<sup>2</sup> δὲ ἑκάστῳ καθότι ἂν τις χρεῖαν εἶχεν.

<sup>1</sup> τις ὑπῆρχεν DEP, Chrys.; τις ἦν ΞΑΓ<sup>3</sup> 15, 69, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss; ἦν τις B. D reads ὅσοι κτήτορες ἦσαν οἰκ. ἢ χωρ. ὑπῆρχον πωλοῦντες καὶ φερόντες combination, so Hilg.; Harris thinks *erant* Lat. brought in ἦσαν out of place, while Chase refers to fusion of true Greek text with Syr. trans. Whatever theory we adopt it seems that both ἦσαν and ὑπῆρχον got into the text, and that alteration was made so as to include them both. Blass's theory seems difficult to accept although St. Luke, with whom *υπαρχειν* is such a favourite word, might conceivably have written *υπῆρχον πωλόντες καὶ φερόντες* in a rough draft.

<sup>2</sup> διεδίδото B<sup>3</sup>P; διεδίδετο ΞΑΒ<sup>1</sup>DE, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 121; Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 48; Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 159.

χάρις, as Bengel maintains, may include grace, favour with God and man, as in our Lord Himself, *Gratia Dei et favor populi*.

Ver. 34. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνδεής: cf. Deut. xv. 4, where the same adjective occurs; cf. xv. 7, 11, xxiv. 14, Isa. xli. 17. No contradiction with vi. 1, as Holtzmann supposes; here there is no ideal immunity from poverty and want, but distribution was made as each fitting case presented itself: "their feeling was just as if they were under the paternal roof, all for a while sharing alike," Chrys., *Hom.*, xi.—ὅσοι γὰρ . . . ὑπῆρχον, "non dicitur: omnes hoc fecerunt [aorist] ut jam nemo vel fundum vel domum propriam haberet, sed: vulgo [saepe] hoc fiebat [imperfect] ad supplendum fiscum communem pauperibus destinatum; itaque nunquam deerat quod daretur," Blass, *in loco*, cf. remarks on ii. 47.—τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πιπρασκομένων, "the prices of the things which were being sold". The language shows that we are not meant to infer that the men sold all that they had (cf. Wetstein, especially Appian, *B. Civ.*, v., p. 1088, τιμὰς τῶν ἐτι πιπρασκ.). πωλοῦντες et πιπρασκ. both imperfect (Blass), and see also Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 58.—κτήτορες in N.T. only here, rarely elsewhere, see instances in Wetstein; not in LXX, but cf. Symmachus, Joel i. 11.

Ver. 35. The statement marks, it is true, an advance upon the former narrative, ii. 44, but one which was perfectly natural and intelligible. Here for the first time we read that the money is brought and laid at the Apostles' feet. As the community grew, the responsibilities of distribution increased, and to

whom could the administration of the common fund be more fittingly committed than to the Apostles? The narrative indicates that this committal of trust was voluntary on the part of the Ecclesia, although it was marked by an act of reverence for the Apostles' authority. The fact that Barnabas is expressly mentioned as laying the value of his field at the Apostles' feet, may be an indication that the other members of the community were acting upon his suggestion; if so, it would be in accordance with what we know of his character and forethought, cf. ix. 27, xi. 22-24, Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 47, 48. There is no reason to reject this narrative as a mere repetition of ii. 44, 45. The same spirit prevails in both accounts, but in the one case we have the immediate result of the Pentecostal gift, in the case before us we have the permanence and not only the vitality of the gift marked—the Christian community is now organised under Apostolic direction, and stress is laid upon the continuance of the "first love," whilst the contrast is marked between the self-sacrifice of Barnabas and the greed of Ananias and Sapphira, see Rendall, *Acts*, p. 196, and also Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 198, in answer to recent criticisms.—παρὰ τοὺς πόδας: the Apostles are represented as sitting, perhaps as teachers, xxii. 3, cf. Luke ii. 46, and also as an indication of their authority: the expression in the Greek conveys the thought of committal to the care and authority of any one, cf. v. 2, vii. 58, xxii. 20, so Matt. xv. 30, or that of reverence and thankfulness. Oecumenius sees in the words an indication of the great honour of the Apostles, and the

36. Ἰωσῆς<sup>1</sup> δὲ δ' ἐπικληθεὶς Βαρνάβας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων (δ' ἐστι μεθερμηνευόμενον, γίδς παρακλήσεως), λευίτης, Κύπριος τῷ γένει,

<sup>1</sup> Ἰωσῆς P 1, 13, 31, Sah., Syr. Harcl., Chrys., Theophy., Meyer, Alford; Ἰωσηφ ABDE, Vulg., Boh., Syr. Pesh., Arm., Aeth., Epiph., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.—see Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 30.

reverence of those who brought the money. Friedrich notes the expression as characteristic of St. Luke's style, since it is used by him five times in the Gospel, six times in Acts, and is found in the N.T. only once elsewhere, see above, *cf.* Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, 28, and instances in Wetstein.—**διδέδοτο**: impersonal, or τὸ ἀργύριον may be supplied, Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 57 (1896), and in St. Luke's Gospel twice, xi. 22, xviii. 22; only once elsewhere in N.T., John vi. 11; on the abnormal termination **ετο** for **οτο**, *cf.* LXX, Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 159, *cf.* Exodus v. 13, **ἐδίδοτο**, but A **-ετο**; Jer. lii. 34, **ἐδίδοτο**, but AB'S **-ετο**; 1 Cor. xi. 23, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 121.—**καθότι**: only found in St. Luke in N. T., twice in Gospel, four times in Acts; Luke i. 7, xix. 9, Acts ii. 24, 45, iv. 35, xxii. 31; on the imperfect with **ἀν** in a conditional relative clause, Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, pp. 13, 125, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 142 (1893), *cf.* ii. 45. 33<sup>b</sup>-35 are ascribed by Hilgenfeld to his "author to Theophilus," but this reviser must have been very clumsy to introduce a notice involving a general surrender of all landed property, as Hilgenfeld interprets the verse, which could not be reconciled with St. Peter's express words in v. 4—words which, on Hilgenfeld's own showing, the reviser must have had before him.

Ver. 36. Ἰωσῆς δὲ: δὲ introduces the special case of Barnabas after the general statement in ver. 34.—**ἐπικλ.**, *cf.* i. 23. On what occasion this surname was conferred by the Apostles nothing certain is known (ἀπό as often for ὑπό, ii. 22), although the fact that it was conferred by them may indicate that he owed his conversion to them. Possibly it may not have been bestowed until later, and reference may here be made to it simply to identify him (Nösgen).—**βαρνάβας**: most commonly derived from **בְּרַבְנָא** ("quod neque ad sensum neque ad litteras prorsus convenit," Blass) = properly **υἱὸς προφητείας**. But St. Luke, it is argued, renders this **υἱὸς παρακλήσεως**, because under the threefold uses of prophecy,

1 Cor. xiv. 3, the special gift of **παρακλήσις** distinguished Barnabas, *cf.* Acts xi. 23. So Harnack (whose full article "Barnabas" should be consulted, *Real-Encyclopädie für prot. Theol. und Kirche*, xv., 410) explains it as indicating a *prophet* in the sense in which the word was used in the early Church, Acts xv. 32 (xi. 23), **παρακλήσις** = edifying exhortation. But not only is **בְּרַבְנָא** an Aramaic word, whilst **נְבוֹנָא** is Hebrew, but the above solution of St. Luke's translation is by no means satisfactory (see Zöckler, *in loco*). In 1 Cor. xiv. 3 **παρακ.** might equally mean consolation, *cf.* 2 Cor. i. 3-7, and it is translated "comfort" (not "exhortation") in the R.V. In St. Luke's Gospel the word is used twice, ii. 25, vi. 24, and in both passages it means comfort, consolation, *cf.* the cognate verb in xvi. 25. Another derivation has been suggested by Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, pp. 8-14. He maintains that both parts of the word are Aramaic, **בְּרַ** and **נְבוֹנָא**,

*solatium*, and that therefore St. Luke's translation is quite justified. Blass however points out that as in the former derivation so here there is a difficulty in the connection between **βαρνάβας** and the somewhat obscure Aramaic word. In the conversion of Barnabas, the first man whose heart was so touched as to join him, in spite of his Levitical status and culture, to ignorant and unlettered men, the Apostles might well see a source of hope and comfort (*cf.* Gen. v. 29), Klostermann, p. 13. It is also worthy of note that the LXX frequently uses **παρακλήσις** as a translation of the common Hebrew words for comfort or consolation; *cf.* Job xxi. 2, Ps. xciii. 19, Isa. lvii. 8, Jer. xvi. 17, etc., and *cf.* *Psalms of Solomon* xiii., title, **παρακλήσις τῶν δικαίων**. On the whole question, Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 175 ff., should be consulted. Deissmann, referring to an inscription recently discovered in Northern Syria, in the old Nicopolis, probably of the third or fourth century A.D., explains the word as follows: The inscription contains the



37. ὑπάρχοντος αὐτῷ ἀγροῦ,<sup>1</sup> πωλήσας ἤνεγκε τὸ χρῆμα, καὶ ἔθηκε παρὰ<sup>2</sup> τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων.

<sup>1</sup> αγρου; D has χωριου, but αγρος only here in Acts. 'For χωριον cf. iv. 34, v. 3, 8.

<sup>2</sup> παρὰ BP, Chrys., so W.H. (so Lach.); προς NE 15, 18, 37, so Tisch., Weiss, Wendt; cf. ver. 35 and v. 2.

name βαρνεβούν, which D. considers rightly = Son of Nebo; cf., e.g., Symmachus, Isa. xlv. 1, who renders נְבוֹ, Nebo (transcribed by the LXX, Aquila and Theodotion, Ναβώ), by Νεβούς. The view of the connection or identity of βαρνάβας with βαρνεβούς is facilitated by the fact that in other words the ε sound in Nebo is replaced by α; cf. Nebuchadnezzar = LXX Ν α βουχοδονοσορ, so Nebuzaradan = LXX Ν α βουζαρδαν. Very probably therefore βαρνεβούς will occur instead of βαρνεβούς—and the Jews themselves might easily have converted βαρνεβούς into βαρναβᾶς—as being the constant termination of Greek names. In his *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 16, Deissmann is able to refer to an Aramaic inscription from Palmyra, dating 114 A.D., with the word Barnebo, and cf. also *Enc. Bibl.*, i., 484.—Λευεΐτης: although the Levites were not allowed to hold possessions in land, since God Himself was their portion (Num. xviii. 20, Deut. x. 9), yet they could do so by purchase or inheritance, cf. Jer. xxxii. 7-12, or it is possible that the field of Barnabas may not have been in Palestine at all (see Bengel, but, on the other hand, Wendt, *in loco*), and that the same Messianic regulations may not have applied to the Levites in other countries (Wetstein). It would also seem that after the Captivity the distribution of land, according to the Mosaic Law, was no longer strictly observed (Overbeck, Hackett (Hastings) B.D.), "Barnabas," e.g., Josephus, a Levite and Priest, has lands in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and gains others in exchange for them from Vespasian, *Vita*, 76.—Κύπριος τῷ γένει: soon after the time of Alexander, and possibly before it, Jews had settled in Cyprus, and 1 Macc. xv. 23 indicates that they were there in good numbers. This is the first mention of it in the N.T.; see also xi. 19, 20, xiii. 4-13, xv. 39, xx. 16, and the geographical notices in xxi. 3, xxvii. 4. From the neighbouring island, Cyprus, Barnabas might well have been sent to the famous University of Tarsus, and so have made the acquaintance of Saul. In this way the

previous acquaintance between the two men goes far to explain succeeding events, ix. 27: see "Cyprus," B.D. (Hastings), Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i. 2, 216.—γένει, "a man of Cyprus by race," R.V. not "of the country of Cyprus": γένει refers to his parentage and descent, cf. xviii. 2, 24.

Ver. 37. ἀγροῦ, better "a field" R.V.; the possession was not great, but if the field lay in the rich and productive island of Cyprus, its value may have been considerable.—τὸ χρῆμα: rarely in this sense in the singular, only here in the N.T., and never in Attic Greek, but cf. Herod., iii., 38, and instances in Wetstein, and see Blass, *in loco*. The money, i.e., the proceeds, the money got (German *Erlös*). Lumby suggests that the word may be used here to indicate the entirety, the sum without deduction, in contrast to the action of Ananias and Sapphira, v. 2. The same unselfish spirit manifested itself in Barnabas at a later date, when he was content to live from the produce of his hands, 1 Cor. ix. 6. Possibly at Tarsus, so near his own home, he may have learnt with Saul in earlier days the craft of tent-making, for which the city was famous (Plumptre). In connection with this passage, and ix. 26, see Renan's eulogy on the character of Barnabas. In him Renan sees the patron of all good and liberal ideas, and considers that Christianity has done him an injustice in not placing him in the first rank of her founders, *Apostles*, p. 191, E.T.

CHAPTER V.—Ver. 1. Ἀνὴρ δέ τις: in striking contrast to the unreserved self-sacrifice of Barnabas, St. Luke places the selfishness and hypocrisy of Ananias and Sapphira. It is in itself no small proof of the truth of the narrative, that the writer should not hesitate to introduce this episode side by side with his picture of the still unbroken love and fellowship of the Church. He makes no apology for the facts, but narrates them simply and without comment.—Ἀνανίας—written in W.H. (so Blass) 'A., prob. Hebrew

חֲנַנְיָה = Hananiah = to whom Jehovah

V. 1. Ἀνὴρ δέ τις Ἀνανίας<sup>1</sup> ὀνόματι, σὺν Σαπφείρῃ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, ἐπώλησε κτῆμα, 2. καὶ ἐνοσφίσατο ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς, συνειδυίας καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐνέγκας μέρος τι παρὰ τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔθηκεν. 3. εἶπε δὲ<sup>2</sup> Πέτρος, Ἀνανία, διατί ἐπλήρωσεν ὁ Σατανᾶς τὴν καρδίαν σου, ψεύσασθαί σε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, καὶ νοσφίσασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τοῦ χωρίου; 4. οὐχὶ μένον σοὶ ἔμενε, καὶ πραθὲν ἐν τῇ σῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ὑπῆρχε; τί ὅτι ἔθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου

<sup>1</sup> Av. ονοματι NBEP, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 256; ov. Av. AD, Vulg., Chrys. Σαπφείρῃ AP, so Tisch., W.H., so Blass in β; Σαπφείρῃ B, so Weiss. Many variations: N Σαμφίρῃ, D σαφύρα, corr. Σαφφίρα (so Hilg.); E has Σαφφίρῃ; see comment.

<sup>2</sup> Πέτρος DP; but ὁ Π. NABE, Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., Wendt, Weiss.

has been gracious (the Hebrew name of Shadrach, Dan. i. 6, LXX, Jer. xxviii. 1, Tob. v. 12, (Song of the Three Children, ver. 66) (Lumby, but see also Wendt, note, *in loco*).—Σαπφείρῃ, so also W.H., either from σάπφειρος (σάμφ., so here Σαμφ., N\*, Blass), a sapphire, or from the Aramaic ܣܦܝܪܐ, beautiful. The latter derivation is adopted by Blass (*Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 8), and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 76. It is declined like σπείρα, μάχαιρα, Acts x. 1, xii. 2, etc., in N.T., and so makes dative ῃ, Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 80, 93, and Blass, *u. s.* —κτῆμα = χωρίον, ver. 3: but may mean property of any kind. It is used in the singular several times in the LXX, as a possession, heritage, etc., Job xx. 29, Prov. xii. 27, xxxi. 16, Wisdom viii. 5, Eccles. xxxvi. 30, li. 21, etc.

Ver. 2. ἐνοσφίσατο: may merely mean from its derivation, to set apart νόσφι. But both in LXX and N.T. it is used in a bad sense of appropriating for one's own benefit, purloining, Josh. vii. 1, of Achan, 2 Macc. iv. 32, so here and in ver. 3, and Tit. ii. 10, *cf.* also a similar use of the word in Jos., *Ant.*, iv., 8, 29 (so in Greek authors, Xen., Polyb., Plut.). —ἀπό: the same combination in Josh. vii. 1 (*cf.* ii. 17 above, ἐκχεῶ ἀπό, *cf.* Hebrew ִמֶּנִּי. See Bengel's note, *in loco*, on the sin of Achan and Ananias).—συνειδυίας: it was thus a deliberate and aggravated offence. On the irregular form, instead of -υίας, *cf.* the LXX, Exod. viii. 21, 24, 1 Sam. xxv. 20; and see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 81, note, and Blass on instances from the papyri, *in loco*.—παρὰ τοὺς πόδας: a further aggravation (iv. 35), since the money was brought ostentatiously to gain a reputation for the

donors. Blass well comments: "in conventu ecclesiae hoc liberalitatis documentum editum"; *cf.* Calvin, who in marking the ambition of Ananias to gain a reputation for liberality adds: "ita fit ut pedes Apostolorum magis honoret quam Dei oculos".

Ver. 3. διὰ τί: not simply "why?" but "how is it that?" R.V., *cf.* Luke ii. 49; the force of the Greek seems to emphasise the fact that Ananias had it in his power to have prevented such a result, *cf.* James iv. 7, 1 Peter v. 9.—ἐπλήρωσεν, occupavit (*cf.* John xvi. 6), so that there is room for no other influence, Eccles. ix. 3. On the Vulgate, *tentavit*, which does not express the meaning here, see Felten's note.—ψεύσασθαι, *sc.*, ὥστε, often omitted; *cf.* Luke i. 54, the infinitive of conceived result, see Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, pp. 148, 154. The verb with the accusative of the person only here in N.T., but in LXX, Deut. xxxiii. 29, Psalm lxxv. 3, Isa. lvii. 11, Hos. ix. 2, 4 Macc. v. 34, etc., and frequently in classical writers.

Ver. 4. οὐχί, "id quaerit quod sic esse nemo negat," Grimm, "while it remained, did it not remain thine own?" R.V. Very frequent in Luke as compared with the other Evangelists, see also vii. 50. This rendering better retains the kind of play upon the word μένω, to which Weiss draws attention, and compares 1 Macc. xv. 7 for the force of ἔμενε. —πραθὲν, *i.e.*, the price of it when sold (*rectius* πραθέντος τὸ ἀργύριον, *cf.* Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 57 (1896)); so αὐτά in ii. 45 is used for the prices of the possessions and goods sold. The whole question, while it deprived Ananias of every excuse, also proves beyond doubt that the community of goods in the Church of Jerusalem was not compulsory



τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο<sup>1</sup>; οὐκ ἐψεύσω ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ τῷ Θεῷ. 5. ἀκούων  
δὲ Ἀνανίας τοὺς λόγους τούτους, πεσὼν ἐξέψυξε· καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος

<sup>1</sup> το πρᾶγμα τουτο; but D, Par., Sah. read ποιησαι (το) πονηρον τουτο—πραγμα once elsewhere in Luke's Gospel i. 1, once in St. Matt., four times in St. Paul. Av. ὡς ABEP, Chrys. prefix article, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt. πεσων; D, Par., so Hilg., prefix παραχημα—and Par. also adds after πεσ. επι την γην, cf. ix. 4, read by Blass in β. ταυτα om. ὡς\* ABD, verss., Orig., Lucif., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss; cf. ver. 11 end.

but voluntary.—ἐξουσία, power or right (ἐξουσι): "The Ecclesia was a society in which neither the community was lost in the individual, nor the individual in the community," Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 48.—τί ὅτι, sc., τί ἔστιν ὅτι, cf. Luke ii. 49, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 101 (1893), Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 173.—ἐθου ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, xix. 21, and Luke xxi. 14. The phrase is rightly described as having a Hebraistic colouring, cf. LXX, 1 Sam. xxi. 12, Dan. i. 8, Hag. ii. 16, 19, Mal. i. 1, and the Homeric θέσθαι ἐν φρεσὶ, ἐν θυμῷ βάλλεσθαι.—τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο: so frequently in LXX, Gen. xlv. 15, Exod. i. 18, Josh. ix. 24, 1 Chron. xxi. 8; Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 149 (1896).—οὐκ ἐψεύσω: the words do not here of course mean that Ananias had not lied unto men, but an absolute negative is employed in the first conception, not to annul it, but rhetorically to direct undivided attention to the second, cf. Matt. x. 20, Mark ix. 37, 1 Thess. iv. 8, Winer-Moulton, lv. 8, 6. The dative of the person is found after ψεύδεσθαι in the LXX, but not in classical Greek. The sin of Ananias was much more than mere hypocrisy, much more than fraud, pride or greed—hateful as these sins are—the power and presence of the Holy Spirit had been manifested in the Church, and Ananias had sinned not only against human brotherhood, but against the divine light and leading which had made that brotherhood possible. In the words there lies an undeniable proof of the personality and divinity of the Holy Ghost, and a refutation of Macedonius long before he was born (see Bede's note *in loco*, and on patristic authorities, Felten). We cannot satisfactorily explain the words by supposing that offence against the public spirit of that Church is meant, and that the sin against the Holy Ghost may be identified with this.

Ver. 5. ἀκούων, "as he heard these words" = μεταξὺ ἀκούων, so Weiss, Blass, Rendall.—ἐξέψυξεν: only found here, in ver. 10 of Sapphira, and xii. 23 of the

death of Herod, in the N.T.; not found in classical writers, and only twice in the LXX, Judg. iv. 21 where A reads it to describe the death of Sisera, but = a Hebrew word which may only mean to faint, to faint away; Ezek. xxi. 7 (12) where it translates a Hebrew word הִתַּפ meaning

to be faint-hearted, to despond, to be dim. But as Blass points out it is used by Hippocrates; indeed it would seem that its use is almost altogether confined to medical writers (Hobart, Zahn). It is therefore a word which may probably be referred to St. Luke's employment of medical terms; Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, p. 37, for instances of its use not only in Hippocrates but in Galen and Aretaeus (Lumby refers to *Acta Andr. et Matth. Apocr.*, 19, where the word is also used of men suddenly falling down dead). In classical Greek ἀποψύχειν (βίον), or ἀποψ. absolutely is the term employed. There can be no doubt that the narrative implies the closest connection between the guilt of Ananias and his sudden death. It therefore cannot be regarded as a narrative of a chance occurrence or of the effect of a sudden shock caused by the discovery of guilt in St. Peter's words. No one has shown more clearly than Baur (*Paulus*, i., 27-33, especially against Neander) that all such explanations are unsatisfactory (see also Zeller and De Wette). In the early history of the Church, Origen, *Tract. ix. in Matt.*, had espoused the view that Ananias had died overcome by shame and grief at the sudden detection of his sin. But no such explanation could account for the death of Sapphira which Peter foretells as about to follow without delay. That the narrative is not without historical foundation is frankly admitted by Wendt, and also by Baur, Zeller, Overbeck, and most recently by Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Spitta. But this stern condemnation of any attempt to lie unto God is a stumbling-block even to those who with Wendt recognise not only some historical fact underlying the

μέγας ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας ταῦτα. 6. ἀναστάντες δὲ οἱ νεώτεροι συνέστειλαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες ἔθαψαν. 7. Ἐγένετο

narrative, but also the danger and culpability of the action of Ananias and his wife. It may however be justly observed that our Lord Himself had condemned no sin so severely as that of hypocrisy, and that the action of Ananias and Sapphira was hypocrisy of the worst kind, in that they sought by false pretences to gain a reputation like the Pharisees for special sanctity and charity; the hypocrisy of the leaven of the Pharisees had entered the Church (Baumgarten), and if such a spirit had once gained ground in the Christian community, it must have destroyed all mutual affection and all brotherly kindness, for how could men speak the truth, every one with his neighbour, unless their love was without hypocrisy? Rom. xii. 9; how could they claim to be citizens of a city, into which none could enter who "made a lie"? Rev. xxi. 27, xxii. 15. The sin before us was not one sin but many (Chrys., *Hom.*, xii., on ver. 9), and in its deliberateness it came perilously near that sin against the Holy Ghost which, whatever else it may mean, certainly means a wilful hardening against divine guidance. For further considerations on the necessity of this unhesitating condemnation of such a sin at the outset of the life of the Church, see St. Chrysostom's remarks. We must guard against supposing that St. Peter had imprecated the death-penalty upon Ananias (as Porphyry asserted, see against such a view, Jerome, *Epist.*, 130). St. Jerome speaks of Ananias and Sapphira as not only deceitful, but also as timid stewards, keeping back a part of the price "through fear of famine which true faith never fears". On his judgment that the avenging stroke was inflicted, not in cruelty to them, but as a warning to others, see below.—καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας κ.τ.λ., *i.e.*, upon all who were present, as distinct from ver. 11—but see Page's note. Overbeck, with De Wette, regards the remark as proleptical, as if the writer hurried to describe the impression made—but why should the words not include the judgment uttered by St. Peter? for the construction see Luke i. 65, iv. 36. On the characteristic reference to φόβος as following upon the exhibition of divine miraculous power both in St. Luke's Gospel and the Acts, see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 77, and above on ii. 43.

Ver. 6. ἀναστάντες, see on ii. 14.—οἱ νεώτεροι: the fact that they are called simply νεανίσκοι in ver. 10 seems decisive against the view that reference is made to any definite order in the Church. Nor is it certain that we can see in the fulfilment of such duties by the νεώτεροι the beginnings of the diaconate, although on the natural distinction between πρεσβύτεροι and νεώτεροι it may well have been that official duties in the Church were afterwards based, *cf.* 1 Tim. v. 1, Tit. ii. 1-6, 1 Pet. v. 5, Clem. Rom., i., 3; iii., 3; xxi., 6; Polycarp, *Epist.*, v., 3 (*cf.* Luke xxii. 26). In comparatively early days it belonged to the duties of the deacons to provide for the burial of the strangers and the poor, but it seems hardly probable that οἱ νεώτεροι were appointed as a separate body to bury the dead, before any attempt had been made to relieve the Apostles of the more pressing duty of distributing the public funds, vi. 1. On the other hand it is possible that the company of public "buriers" whom the prophet saw in vision, Ezek. xxxix. 12-16, may have become quite customary in N.T. days. R.V. margin renders simply "the younger men".—συνέστειλαν, "wrapped him round," R.V., probably in their own mantles (for no formal laying-out in robes can be supposed by the context), for which περιστέλλω would be the usual word, *cf.* Eur., *Troad.*, 378 (see Grimm, Blass, Weiss). But Meyer on the other hand is against the parallel, and argues, following Grotius, that the word should be rendered "placed him together," *i.e.*, laid out or composed his limbs, so that he might be carried out more conveniently (so too Overbeck, Holtzmann, Zöckler). Vulgate, *amoverunt*, followed by Luther, Erasmus, Beza, cannot be said to be supported by any parallel use of the word (Par.<sup>2</sup> also same verb as Vulg.). The word is frequently used by medical writers in various senses, one of which, to bandage, to compress by bandaging, is that which seems to afford a possible parallel to its use here, Hobart, *Medical Language*, etc., pp. 37, 38. The use of the word by Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii., 3; xix., 4, is not sufficient to justify us in taking it here to express all the preparations for burial.—ἐξενέγκαντες: outside the walls of the city, the usual place for graves—only prophets and kings had their graves in the city—Hamburger,



δὲ ὡς ὥρων τριῶν διάστημα, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδυῖα τὸ γεγονός εἰσηλθεν. 8. ἀπεκρίθη δὲ αὐτῇ ὁ Πέτρος,<sup>1</sup> Εἰπέ μοι, εἰ τοσούτου τὸ χωρίον ἀπέδοσθε; ἡ δὲ εἶπε, Ναί, τοσούτου. 9. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἶπε πρὸς αὐτήν, Τί ὅτι συνεφωνήθη<sup>2</sup> ὑμῖν πειράσαι τὸ πνεῦμα Κυρίου; ἰδοὺ οἱ πόδες τῶν θαψάντων τὸν ἄνδρα σου ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ, καὶ ἐξοίσουσί σε. 10. ἔπρεσε δὲ παραχρήμα παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξέψυξεν· εἰσελθόντες δὲ οἱ νεανίσκοι εὗρον αὐτὴν νεκράν, καὶ ἐξενέγκαντες

<sup>1</sup> For εἶπε μοι εἰ . . . ἀπεδ. D reads ἐπερωτησῶ σε εἰ ἀρα το. τοσ. ἀπεδ., so Hilg.; cf. Sah.

<sup>2</sup> συνεφωνήθη, D has συνεφωνήσεν, so Hilg.; but in β Blass has T.R. (see Chase on retrans. from Syriac—possibly active may be a retranslation of Latin *convenit*, Harris).

*Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 4, 475, "Grab"; Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 169, cf. the use of ἐκφέρω and ἐκκομίζω in classical Greek, Latin, *efferre*.—ἔθαψαν: partly for sanitary reasons, partly to avoid defilement; the interval between death and burial was very brief, especially in Jerusalem (Numb. xix. 11, Deut. xxi. 23; Hamburger, *u. s.*, i., 2, 161, "Beerdigung," with reference to this passage, Edersheim, *u. s.*, p. 168; for the existing custom in Jerusalem of speedy burial, see Hackett, *in loco*, and Schneller, *Kennst du das Land?* (eighth edition), p. 188).

Ver. 7. ἐγένετο δὲ . . . καί, cf. for construction Luke v. 1, 17, viii. 1, 22, ix. 51, xiv. 1, etc. Hebraistic, if not strictly a Hebraism; on καί thus uniting two co-ordinate statements with ἐγένετο see Plummer's valuable note, p. 45; *St. Luke*, first edition; and on the use of καί see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, pp. 161, 162; Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 256, 257.—διάστημα: as if a nominative absolute, here parenthetical from ὥς, cf. Luke ix. 28. Cf. Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 83 (1896). St. Luke alone uses διάστημα (only here in N.T.), cf. Polyb., ix., 1, 1; διάστημα τετραετής, and the verb διόσσημι, cf. Luke xxii. 59, xxiv. 51, Acts xxvii. 28. In *Apocryph. Act. Andree*, 14, we have ἡμῶν διόσσημι (Lumby), and in LXX, cf. Ecclesiast., *prol.*, 24, 3 Macc. iv. 17.—ὥς = ὥσπερ, cf. i. 15, ii. 4, etc.—ὥρων τριῶν: Nösgen supposes the approach of the next hour of prayer in this mention of the time, μὴ *pro* οὐ (Blass), see also Lumby's note.

Ver. 8. τοσούτου, *monstrat pecuniam*, Blass, so Zöckler, Holtzmann, Felten, Weiss, and others: genitive of the price. The position of the word in the question is emphatic, cf. Luke xv. 29. Blass

would render *non pluris* (Bornemann, *tantilli*), but this is implied rather than expressed by the word here (see Wendt's note for classical instances). The question of St. Peter and the emphatic reply of Sapphira show that opportunity was given her by the inquiry to retract, and that she wilfully persisted in her sin (Chrys.; so Calvin, "tempus illi ad resipiscendum datur").

Ver. 9. τὶ ὅτι, ver. 4. συνεφωνήθη: only here in the N.T. in the passive, for its use in the active, xv. 15. Blass maintains that this passive usage συμφωνεῖται τισι is Latin rather than Greek (*convenit inter aliquos*), and that it may have arisen from the intercourse between Greeks and Romans, see *in loco*, and *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 112, 235; in LXX only in the active. Cf. also Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 155 (1893). "The aggravation was that they committed the deed as with one soul, just as upon a settled compact between them," Chrys., *Hom.*, xii.; cf. the plural ἀπέδοσθε.—πειράσαι: the rendering "to tempt," does not seem to express the idea so well as "to try," to make trial whether the Holy Ghost would discover their deception, whether He knew all things: cf. xv. 10, and in LXX, Exod. xvii. 2, 7, Ps. lxxvii. (lxxviii.) 41, 56, etc. (in Rev. ii. 2 the same verb as here = "try," A. and R.V.).—ἰδοὺ, see on i. 10. οἱ πόδες, cf. Luke i. 79, Rom. iii. 15, x. 15. A Hebraistic expression—the whole description is full of dramatic intensity—the returning steps of the νεώτοροι are heard ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ. But Alford thinks that they were probably bare-footed, and that the words mean that the time was just at hand for their return, cf. James v. 9.—ἐξοίσουσιν σε, see on ver. 6.

Ver. 10. παραχρήμα, see on iii. 7. The introduction of the word shows that

ἔθαψαν<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς. 11. καὶ ἐγένετο φόβος μέγας ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας ταῦτα.

12. Διὰ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγένετο σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ λαῷ πολλά· (καὶ ἦσαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἅπαντες<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῇ στοᾷ Σολομῶντος· 13. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα κολλᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς,

<sup>1</sup> ἐξενεγκαντες, D reads συστειλαντες ἐξηνεγκαν; so Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> ἅπαντες, D, Sah., Aeth. add ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ—Ε ἐν τῷ ναῷ συνηγμένοι. But the words ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ are not received by Blass in β; *Acta Apost. in loco*, he says: "cf. ii. 43, videtur interpolatio esse; nam sec. iii. 10, hæc porticus extra τὸ ἱερόν erat, cf. ver. 21". Σολομῶντος, see above, iii. 11.

the writer regarded the death as supernatural, see above on ver. 5. πρὸς, by, beside her husband = παρὰ with dative, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 135, note; Winer-Moulton, xlix. h. Although the whole narrative shows that in each case the death was caused by the judgment of God, yet nothing whatever is said as to the world beyond the grave: "As it is, both the man himself is benefited, in that he is not left to advance further in wickedness, and the rest, in that they are made more earnest," Chrys., *Hom.*, xii. Wendt points out that the punishment inflicted by St. Paul, 1 Cor. v. 5, was of a wholly different kind, because it had the avowed aim of saving the spirit of the sinner in the day of the Lord by delivering him over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh; but it should not be forgotten that St. Peter himself speaks of a judgment according to men in the flesh, which has its issue in a life according to God in the spirit (1 Pet. iv. 6). St. Augustine's words may fairly be quoted not against but in favour of applying to the cases before us the principle of judgment employed by St. Paul: "Credendum est autem quod post hanc vitam eis pepercit Deus. . . . Corrupti sunt mortis flagello, ne supplicio puniantur æterno," *Serm., de Verbis Act.* v., 4, cf. Origen, *Tract.* viii., in *Matth.*, and Jerome, *Epist.*, cxxx. See *Speaker's Commentary*, in *loco*, and Bengel, *Felten*, Zöckler, Plumptre. Felten's reverent thoughts, p. 124, may well be compared with the remarks of Dr. Pusey on the case of Ananias, *What is of Faith? etc.*, p. 14.

Ver. 11. φόβος μέγας: evidently one purpose in the infliction of this stern penalty was at once obtained, see above on ver. 5.—ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν: St. Luke, as it seems, uses the word ἐκκλησία here for the first time. Dr. Hort thinks that he may employ it by anti-

cipation, and that we cannot be sure that it was actually in use at this early date (*Ecclesia*, p. 49), but, as the same writer reminds us, our Lord's saying to St. Peter, Matt. xvi. 18, must have had its influence upon the minds and teaching of the Apostles. Moreover, we can see a special fitness in the employment here, after the preceding description, not only of the growth, but of the organisation of the Christian community, iv. 32 ff., and of the judgment which followed upon the attempt to challenge its powers and to violate its harmony, cf. Bengel's note, in *loco*. The context too probably marks a distinction between the members of the ἐκκλησία and those without (Weiss, Hort, Blass).

Ver. 12. δέ: merely transitional; ἐγένετο marking the continuance of the miracles; διὰ τῶν χειρῶν characteristic of St. Luke in Acts, cf. ii. 23, vii. 25, xi. 30, xiv. 3, xv. 23, xix. 11. On Luke's fondness for this and similar phrases with χεῖρ, see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 8; Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 77. Such phrases, cf. διὰ στόματός τινος, are thoroughly Hebraistic; so also in iii. 13, Luke iii. 21, κατὰ πρόσωπον, and for other instances, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, pp. 126, 147.—Στοᾷ Σολ., iii. 11.—ἅπαντες, cf. ii. 1, including other believers as well as the Apostles, see below. ὁμοθυμαδὸν, see i. 14.

Ver. 13. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν: variously interpreted (1) of the rest of the believers in contrast to the Apostles, but this is unnatural, as the Apostles are not elsewhere regarded as objects of fear to their fellow-believers, and ἅπαντες above certainly need not = ἀπόστολοι as Hilgenfeld interprets it. See, however, Alford, in *loco*, and Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, p. 256, note. J. Lightfoot applies ἅπαντες to the hundred-and-eight (the Apostles making up the hundred-and-twenty), who durst not join themselves



ἀλλ' ἐμεγάλυνεν αὐτοὺς ὁ λαός· 14. μᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθεντο πιστεύοντες τῷ Κυρίῳ, πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν·) 15. ὥστε κατὰ<sup>1</sup> τὰς πλατείας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς καὶ τιθέναι ἐπὶ κλινῶν καὶ κραββάτων, ἵνα ἐρχομένου Πέτρου κἂν ἡ σκιά ἐπισκιάσῃ τινὶ

<sup>1</sup> κατὰ (τας) D\*P 1, Chrys., Theoph., so Meyer; και εἰς τας B<sup>3</sup>ABD<sup>2</sup>(E), Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. κλινῶν EP, Chrys., Theodrt.; κλινῶν B<sup>3</sup>ABD, Cyr.-Jer., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. κραββάτων B<sup>3</sup>EP; κραββάτων B<sup>3</sup>AB<sup>2</sup>D, so W.H., Weiss, Hilg.; but see Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 12, who reads in β, κραββάτος (*grabatus*), and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 56. ἐπισκιάσῃ B<sup>3</sup>ADEP, so Tisch. (W.H. alt.), Weiss, Hilg.; ἐπισκιάσει B 13, 31, W.H. following B, Wendt (probable). At end of verse D, Par. (Gig.<sup>1</sup>, Wern.) add ἀπηλλασσόντο γὰρ ἀπο πάσης ἀσθενείας ἣν εἶχε ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, whilst E (Vulg., Lucif.) adds καὶ ρυσθῶσιν ἀπο πάσης ἀσθενείας ἣς εἶχον. Variations between D and E may be due to retranslation from Latin, see Harris; Chase from assim. of Acts xix. 12, through Syriac; an explanatory addition of the result of Peter's shadow falling upon them according to Weiss, Codex D, p. 64; but Belser sees in vv. 15 and 16 in β original, revised in α.

in the dignity and office of Apostleship, properly so called, having seen the judgment that one of the Twelve had brought upon Ananias, one of their own number (as Lightfoot ranks Ananias amongst the hundred-and-twenty); (2) of non-believers as contrasted with πάντες; this is adopted by Blass, but it obliges him to translate κολλᾶσθαι, *se eis immiscere* = *interpellare, vexare*, whereas the word is more often used, as he admits, both in the Acts and in the LXX of friendly intercourse קָרַב, Deut. x. 20, 2 Sam. xx.

2, 2 Kings xviii. 6, Ps. cxviii. (cxix.) 31, cf. Acts viii. 29, ix. 26, x. 28, xvii. 34; (3) of the rest including ὁ λαός, who stood aloof from joining their lot, but at the same time regarded them with respect; (4) of the rest, i.e., rulers, scribes, priests, men of position, as contrasted, ἀλλά, with the λαός, the populace, cf. iv. 21, where the same contrast is marked (so Hort, Page, Rendall), see also Luke xxi. 38. For κολλᾶσθαι see further on ver. 36.

Ver. 14. μᾶλλον δὲ προσετίθεντο: the favour of the people which still protected the Church (cf. ver. 17) resulted in further increase of believers, "were the more added," *um so mehr*; imperfect, signifying the continuous growth of the Church; on the verb see ii. 41. πλήθη, plural (only here in N.T.), because not only men as in iv. 4, but women also (Weiss), but Bengel "pluralis grandis; jam non initur numerus, uti 4, 4," to the same effect Blass, "sæpe fiebat ut magnus numerus accederet, inde plur. hic tantum N.T.". On St. Luke's characteristic fondness for this and similar words see iv. 32. γυναικῶν: this mention of women forms as it were an introduction to the further

mention in vi. 1 ff., cf. viii. 3, where women are again mentioned amongst the victims in the general persecution of the Church (see Plumptre's note, *in loco*). This constant reference to the share of women in the ministry of the Gospel and the life of the Church is characteristic of St. Luke in both his writings.

Ver. 15. ὥστε καὶ εἰς, "insomuch that they even," R.V.—κατὰ, T.R., so Alford, Meyer, "all down the streets," as if the streets were entirely beset with sick folk (see Holtzmann, *in loco*).—πλατείας, feminine of the adjective πλατύς, sc., ὁδός, a broad way, so here, the open streets, in classical Greek, and frequently in LXX, chiefly for Hebrew, בָּרְחָה, Tobit xiii. 17, Judith i. 14, vii.

14, 22, 1 Macc. i. 55, ii. 9, 3 Macc. i. 18, used by St. Luke three times in his Gospel, x. 10, xiii. 26, xiv. 21, but only here in Acts, see below on ix. 11. For κλινῶν read κλινᾶριων, which is found only here in N.T., not at all in LXX, and very rarely in other Greek authors, Aristoph., *Frag.*, 33, d, and Arrian, *Epict. Diss.*, iii., 5, 13, where it is used for the couch of a sick person; Artem., *Oneir.*, ii., 57. As Dr. Hobart points out, St. Luke employs no less than four different words for the beds of the sick, two in common with the other Evangelists, viz., κλίνη (not in John), and κράβατος (not in Matthew). But two are peculiar to him, viz., κλινίδιον (Luke v. 19, 24), and κλινάριον only here. Neither word is found in the LXX, but κλινίδιον, although rare elsewhere, is used in Artem., also in Plutarch, and Dion. Hal. (*Antiq. Rom.*, vii., 68), for a litter for carrying the sick, Hobart, *Medical*

αὐτῶν. 16. συνήρχετο δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν περίε πόλεων εἰς ἱερουσαλήμ, φέροντες ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ὀχλουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, οἵτινες ἐθεραπεύοντο ἅπαντες.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> εἰς DEP demid., Arm., Chrys., so Meyer; om. NAB vers., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. οἵτινες ἐθεραπεύοντο ἅπαντες, D, Par. (Gig., Lucif.) read καὶ ἰωὺντο ἅπαντες; both verbs almost equally common. At end of verse "duo codices Bergeri" add *et magnificabant Dominum* J. C., added by Blass in β (Greek); cf. Acts xix. 17.

Language, etc., pp. 116, 117. Dr. Kennedy sees in κλινίδιον an instance of rare words used by the comic poets, especially Aristophanes, found also in the N.T., and almost nowhere else, and hence a proof of the "colloquial" language of the N.T. writers (*Sources of N. T. Greek*, pp. 76-79). But the fact remains that the word in question is found only in St. Luke, and that both it and κλινάριον were employed for the couch of a sick person.—ἐρχομένου Πέτρου, genitive absolute, "as Peter came by," R.V. (very frequent in Luke), it does not mean, as Felten admits, that none of the other Apostles possessed such powers.—κάν = καὶ ἴάν — even if it were only his shadow, "at the least his shadow," R.V., cf. Mark v. 28, vi. 56, 2 Cor. xi. 16; the usage is not unclassical, Soph., *Elect.*, 1483; Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 170; Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 118 (1893).—ἐπισκιάσει with dative, Luke i. 35, Mark ix. 7; B so W.H., future indicative σεί, a construction common with ὅπως in classical Greek (Page); for other examples of the future indicative with ἵνα see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 81 (1893), of which several are found in the N.T., although not in classical Greek; cf. Luke xiv. 10, xx. 10, 1 Cor. ix. 18, 1 Pet. iii. 1, Acts xxi. 24, W.H.; John vii. 3, Gal. ii. 4, etc.; Burton, *u. s.*, p. 86. Undoubtedly this action of the people showed the lively power of their faith (Chrys., Theod., Aug.), but the further question arises in spite of the severe strictures of Zeller, Overbeck, Holtzmann, as to how far the narrative indicates that the shadow of Peter actually produced the healing effects. Ver. 16 shows that the sick folk were all healed, but Zöckler maintains that there is nothing to show that St. Luke endorses the enthusiastic superstition of the people (so J. Lightfoot, Nösgen, Lechler, Rendall). On the other hand we may compare Matt. ix. 20, Mark vi. 56, John ix. 5, Acts xix. 12; and Baumgarten's comment should be considered that, although it is not actually said that a miraculous

power went forth from Peter's shadow, it is a question why, if no such power is implied, the words should be introduced at all into a narrative which evidently purports to note the extraordinary powers of the Apostles. The parallels just instanced from the Gospels could, of course, have no weight with critics who can only see in such comparisons a proof that the Acts cannot rise above the superstitious level of the Gospels, or who start like Renan with "an absolute rule of criticism," viz., the denial of a place in history to all miraculous narratives. β adds ἀπηλλάσσοντο γὰρ κ.τ.λ.: but even here, as Blass says, Luke does not distinctly assert that cures were wrought by the shadow of Peter, although there is no reason to deny that the Evangelist had this in mind, since he does not hesitate to refer the same miraculous powers to St. Paul. Hilgenfeld refers vv. 14-16 to his "author to Theophilus," and sees in the expressions used in ver. 16 a reminiscence of Luke vi. 17.

Ver. 16. δὲ καὶ: very common in St. Luke, Luke ii. 4, iii. 9, v. 10, ix. 61, xiv. 12, etc., and also nine times in Acts. St. John uses it frequently, but seldom in Matt. and Mark; used for the sake of giving emphasis.—περίε only here, strengthened for περί, not in LXX, but see Hatch and Redpath, found in *Acta Andr. et Matth. Apocr.*, 26 (see Lumby's note), in classics from Æschylus.—τῶν π. πόλεων, "the cities round about Jerusalem," omitting εἰς before ἱερουσαλὴμ.—ὀχλουμένους: only here in N.T., cf. Luke vi. 18, οἱ ἐνοχλούμενοι (W.H., R.V.) ὑπὸ πν. ἀκαθ. Both verbs are peculiar to St. Luke in the N.T. in connection with disease (ἐνοχλεῖν is used in Heb. xii. 15 in a different sense), and both were often used by medical writers. In Tobit vi. 8, ὀχλῇ the simple verb is used of the vexing and disturbing of an evil spirit, and ἐνοχλεῖν is used several times in the LXX, of being troubled with sicknesses, Gen. xlviii. 1, 1 Sam. xix. 14, xxx. 13, Mal. i. 13. So J. Weiss, who is by no means inclined to overrate Dr.



17. Ἀναστὰς<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἡ οὐσα αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου, 18. καὶ ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, καὶ ἔθεντο αὐτοὺς ἐν τηρήσει

<sup>1</sup> *αναστας*, Par. reads *Αννας*, "cod. Dubl. ap. Berger" (Blass); so also Prov. after *αναστ.* δε—Blass follows Par. in β. *αναστας* is no doubt a very common word, but it is quite characteristic of St. Luke. Western reading may have possessed the true text, cf. iii. 6, but if *Αννας* is original then *αναστας* is a corruption, not a revision.

Hobart's work, regards the use of the two verbs just mentioned as the employment in St. Luke of technical medical terms, *Evangelium des Lukas*, pp. 273, 274 (1892); found in Hipp., Galen, Dioscorides, cf. in the latter, *Mat. Med.*, iii., 116, τοὺς ὑπὸ ξηρᾶς βηχὸς καὶ ὀρθοπνοίας δχλουμένους θεραπεύει, see also Luke vi. 19, viii. 46, for a like effect following on the manifestation of the miraculous powers of Christ.

Ver. 17. ἀναστὰς, see on i. 15, cf. vi. 9: it may denote a hostile intention (but need not force this), Mark iii. 26, Luke x. 35, Matt. xii. 41, in LXX, Job xvi. 8; see Overbeck, Blass, Weiss; ὁ ἀρχ., i.e., Annas not Caiaphas, iv. 6.—πάντες οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ: the context seems to imply that more are included than referred to in iv. 6.—ἡ οὐσα αἵρεσις (= οἱ εἰσιν αἵρεσις), a rare employment of the relative in the N.T., but found in Luke and Paul, most of all in the latter; cf. Acts xvi. 12, 1 Cor. iii. 17, Gal. iii. 16, Ephes. iii. 13, vi. 2, Phil. i. 28, etc. (cf. Rev. iv. 5, v. 9); Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 192 (1896).—αἵρεσις: (1) a choosing, choice, so in classical writers, cf. also LXX, Lev. xxii. 18, 21, 1 Macc. viii. 30; (2) that which is chosen, a chosen method of thought and action; (3) later, a philosophic principle; those who have chosen certain principles, a school, a sect, so six times in Acts. It is used thrice elsewhere in N.T., 1 Cor. xi. 29, Gal. v. 20, 2 Pet. ii. 1 in the plural, of factions or parties *within* the Church; in its later ecclesiastical use, applied to doctrines, "heresies," which tended to cause separation from the Church. The word need not therefore be used in a bad sense, although it is so used of the Nazarenes, cf. xxiv. 5, 14, xxviii. 22, whilst on the other hand St. Paul uses it of the Pharisees, xxvi. 5 (cf. xv. 5), in no depreciatory sense (cf. its use by Josephus of the Sadducees, *Ant.*, xx., 9, 1). Lumby gives a disparaging use of the word in *Apocr. Act. Phil. in Hellad.*, 10, see his note. It is not expressly said by St. Luke that Annas was a Sadducee, although he seems to imply it. But this

is not in itself inconceivable (see iv. 1) in spite of the strictures of Zeller and Overbeck; Josephus distinctly says, *u. s.*, that the son of Annas who bore his father's name was of the sect of the Sadducees, and if he mentions this as something peculiar, and as showing why the younger Annas was so bold and insolent (Zeller, cf. Nösgen's note, *in loco*), yet there is no difficulty in supposing that the elder Annas was at least associated with the Sadducees if only for political reasons.—ζήλον: jealousy, R.V., so rightly A.V. in xiii. 45; Wycliffe "envy," cf. Rom. xiii. 13, 1 Cor. iii. 3, 2 Cor. xi. 2, Gal. v. 20, James iii. 14, 16, Clem. Rom., Cor., iii., 4 and iv.-vi. (cf. Numb. xxv. 10, 11, 1 Macc. viii. 16, οὐκ ἔστι φθόνος οὐδὲ ζήλος ἐν αὐτοῖς, and ii. 54, 58, *Psalms of Solomon*, ii., 27), and in some places of the jealousy which God has, as in 2 Cor. xi. 2, Numb. xxv. 10, 11, and cf. *Psalms of Solomon*, ii., 27, iv., 2, 1 Macc. ii. 54. But φθόνος is capable only of an evil signification. By Aristotle ζήλος is used in its nobler sense (*Rhet.*, ii., 11), as opposed to τὸ φθονεῖν, but it seems to be used by other writers as = φθόνος or coupled with it. The meaning is defined by the context. Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, i., 99. Here the envy and jealousy of the Sanhedrim was provoked by the popular favour shown to the disciples, and hence to their doctrine of the resurrection.

Ver. 18. ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας: a phrase used twice in St. Luke's Gospel, and three times in the Acts, cf. Gen.

xxii. 12. Cf. Hebrew לָחַץ יָד בְּיָד.  
—ἐν τηρήσει δημόσιᾳ, "in public ward," R.V. δημ. used here as an adjective, only found in N.T. in Acts, in the three other passages used as an adverb, xvi. 37, xviii. 28, xx. 20 (2 Macc. vi. 10, 3 Macc. ii. 2), cf. Thuc., v., 18, where τὸ δημόσιον = the public prison. See note above on iv. 3. Hilgenfeld is so far right in pointing out that the two imprisonments, iv. 3 and v. 18, are occasioned by two different causes, in the first case by the preaching of the Apostles

δημοσίᾳ.<sup>1</sup> 19. ἄγγελος δὲ Κυρίου διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἤνοιξε τὰς θύρας  
τῆς φυλακῆς, ἐξαγαγὼν τε αὐτοὺς εἶπε, 20. Πορεύεσθε, καὶ σταθέντες

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν om.  $\aleph$ ABD 15, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Arm., Lucif., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; but retained by EP, verss., Bas., Chrys., Meyer. At end of verse D adds καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἑκάστος εἰς τὰ ἴδια, so Hilg.; cf. John vii. 55; see Harris and Chase, who both think that the gloss comes from John, *l. c.*, but the resemblance is not verbal. εἰς τὰ ἴδια is characteristic of St. John, but it is also found in Acts xxi. 6.

to the people, and in the second by the reverence which their miracles gained from the people.

Ver. 19. ἄγγελος δὲ K.: the narrative must be accepted or rejected as it stands. As Wendt, following Zeller in earlier days, candidly admits, every attempt to explain the narrative by referring the release of the prisoners to some natural event, such as an earthquake or lightning, or to some friendly disposed person, who with the assistance of the gaoler opened the prison doors, and who was mistaken by the Apostles for an angel in the darkness and excitement of the night, is shattered at once against the plain meaning of the text. Nor can it be deemed satisfactory to believe that St. Luke has unconsciously given us two narratives of the liberation of St. Peter, here and in xii., and that the former is merely an echo of the later deliverance transferred to an earlier date (Weiss, Sorof, Holtzmann). But St. Luke had the best means of knowing accurately the events narrated in xii. from John Mark (see below on chap. xii., and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, etc., p. 385), *Introd.*, p. 17, and there is no ground whatever for supposing that xii. is simply an embellished version of this former incident. Attempts have been made to show that St. Luke introduces the same doubling of narratives in his Gospel (Wendt, Holtzmann), e.g., the sending forth of the disciples in ix. 3 and x. 1, but the former chapter is concerned with the mission of the Twelve, and the latter with that of the Seventy. Further objections have been made as to the uselessness of the miracle—the disciples are found, to be imprisoned again! But not only was the miracle a source of fresh strength and faith to the disciples, but—as Hilgenfeld notes—their release can scarcely be described as purposeless, since it called forth a public transgression of the command of silence imposed upon the two chief Apostles, iv. 17-21. Moreover, the deliverance was another indication to the Sadducees, if they would have accepted it, that it was useless for them to attempt to stay the movement. “Quis ergo usus

angeli?” asks Blass; and he answers: “Sed est aliquis: augetur enim apostolorum audacia (21), tum ira adversariorum magis accenditur; nihilominus Deus suos perire non patitur”. That the Sadducees should ignore the miracle (ver. 28) is surely not strange, although it may well have influenced their subsequent deliberations; that the action of the Sadducees should now be more coercive than on the former occasion was only natural on the part of men who feared that vengeance would be taken on them for the death of Jesus by an uprising of the people (vv. 28 and 26).—διὰ νυκτὸς = νυκτός, νύκτωρ (cf. Luke ii. 8) in classical Greek. The phrase is used four times by St. Luke in Acts, cf. xvi. 19, xvii. 10, xxiii. 31, and cf. Luke v. 5 (and ix. 37, D, διὰ τῆς ἡμέρας): nowhere else in N.T. In all the passages Meyer thinks that the expression means *throughout the night*, but such a meaning would be inconsistent with the context at all events here and in xvi. 19; and xvii. 10 is doubtful.—See Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 129, “by night” (*nachts*). Simcox speaks of this expression in Acts as an “almost adverbial phrase,” *Language of N. T.*, p. 140.

Ver. 20. Πορεύεσθε: characteristic of St. Luke both in Gospel and Acts. The word appears here in Acts for the first time, and it is found in St. Luke's Gospel about fifty times, and in this book nearly forty (Friedrich, Lekebusch).—σταθέντες, ii. 14, on this pictorial use of the word, see Page's note, and Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 42; so also ἀναστάς, ἐπιστάς, ἐγερθείς, καθίσας, στραφείς—here it intimates the boldness with which the Apostles were to proclaim their message.—ἐν τῷ ἑρῶ: they were to speak not only boldly but publicly.—τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης (cf. xiii. 26, τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης, and Rom. vii. 24), i.e., the life to which the whole Apostolic preaching referred, the life which the Sadducees denied, bestowed by Him who was Himself the Resurrection and the Life, cf. iii. 15, iv. 12. This or a similar explanation is accepted by Holtzmann,



λαλεῖτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ λαῷ πάντα τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης. 21. ἀκούσαντες δὲ εἰσῆλθον ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ ἐδίδασκον.<sup>1</sup> παραγενόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, συνεκάλεσαν<sup>2</sup> τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν

<sup>1</sup> ἀκουσαντες δε, E, Pesh. read ἐξεληνθοντες δε εκ της φυλακης, received by Blass in β; but cf. xvi. 40; may have been omitted on revision, or added for exactness. After ἐδιδασκον Prov., Wern. add εν τω ονοματι K. I.; cf. iv. 18, ix. 27.

<sup>2</sup> For συνεκαλεσαν D has εγερθεντες το πρωι και συγκαλεσαμενοι (so also Hilg.); may be addition for sake of clearness, or omitted in revision; assim. to our Lord's trial and the Jewish authorities seems unnecessary.

Wendt, Weiss, Zöckler, Blass. On the attempt to explain the words as simply = these words of life, see Winer-Moulton, xxxiv. 3, b., and see also Grimm, *sub v. ῥήμα*.

Ver. 21. ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον, "about day-break," R.V., i.e., without delay they obeyed the angel's command (Weiss). The words may also indicate the customary usage of Palestine where the heat was great in the daytime. The people rose early and came to our Lord to hear Him, Luke xxi. 38 (John viii. 2). ὑπὸ = *sub, circa* (of time), so in classical Greek, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 132. The first sacrifice took place in the Temple very early, Edersheim, *Temple and its Services*, p. 132, and it may be that the Apostles went to catch the people at the hour of their early devotions (Plumptre).—ὑπὸ is used nowhere else in the N.T. with an accusative in this sense, cf. Tobit vii. 11, S, *al*; ὑπὸ τὴν νύκτα, 3 Macc. v. 2.—παραγενόμενος: having come, i.e., to the place where the Sadducees met, not merely pleonastic; the verb may fairly be regarded as characteristic of St. Luke in both his writings—it occurs eight times in his Gospel and thirty in the Acts, and frequently absolutely as here—elsewhere in N.T. only eight or nine times, frequent in LXX.—τὸ συνέδριον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γερουσίαν: does γερουσία represent an assembly or body in addition to the συνέδριον, or do the two words represent the same Court? The word γερ. appears nowhere else in the N.T., but in the LXX it is used in several places of the Jewish Sanhedrim, 1 Macc. xii. 6, 2 Macc. i. 10, iv. 44, xi. 27, Jud. iv. 8, xiv. 4, xv. 8. In the N.T. the Sanhedrim is also called πρεσβυτέριον, Luke xxii. 66, Acts xxii. 5. If the two words denote the same body καὶ must be regarded as merely explicative (so Wendt as against Meyer) to emphasise the solemn importance and representative nature of the assembly (so

Grimm-Thayer to signify the full Sanhedrim *sub v. γερ.* and so apparently Blass). If we adopt Rendall's view καὶ may still be explicative, but in another way, specifying the comprehensive character of this meeting as compared with the hasty and informal gathering in iv. 5, 6 (cf. Kuinoel's view, *in loco*). The difficulty has caused others to suggest that γερ. refers to men of age and experience who were asked to join the Council as assessors, or to some other assembly larger than the Sanhedrim and only summoned on special occasions. For the former view, Lumby and Plumptre (see also Page's note) refer to Mishna, *Ḥoma*, i., 1, where mention is made of "the chamber of the assessors," *parhedrin* = πάρεδροι. Further we may note, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 172, E.T., in a note on this passage points out that as there can be no doubt as to the identity of the two conceptions συνέδριον and γερουσία (so too Zöckler and Weiss, *in loco*), καὶ must be taken as explanatory, or St. Luke makes a mistake in assuming that the συνέδριον was of a less comprehensive character than the γερουσία, "the Sanhedrin and all the elders of the people together". Schürer prefers the latter alternative, but the former may reasonably be maintained not only from the Greek text but also because St. Luke's information admittedly derived from a Jewish-Christian source is not likely to have been inaccurate. Hilgenfeld agrees with Weiss that in the source the O.T. expression γερουσία, Exod. iii. 16, iv. 29, xii. 21, stood alone, but that the reviser prefixed the usual expression συνέδριον which in v. 27 and 34 is found without any addition. On "Synhedrion," see Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 8, 1149, and "Aelteste," i., 1, pp. 59, 60, and O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 175, 176 (1895).—δεσμωτήριο, xvi. 26; Thuc.

εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἀχθῆναι αὐτούς. 22. οἱ δὲ ὑπηρεταὶ παρα-  
γενόμενοι<sup>1</sup> οὐχ εὗρον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ· ἀναστρέψαντες δὲ  
ἀπήγγειλαν, λέγοντες, 23. Ὅτι τὸ μὲν δεσμωτήριον εὗρομεν κεκλεισ-  
μένον ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ, καὶ τοὺς φύλακας ἕξω<sup>2</sup> ἐστῶτας πρὸ τῶν  
θυρῶν· ἀνοίξαντες δέ, ἔσω οὐδένα εὗρομεν. 24. ὥς δὲ ἤκουσαν  
τοὺς λόγους τούτους ὁ τε ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς<sup>3</sup> τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ  
ἀρχιερεῖς, διηπόρουν περὶ αὐτῶν, τί ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο. 25. παρα-  
γενόμενος δέ τις ἀπήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, Ὅτι ἰδοὺ, οἱ ἄνδρες οὓς  
ἔθεσθε ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστῶτες καὶ διδάσκοντες τὸν

<sup>1</sup> After παραγενόμενοι D adds καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὴν φυλακὴν, so Par., Vulg., Syr. H. mg.; cf. ver. 23, assimilation or revision?

<sup>2</sup> ἐξω om. SABDEP, Vulg., verss., Chrys., Lucif., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. πρὸ EP, Vulg.-Clem., Boh., Syr. Harcl., Chrys.; ἐπὶ SABD, so "ad" d, e, am. fu. demid., Sah., Syr. Pesh., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>3</sup> ο τε ἱερεὺς καὶ ο στρατηγος P 13, 31 (E), so Meyer; ο τε στρατηγος, om. ἱερεὺς καὶ ο SABD, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Arm., Syr. Pesh., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Alford, Hilg. (other variations in Wendt and Alford).

vi. 60 and LXX, Gen. xxxix. 20-23, xl. 3-5. On the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim and its right to order arrests by its own officers, and to dispose of cases not involving capital punishment, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., 187, 188, E.T., O. Holtzmann, *u. s.*, p. 173.

Ver. 22. ὑπηρεταί: apparently some of the Temple guard, ver. 26; see above on ὁ στρατηγός, iv. 1, and Edersheim, *Temple and its Services*, pp. 119, 120. In the N.T. the word is not used of the military.—ἀναστρέψαντες: used only here in this sense (xv. 16 is not strictly a parallel), cf. LXX, Gen. viii. 9, 1 Kings xxi. (xx.) 5, and frequently.

Ver. 23. ἐν πάσῃ ἀσφαλείᾳ, "in all safety," R.V. (not *cum omni diligentia*, Vulgate); "in omni firmitate," Flor.; in LXX generally μετὰ with genitive; cf. 2 Macc. iii. 22, xv. 1, μετὰ πάσης ἀσφ. The Vulgate is misleading; the words mean not that the prison had been carefully shut, but that it was found in a state of perfect security.

Ver. 24. ὁ τε ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ στρατηγός τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ οἱ ἀρχ.: if we retain ὁ ἱερεὺς it must mean the high priest, ver. 27, cf. 1 Macc. xv. 1; Jos., *Ant.*, vi., 12, 1. But Weiss and Wendt both follow W.H. and R.V., and omit ἱερεὺς καὶ ὁ (so Blass β). ὁ στρατ. and οἱ ἀρχ. are thus closely united by the τε καί, inasmuch as the former in the flight of the prisoners had the greatest responsibility, and the ἀρχ. had occasioned the imprisonment, ver. 17. The στρατ. τοῦ ἱερ. was pre-

sent at the meetings of the Sanhedrim, and assisted in their deliberations.—ἀρχιερεῖς: see on iv. 1. The word is probably used as including the heads of the twenty-four courses, those who had been high priests and still retained the title, and also those referred to in iv. 6. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., 203-206; O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, p. 142.—διηπόρουν, ii. 12, "were much perplexed," R.V.—See on περὶ αὐτῶν, sc., λόγοι: not the Apostles, as Alford and Meyer.—τί ἂν γένοιτο τοῦτο, "whereunto this might grow," so A. and R.V. Blass interprets *quomodo hoc factum esse posset*, cf. x. 17; *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 173. St. Luke alone uses the optative with ἂν in the N.T., cf. Luke i. 62, vi. 11, ix. 46, Acts v. 24, viii. 31, x. 17, xvii. 18 (Luke xv. 26, xviii. 36, Acts xxvi. 29, doubtful text); Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, pp. 80 and 133; see also Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 66 (1893).

Ver. 25. ἰδοὺ . . . εἰσὶν: on the characteristic use of the verb εἶναι after ἰδοὺ or ἴδε in St. Luke's writings as compared with other N.T. writers and the LXX, see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, pp. 200, 205 (1896); cf. ii. 7, xvi. 1, and Luke ii. 25, vii. 25, xi. 41, etc.—παραγεν., see on ver. 22.—ἐστῶτες, cf. ver. 20. antitheton: *posuistis* (Bengel).

Ver. 26. ἤγαγεν: but imperfect with W.H. and Weiss, so Blass "quia modus quo res gesta est describitur; perfecta res indicatur, ver. 27, ἀγαγόντες."—οὓ



λαόν. 26. Τότε ἀπελθὼν ὁ στρατηγὸς σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἤγαγεν αὐτοὺς, οὐ μετὰ βίας, ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν λαόν, ἵνα μὴ λιθασθῶσιν.<sup>1</sup> 27. ἀγαγόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔστησαν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς,<sup>2</sup> λέγων, 28. Οὐ<sup>3</sup> παραγγελία παρηγγείλαμεν ὑμῖν μὴ διδάσκειν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ; καὶ ἰδοὺ, πεπληρώκατε<sup>4</sup> τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ τῆς διδαχῆς ὑμῶν, καὶ βούλεσθε ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ἤγαγεν AEP, Vulg., Chrys., Lucif.; D\* ἤγαγον; ηγεν ΞBD<sup>2</sup>, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss. ἐφοβοῦντο . . . λιθασθῶσιν, Flor. om., represents φοβούμενος μηποτε λιθασθῇ υπο του λαου; D φοβούμενος γαρ. ινα om. ΞBDE 5, 13, 40, 96, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.; but ins. AP, Chr., Theophyl., T.R., Meyer.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρχιερεὺς; D, Gig., Par., Lucif. have ιερεις, Flor. *praetor* = *στρατηγος*, instead; other additions in Flor., but no difference in sense.

<sup>3</sup> ου Ξ<sup>3</sup>DEP, Flor., Par., Sah., Syrr. P. and H., Arm., Aeth., Ath., Bas.; but om. Ξ<sup>3</sup>B 13, Gig., Vulg., Boh., Ath., Cyr., Lucif., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (who thinks with Alford that it was suggested by ἐπηρώτησεν); Blass retains the negative, so Hilg.

<sup>4</sup> πεπληρώκατε BDEP, Bas., Tisch., Weiss, W.H., Hilg.; ἐπληρώσατε ΞA 15, Chrys., Cyr. In Western text Flor., Pesh. insert υμεις δε instead of και before ιδου, and D\*, Flor., Gig., Sah. read *εκεινου* for *τουτου*, emphasis.

μετὰ βίας, "but without violence," R.V. Weiss compares with the whole phrase ἤγεν . . . βίας (Exod. xiv. 25); βία three or four times in Acts only, xxi. 35, xxiv. 7 (omit W.H., R.V.), xxvii. 41; used in the LXX in the same sense as here and with the genitive, cf. Exod. xiv. 25 (cf. i. 14), 3 Macc. iv. 7; classical usage more frequently has βίᾱ, ἐκ βίας, etc.—ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ: the favour of the people which the Apostles so fully enjoyed at this time might well have caused an outbreak of fanaticism as later in the case of Stephen. The subjects to ἐφοβ. and to ἔστησαν (27) are ὁ στρατ. and οἱ ὑπηρέται. St. Chrysostom well comments on those who would thus fear—not God, but the people. On the Greek of the verse, see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 116 (1896).—ἵνα μὴ λιθασθῶσιν: the reading μὴ undoubtedly correct, so W.H., Wendt, Weiss, Blass.—τὸν λαόν: denoting the persons feared, and μὴ λιθασ., the thing feared, so that the meaning is as in R.V., "for they were afraid that they should be stoned by the people," or ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὸν λαόν may be taken as parenthetical (so Weiss), and μὴ λιθασ. as limiting ἤγεν . . . βίας. In the N.T. after verbs of fearing the subjunctive only is used where after secondary tenses we should have expected the optative, or sometimes the subjunctive is explained as implying more certainty of a result. Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, pp. 95, 96.—λιθασ.: very seldom in Attic Greek,

where we should expect καταλεύειν; only twice in LXX, 2 Sam. xvi. 6, 13, where usually λιθοβολέω (not used in classical writers, but six or seven times in N.T.); but λιθάζειν is found eight or nine times in N.T.

Ver. 27. ἔστησαν, cf. iv. 7, during the investigation the judges would sit, vi. 15, xxiii. 3, the accused, the witnesses, and those speaking, stood, Mark xiv. 57, 60, Acts iv. 7, v. 27, 34, vi. 13, xxiii. 9, O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, p. 177.

Ver. 28. παραγγελία παρηγγείλαμεν: for the Hebraism cf. iv. 17, "we straitly," etc., R.V. (and A.V.), expressing intensity—"commanding, we commanded you," Wycliffe. The T.R. makes the clause a question, commencing with οὐ, but the evidence is too strong against it, evidently it was occasioned by the ἐπηρώτησεν, but St. Chrysostom adopts it, see *Hom.*, xiii., 1. Bengel remarks on παραγγελία, "pudet dicere minando, iv. 17, nam non poterant punire". But St. Chrysostom rightly notes that they ought to have asked πῶς ἐξήλθετε, i.e., from the prison, but they ask as if nothing had happened.—ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τούτῳ, iv. 17, here as there the Council do not mention the name of Jesus, perhaps because they disdained it; in sharp contrast stands not only St. Peter's mention of the name, but his glorying in it, ver. 30, 31.—τὴν Ἱερουσαλήμ: fem. here and elsewhere, cf. Gal. iv. 25, Rev. iii. 12, so in Matt.

αἷμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τούτου. 29.<sup>1</sup> ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι εἶπον, Πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις. 30. ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἡγείρεν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς διεχειρίσασθε

<sup>1</sup> ο Π., article om. **ΞΑΒΕΗΡ**, Bas., Chrys., so W.H., Weiss; **εἶπον**, but **-αν ΞΑΒΕ**, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss. At the commencement of the verse **αποκ. . . προς αυτον** is omitted in D, and the words **πειθαρχειν δει** (δε in D) follow as part of the high priest's remarks; but Blass in β, following Flor., Gig., Lucif., adds to **αποκ. δε Πετρος** the words **ειπεν προς αυτον**, and proceeds "**τινι πειθαρχειν δει Θεω η ανθρωποις;**" making these words a question asked by Peter of the high priest, who replies, according to a further addition of Flor., Gig., **ο δε ειπεν "Θεω"**. Weiss, Codex D, p. 64, thinks that the emendator took offence at the repetition of iv. 19, and thereupon places the words **πειθαρχειν δε** (not **δει**) **κ.τ.λ.** on the lips of the high priest as if he thus took up their own words contemptuously in addressing the Apostles, and the whole from **βουλεσθε** might thus originally have formed a question: "You wish to bring this man's blood upon us—but thus, indeed, to obey God rather than man? Such blood revenge cannot surely be the command of God;" but see further Blass, *in loco*, and Weiss, u. s. D, Flor., Gig. all add at the end of ver. 29, as introductory to ver. 30, **ο δε Πετρος ειπεν προς αυτους**.

ii. 3, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 32; Winer-Schmiedel, p. 153.—**διδαχῆς**, "teaching," R.V., cf. Matt. vii. 28.—**βούλεσθε**: the charge was untrue—the wish was their own, not that of the Apostles, cf. Matt. xxvii. 25. St. Peter's earnest desire was that they should be saved.—**ἐπαγαγεῖν**, xviii. 6, xxii. 20, and 2 Sam. i. 16, cf. 2 Peter ii. 1, 5; nowhere else in N.T.—**ἐφ'** ἡμᾶς: to bring His blood upon us, *i.e.*, the vengeance of the people for His murder. **αἷμα** pro **φόνον**, Hebraistic—no thought of divine punishment from their point of view; cf. LXX. Gen. xx. 9, Exod. xxxii. 34, Judges ix. 24, and cf. Josh. xliii. 15 (in N.T., Matt. xxiii. 35, Rev. xviii. 24).

Ver. 29. St. Peter as the spokesman, *primus inter pares*; the Apostles as a body are associated with him in his answer: "but Peter and the Apostles," R.V. A.V. renders "Peter and the other Apostles," and we may understand an ellipse of **ἄλλοι** or **λοιποὶ** before **οἱ ἀπόστολοι**, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 286.—**ἀποκ.**, cf. Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 112 (1896).—**πειθαρχεῖν**: only used by St. Luke and St. Paul; cf. ver. 32, xxvii. 21, Titus iii. 1; in this chapter and in St. Paul, in its classical use, obeying one in authority, or **τοῖς νόμοις**, etc. The word is used in Polybius, and Josephus, and frequently in Philo, but only three times in the LXX; cf. 1 Esd. viii. 94, of obeying the law of the Lord. The reply of St. Peter, who speaks for all the Apostles, is practically the same as in iv. 19, but still more decisive in its tone as was natural after the recent command, ver. 20.

Ver. 30. **ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν**, cf. iii. 13. St. Peter, as before, will not dissociate himself from the commonwealth of Israel, or his hearers from the message and works of the Christ.—**ἡγείρεν**: does this word refer to the Resurrection, or to the sending of Jesus into this world, and His raising up by God as the Messiah? The former is the view taken by St. Chrysostom, Oecumenius, Erasmus, and amongst moderns by Meyer-Wendt, Nösgen, Alford, Overbeck, Felten, Blass, Holtzmann, Weiss, Hilgenfeld; but in iii. 15, iv. 10, the phrase is **ἡγείρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν** (cf. Ecclesiast. xlviii. 5: **ὁ ἐγείρας νεκρὸν ἐκ θανάτου**), although in x. 40, xliii. 37, the word evidently refers to the Resurrection. Others interpret the word as **ἀνίστημι** in iii. 22, and as in xliii. 22, **ἡγείρεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Δαυεὶδ** (cf. Luke i. 69, vii. 16), so Calvin, Bengel, De Wette, Lechler, Hackett, Page. One of the chief arguments for the former interpretation is the contrast marked in the next clause between the death of the Cross and the Resurrection, but this contrast would still be marked by the following verb. Is it not possible that, as in the days of old God had raised up a Saviour, or Saviours, for Israel, cf. Jud. ii. 18, **ἡγείρε Κ. αὐτοῖς κριτάς**, Jud. iii. 9, 15, **ἡγείρε Κ. σωτῆρα τῷ Ἰ.**, St. Peter may now speak of Him as raising up **Ἰησοῦς**, *i.e.*, a Saviour? see further, ver. 31.—**διεχειρίσασθε**, cf. xxvi. 21, "whom ye slew, hanging Him on a tree," R.V., not as in A.V., "whom ye slew and hanged on a tree," which would make the words refer to a Jewish mode of punishment, for, according to Jewish



κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου· 31. τοῦτον ὁ Θεὸς ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα ὕψωσε τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, δοῦναι μετάνοιαν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. 32. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν αὐτοῦ μάρτυρες<sup>1</sup> τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα δὲ τὸ Ἅγιον, ὃ ἔδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ.

<sup>1</sup> ἐσμεν αὐτοῦ μάρτυρες D<sup>2</sup>EHP, Syr. Harcl., Aeth., Chrys.; ἐσμεν μαρτ., om. αὐτοῦ N<sup>2</sup>D\*, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Arm., Did., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H. text, R.V. text, Hilg.; ἐν αὐτῷ μαρτ., so B, W.H. marg., Wendt (crit. note, p. 141) om. ἐσμεν αὐτοῦ; ἐσμεν ἐν αὐτῷ μαρτ. R.V. marg.; ἐσμεν αὐτῷ μάρτυρες Weiss, see comment. δε D<sup>2</sup>EHP, Syr. Harcl., Chrys.; om. N<sup>2</sup>ABD\* 31, Did. Chrys., so Vulg., d, Syr. Pesh., Arm., Aeth., Irint., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. After μάρτυρες D, Flor., Par. add παντῶν; Par. omits τῶν ῥημάτων, Blass brackets in β. ο N<sup>2</sup>AD<sup>2</sup>HP, so Weiss; om. B 17, Ægypt., so W.H. marg., R.V. marg.; ον DE—Harris refers to Latin *quem*, but if article originally omitted possibly the ον of ἅγιον may have been repeated, and = an after-correction.

law, only those were hanged who were already dead (Deut. xxi. 22, Josh. x. 26). The word which means in middle to lay hands upon, and so to slay, to kill, is only used by St. Luke (not in LXX), and forcibly represents the guilt of the Jews in the murder of Jesus, as if they had perpetrated it with their own hands (cf. xxvi. 24), "made away with violently," Page; cf. instances in Wetstein (*trucidastis*).—κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου, LXX, Gen. xl. 19, Deut. xxi. 22, 23, Josh. x. 26, Esth. v. 14, vi. 4 (Gal. iii. 13). Although St. Luke uses κρεμασθεὶς of crucifixion, Luke xxiii. 39, St. Peter alone uses the exact phrase of the text given in x. 39, and so he too has ξύλον, 1 Pet. ii. 24, for the Cross (although St. Paul uses the same word, Acts xiii. 29). The word may therefore have a place amongst the many coincidences between St. Peter's addresses and the language of his Epistles, see above on pp. 121 ff. The fact that their victim was thus accursed in the eyes of the law aggravated their guilt, and at the same sharply contrasted their act and that of God; for a similar contrast see iii. 14, 15.

Ver. 31. ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα: the former word as it is used here without any qualification, cf. iii. 15, may imply, like σωτῆρα, a reference to the earlier days of Israel's history, when God raised up for them from time to time judges of whom the title ἀρχηγός, Jud. xi. 6, 11, might be used no less than σωτήρ. In Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ, St. Peter saw the true Leader and Saviour. For St. Peter no less than for St. Paul the ascended Jesus had led captivity captive and received gifts for men, cf. Luke xxiv. 47-49.—ὑψώσεν τῇ δεξιᾷ αὐτοῦ, cf. ii. 33: "exalt with his right hand," R.V.,

"at" margin. Here as elsewhere Briggs interprets τῇ δεξιᾷ as local not instrumental, and prefers R.V. margin, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 37, note; but see note on ii. 33 above. The verb is used also by St. John, iii. 14, viii. 28, xii. 32, and also by St. Paul, Phil. ii. 9 (see Westcott on St. John iii. 14). But in the passive (as twice in St. John) it is employed in the LXX of the high exaltation of the Servant of God, in the picture which had evidently passed before the eyes of St. Peter, Isaiah lii. 13; and he sees in the ascension of his Lord, and His spiritual sovereignty, a fulfilment of the prophecy of the suffering Servant, who is also a Prince and a Saviour.

Ver. 32. "And we are witnesses of these things," R.V. (W.H.), but in margin, "witnesses in Him," ἐν αὐτῷ (cf. Luke xxiv. 47); "nos in eo testes sumus," Iren., see also above critical notes. For an explanation of the reading in T.R. and the two genitives, see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 84, note, and compare 2 Cor. v. 1, Phil. ii. 30, 1 Thess. i. 3.—ῥημάτων: here = Hebrew רִבְרָה, cf.

x. 37 (Grotius, Blass), the words standing for their contents, i.e., the things, the facts. Meyer understood the facts to be the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus, but Wendt understands them to be the gifts of the Messianic salvation mentioned in ver. 31, and compares ver. 20. But the use of the word in ver. 20 need not limit its use here: the Apostles were called above all things to witness to the facts of Christ's life, x. 37, and the ζωὴ in ver. 20 depended upon the Resurrection. In Luke i. 37 R.V. has "no word," ῥήμα, where A.V. has "no thing," cf. Luke i. 65, where A.V. has "things" in the margin

33. Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες διεπρίοντο, καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο ἀνελεῖν αὐτούς.  
 34. ἀναστὰς δέ τις ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ<sup>1</sup> Φαρισαῖος, ὀνόματι Γαμαλιήλ,

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ; DE, Flor., Pat. read (τις) ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, E adds αὐτῶν.

(ῥήματα), and R.V. reads "sayings" in text: Luke ii. 15, where R.V. has "this thing" (ῥήμα) in the text, and "saying" in margin; in ii. 19, 51, R.V. has "sayings" in the text, "things" in the margin—so in LXX, the same uncertainty, cf. Gen. xv. 1, xviii. 14, Exod. ii. 14, 15. ῥήμα is used frequently by St. Luke in his writings, and much more so than by the other Evangelists; although it is found in all parts of the Acts, it is noticeable that it is employed more frequently in the earlier chapters, as in the first two chapters of the Gospel.—καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δέ: on the expression see iv. 8. The Holy Ghost συμμαρτυρεῖ with the Apostles, Rom. viii. 16 (cf. Acts xv. 28). We may well compare with these words of St. Luke our Lord's parting words in John xv. 26, 27. Here we have also the twofold witness—the historical witness borne to the facts—and the internal witness of the Holy Ghost in bringing home to men's hearts the meaning of the facts (see Westcott on St. John, *in loco*).—τοῖς πειθαρχοῦσιν αὐτῷ: not to be limited to the Apostles, although by repeating this verb used at the opening of the speech St. Peter intimates that the ὑπακοή τῆς πίστεως (Rom. i. 5) was the first requisite for the reception of the divine gift. In their own case the witness of the Spirit had been clearly shown, not only in the miracles which the Apostles had done, but also in the results of their preaching, in the enthusiasm of their charity, and we need not limit with Nösgen the thought of the gift of the Holy Spirit to the events of Pentecost. If this short speech of St. Peter, 29-32, reads like a summary of much which he is represented as saying on former occasions, we have no warrant for dismissing it as unhistorical, or even for supposing that St. Luke has only given us a summary of the address. It is rather "a perfect model of concise and ready eloquence," and a striking fulfilment of the Lord's promise, Matt. xi. 19. Nothing was more natural than that St. Peter and his fellow-Apostles, like men whose minds were finally made up, should thus content themselves with an emphatic reassertion of the main issues involved in teaching which was already widely known, and with a justification of their

disobedience to man by an appeal to the results which accompanied their obedience to God.

Ver. 33. διεπρίοντο: lit., were sawn asunder (in heart), *dissecabantur*, Vulgate (cf. use of *findo* in Persius and Plautus), cf. vii. 54 (Luke ii. 35), Euseb., *H. E.*, v., i., 6 (see Grimm, *sub v.*). The word is used in its literal sense in Aristoph., *Equites*, 768, Plato, *Conv.*, p. 193 a, and once in the LXX, 1 Chron. xx. 3. The rendering "sawed their teeth" would certainly require τοὺς ὀδόντας as in other cases where the verb (and the simple verb also) has any such meaning. Dr. Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, pp. 72, 73, also refers to its use in the comic poet Eubulus (Meineke), 3, 255, and classes it among the words (colloquial) common to the comic poets (including Aristophanes) and the N.T. Here we have not the pricking of the heart, ii. 37, which led to contrition and repentance, but the painful indignation and envy which found vent in seeking to rid themselves of the disciples as they had done of their Master.—ἀνελεῖν: the verb is found no less than nineteen times in Acts, twice in St. Luke's Gospel, and only two or three times in the rest of the N.T., once in Matt. ii. 16, Heb. x. 9 (2 Thess. ii. 8); often used as here in LXX and classical Greek; it is therefore not one of those words which can be regarded as distinctly medical terms, characteristic of St. Luke (so Hobart and Zahn), although it is much used in medical writers. The noun ἀναίρεσις, viii. 1, is only found in St. Luke, and is also frequent in medical writers, Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, pp. 209, 210; but this word is also used in LXX of a violent death or destruction, cf. Numb. xi. 15, Judith xv. 4, 2 Macc. v. 13. At the same time it is interesting to note that ἐπιχειρεῖν, another medical word characteristic of St. Luke, and used by him in the sense of attempting, trying, is found with ἀνελεῖν in Acts ix. 29, cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 384, with which Hobart compares ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱατρὸς ἀνελεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸ νόσημα (Galen), see *in loco*.

Ver. 34. ἀναστὰς, see ver. 17.—συνεδρίῳ: the word is used here and in ver. 27 above, without γερουσία, and



νομοδιδάσκαλος τίμιος παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἐκέλευσεν ἔξω βραχὺ τι τοὺς ἀποστόλους<sup>1</sup> ποιῆσαι, 35. εἶπέ τε πρὸς αὐτούς,<sup>2</sup> "Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλίται, προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις τί μέλλετε πράσσειν.

<sup>1</sup> τὶ HP (put by many before ποιῆσαι); om. SABDE, vers., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. τοὺς ἀποστόλους DEHP, Par., Flor., Gig. (Vulg. am. corr. tol.), Sah., Syrr. P. and H., Aeth., Chrys.; τοὺς ἀνθρώπους SAB (Vulg.), Boh., Arm., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, so also Blass in β; cf. vv. 35, 38, but here in narrative ἀνθρώπ. seemed undignified word.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτούς; D (Flor.), Sah. has τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους (-ίους), d has "concilium," Flor. "ad totum concilium". Ἰσραηλίται, see above.

this seems to indicate that in ver. 21 the Sanhedrim is meant, and no additional council.—Γαμαλιήλ: it has sometimes been urged that Saul, the persecutor, could not have been the pupil of such a man as is here described—a man who was so liberal in his religious opinions, and so adverse to political agitation. But whatever may have been the extent of his liberality, Gamaliel remained firmly attached to the traditions of the fathers, and whilst we may see in his recorded principle his abhorrence of wrangling and over-scrupulosity, we may also see in it a proof of his adherence to traditionalism: "Procure thyself a teacher, avoid being in doubt; and do not accustom thyself to give tithes by guess" (Edersheim, *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 128). But in itself there is nothing strange in the fact that Saul should surpass the zeal of Gamaliel, for not only does history often show us how one side of the teaching of a master may be exaggerated to excess by a pupil, but also the specific charge against Stephen of destroying the Temple and of changing the customs of Moses had not been formulated against St. Peter and his brother-Apostles, who still attended the Temple worship, and whose piety gained them the regard of the people. That charge against the first martyr was nothing less than the charge brought against Jesus of Nazareth: the burning words and scathing denunciations of Stephen could only be answered, as those of Jesus had been answered, by the counter charge of blasphemy, and the punishment of death (see Sabatier's *L'Apôtre Paul*, 21 ff.).

Gamaliel appears as an ordinary member, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the high priest was always the President during the Roman-Herodian period. Not until after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the priesthood had lost its importance, was a Rabbi chosen as President of a reconstituted Sanhedrim.

For a summary of the views for and against the Rabbinic tradition that this Gamaliel was the President of the Sanhedrim, see Appendix iii., "The President of the Sanhedrim," by the late Rev. H. A. White, in Dr. Edersheim's *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 522 ff. The influence of Gamaliel may easily be understood (1) when we remember that whilst the ἀρχιερεῖς belonged chiefly if not exclusively to the Sadducees, the Pharisees who also had seats in the Sanhedrim (cf. Acts xxiii. 6, and Jos., *B. J.*, ii., 17, 3, *Vita*, 38, 39, *C. Apion*, ii., 22) possessed practically a predominating influence in the Council. The remark of Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 1, 4, gives us, as Schürer says, "a deep insight into the actual position of matters," Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 178 ff., E.T., and O. Holtzmann *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 175. (2) But we have also to take into account the personal influence of the man, which was no doubt at its height about the time described in Acts v.—he died A.D. 57-58. Not only was he the first teacher of the seven to whom the title Rabban was given (higher than that of Rab or Rabbi), but Jewish tradition respecting him shows the dignity and influence which attached to his name, Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 2, 236, and see on the titles given to Gamaliel, Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 239-246, and Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 364. We may see a further proof of his influence in the fact that a certain proviso with regard to the determining leap year, which was passed in the Sanhedrim in his absence, was only to come into force if it received the confirmation of Gamaliel (*Edajoth*, vii., 7). So far then St. Luke's account of the weight which would be carried by Gamaliel in the assembly is amply justified, and Schürer's description of the constitution of the Sanhedrim, *u. s.*, p. 174 ff., is sufficient reply to the strictures of Jüngst

36. πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θεودᾶς, λέγων εἶναί τινα  
 ἑαυτόν,<sup>1</sup> ᾧ προσεκολληθῇ<sup>2</sup> ἀριθμὸς ἀνδρῶν ὥσπερ τετρακοσίων· ὃς  
 ἀνηρέθη,<sup>3</sup> καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπέειοντο αὐτῷ διελύθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο

<sup>1</sup> εαυτον B\*ACHP, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Eus., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V.; εαυτον μεγαν (or μεγαν εαυτον) A<sup>2</sup>DE tol., Flor., Gig., Syr. Pesh., Cyr., Or., Hier.

<sup>2</sup> προσεκολληθῇ 13, Chrys., Cyr.; προσεκληθῇ BABC<sup>2</sup> 17, 31, Cyr., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (Blass in β), Hilg.; προσεκληθῇ C\*D\*EHP—προσεκληθῇ orig. only here in N.T., others = interpretations of it. ὡσει BHP, Cyr.; but ως B<sup>2</sup>ABCDE, Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνηρέθη, instead D has διελυθη δι' αὐτου (διελυθησαν omitted below). Eus. and Par. read κατελυθη (the latter *dissolutus est* = διελ. or κατελ.); see Blass, who maintains with Belser that this word rather than ἀνηρέθη is required by Gamaliel's argument, but why? αὐτω, after this word διελ. omitted by D, και om. in d, and και ἐγεν. in Par.<sup>1</sup> but διελ. (*dissoluti sunt*) retained. (Weiss holds that the corrector refers ως the subject of κατελυθη not to Θεودᾶς but to ἀριθμος.)

against Gamaliel's appearance as a member of the Council, cf. Derenbourg, *u. s.*, pp. 201, 213. On the words attributed to Gamaliel see below.—νομοδιδάσκαλος: only in St. Luke and St. Paul, cf. Luke v. 17, 1 Tim. i. 7, almost = γραμματεὺς, νομικός, not found in LXX.—βραχύ (τι): = "a little while," R.V., Luke xxii. 58, "a little space," A.V.; ambiguous, in classical Greek the word might be used as either βραχύ, a short distance, Xen., *Anab.*, iii., 3, 7, or ἐν βραχεῖ, "in a short time," Herod., v., 24, cf. Thuc., vi., 12. In Acts xxvii. 28 the word may be taken either of space or time (see Blass). In the LXX it is used of space in 2 Sam. xvi. 1, and 2 Sam. xix. 36, and most likely of degree in Psalm viii. 6 (although the expression may be taken of time, cf. Heb. ii. 7, 9, R.V.), and of time in Psalm xciii. 17, and in Isa. lvii. 17 (Weiss, Westcott; but see Hatch and Redpath, doubtful). But whether we take the word of space or time in this passage, it is noteworthy that St. Luke alone of the N.T. writers can be said to use βραχύ temporally (in Hebrews it is a quotation), Friedrich, and so Klostermann, *Vindiciae Lucanae*, p. 54.—ἔξω ποιεῖν (*hinausthun*): only here in this sense, cf. Blass, *in loco*, for classical instances, and cf. Psalm cxli. 8 (Symmachus)—Weiss, Wendt.

Ver. 35. ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῆται, see on ii. 22. προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς: phrase only found in St. Luke, cf. Luke xii. 1, xvii. 3, xxi. 34, and Acts xx. 28. προσέχειν without the pronoun is found six times in Matthew alone of the Evangelists, but in LXX frequently used in the phrase πρόσχε σεαυτῷ. The phrase may be connected with ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τού-

τοις, "as touching these men, what you are about to do," R.V., hence the reading ἀπὸ τῶν, etc., E. Or we may take it with μέλλετε πράσσειν, "what you are about to do to these men". In favour of the latter it may be said that the construction πράσσειν τι ἐπὶ τινι is very common, whereas προσέχειν ἑαυτοῖς is never found in construction with ἐπὶ, and that this rendering rightly marks the evidently emphatic position of τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (so Weiss, Wendt, Holtzmann, Hackett).—τί μέλλετε πράσσειν, *quid acturi sitis*, Vulgate. Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 36, μέλλειν never found with future infinitive except in the phrase μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι used in Acts, almost always has a present infinitive, although its force is akin to that of the future (Grimm-Thayer); also Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 120. μέλλειν is used over thirty times in Acts in all its parts, and is found very often in St. Luke's Gospel.

Ver. 36. πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν: Gamaliel appeals to the experience of the past—the phrase is placed first with emphasis, cf. xxi. 38; on St. Luke's fondness for phrases with ἡμέρα see above, and Friedrich, pp. 9, 89. But whilst Gamaliel appeals to the past, his appeal is not to a remote but to a near past which was still fresh in the memories of his generation, perhaps because, as St. Chrysostom urges, such recent examples μάλιστα πρὸς πίστιν ἦσαν ἰσχυρά.—ἀνέστη, cf. vii. 18, like the Hebrew דָּרָךְ, and so constantly in LXX, Exod. i. 8, Deut. xiii. 1, xxxiv. 10, Judg. ii. 10, iv. 9, v. 7, etc.—Θεὸς δας: St. Luke evidently places Theudas before Judas. But



εἰς οὐδέν. 37. μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ ἀπέστησε λαὸν ἱκανόν<sup>1</sup> ὅπισω αὐτοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> ἱκανόν om. **NA**\*B 81, d, Vulg., Eus., Cyr.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. πολλὸν in CD, so Hilg., but not retained by Blass in **β**. ἀπώλετο, Par. reads κατελυθη; "recte," says Blass, who receives κατέλ. in **β**. This will be only consistent with the former rejection of ἀνηρέθη.

a difficulty arises from the fact that the only Theudas of this period known to us is placed by Josephus in the reign of Claudius, about the year 44, 45. He gave himself out as a false prophet, gathered round him "a great part of the people," and persuaded them to follow him to the Jordan with a promise that its waters should miraculously divide before him as in the days of Moses. But the Roman procurator, Cuspius Fadus, sent a troop of horse to meet him, some of his followers were slain, others taken captive, whilst he himself was made prisoner and beheaded, and his head sent to Jerusalem, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 5, 1. But a serious chronological discrepancy must be faced if the Theudas of Josephus is the Theudas of St. Luke. Gamaliel speaks of a Theudas who arose before the days of the enrolment, R.V., which marked the attempt of Judas, *i.e.*, about 6-7 A.D. But are they the same? As early as the days of Origen their identity was denied (*c. Cels.*, i., 57), see "Acts," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, Bishop Lightfoot, p. 40, and in comparing the two accounts in Josephus and Acts there is no close resemblance beyond the name, see Nösgen, *in loco*, and Belser, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, i., p. 70 (1896). St. Luke speaks definitely of 400 followers; Josephus evidently considers that the pretender was much more successful, so far as numbers were concerned, for he writes: *πείθει τὸν πλείστον ὄχλον*. These and similar discrepancies are also well insisted upon by Zahn in his recent *Introduction*, ii., 416, 417 (1899), and his own conclusion is that only such ordinary words are common to the two accounts as Luke, *ἀνηρέθη*; Jos., *ἀνέειλε*; Luke, *ἐπέθοντο*; Jos., *ἐπέπειθε*; and that we cannot get beyond the bounds of possibility that the two authors refer to the same fact (on Zahn's criticism of Krenkel's view of the dependence of Luke on Josephus in the narrative, see *u. s.*). In referring to the appearance of the many false Messiahs, such as the Theudas of Josephus, *Ant.*, xx., 5, 1, Dr. Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, p. 66, remarks: "Of course this could not have been the

Theudas of Acts v. 36, 37, but both the name and the movement were not solitary in Israel at the time"; see also Ramsay, *Was Christ born in Bethlehem?* p. 259. And no testimony could be stronger than that of Josephus himself to the fact that at the time of the Advent Judæa was full of tumults and seditions and pretenders of all kinds, *Ant.*, xvii., 10, 4, 8; *B. J.*, ii., 4, 1. The view has been maintained by many commentators that the Theudas of Josephus may reasonably be supposed to be one of the many false teachers and leaders mentioned by the Jewish historian and not always by name, who pandered to the feverish hopes of the people and gave themselves out as of kingly rank—(so recently Belser, Felten, Page, Plumptre, Knabenbauer). The name Theudas contracted from Theodorus may not have been so common as that of Simon or Judas (although on the other hand, see Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 147)—"Josephus describes four men bearing the name of Simon within forty years, and three that of Judas within ten years, all of whom were instigators of rebellion"—but it was the Greek equivalent to several familiar Hebrew names, *e.g.*, Jonathan, Matthias; and Bishop Lightfoot allows that there is something to be said for Wieseler's suggestion that on the ground of the name the Theudas here may be identified with Matthias, the son of Margalothus, an insurgent in the time of Herod, prominent in the pages of Josephus, *Ant.*, xvii., 6, 2 (see also Zöckler on the whole question, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 197, 2nd edit.). We must admit the objection of Wendt that this and other identifications of names and persons cannot be proved (and some of them certainly are very precarious, as Alford pointed out), but we cannot suppose that St. Luke could have made the gross blunder attributed to him in the face of his usual accuracy (see Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 90), or endorse with Schürer what he calls "the slight authority of the Acts in such matters" (*Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 169). If it is hardly possible that Josephus can have been mistaken, although some writers

κακέινους ἀπώλετο, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν.

38. καὶ τὰ νῦν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων, καὶ

have held that it is by no means impossible that even here he may have been (*cf.* Alford, Rendall, Belser, and compare the remarks of Zahn, *ubi supra*), we may at least claim the same probability of freedom from error for St. Luke, "temporum bene memorem se scriptor monstrat: quo minus est probabile eum de Theuda tam graviter errasse quam plerique putant" (Blass), and see the recent remarks of Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 252 ff. It cannot be said that some recent attempts at a solution of the difficulty are very promising; for whilst H. Holtzmann severely blames Blass for maintaining that some Christian had interpolated the name Theudas in the text of Josephus (see Blass, *in loco*, and p. xvi., edit. min.), he himself is prepared to endorse the view recently maintained amongst others by Clemen that the writer of Acts in his mention of Theudas gives us a vague but yet recognisable recollection of Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 5, 1; see *in loco* and *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 3, 1896, and 13, 1897. B. Weiss thinks that the notorious difficulty may easily be got rid of by supposing that the reviser inserted the example of Theudas in the wrong place, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 574.—*λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν*: of consequence, really "somebody," *cf.* viii. 9 (and R.V.); "ein grosser Mann," Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 76; so we have its opposite, οὐδεὶς, *cf.* instances in Wetstein in classical Greek; so in Latin *quidam*, *aliquis*, Juvenal, i., 74; Cicero, *ad Atticum*, iii., 15; and *cf.* also 1 Cor. iii. 7, Gal. ii. 6, vi. 3; Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 148 (1893). And yet the jealous eye of the Pharisees was blind to the difference between such a man as Theudas, whom Gamaliel so contemptuously described, and the Apostles who sought not their own honour (Nösgen); *cf.* Vulgate, "dicens se esse aliquem," so Rhem. and Wycl., "saying that he was somebody".—*προσεκολλήθη*: better reading *προσεκλήθη*, a word not found elsewhere in N.T., *cf.* 2 Macc. xiv. 24; and so also in LXX, *cf.* Ps. xxxix. (xl.) 2, Symmachus; *cf.* Polyb., iv., 51, 5; so also *πρόσκλησις*; for its further use see Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xlvii., 4.—*ὥστέ (ὡς) τετρακοσίων*, see above on "Theudas".—*ἀνηρέθη*, see also on *ἀναιρέω*, ver. 33, often of violent death in Acts. The two clauses stand in sharp contrast—the

one emphasises the large number which joined Theudas, the other the fact that notwithstanding he was slain; *cf.* iv. 10.—*διελύθησαν κ.τ.λ.*: nowhere else in N.T., but its use is quite classical, *cf.* Thuc., ii., 12; Xen., *Cyr.*, v., 5, 43; Polyb., iv., 2. Blass remarks that the whole phrase "apte de secta quæ paulatim dilabatur, minus apte de multitudinem per vim disjecta".—*ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν*: phrase only here in N.T. (*cf.* xix. 27), but see in LXX, Job xxiv. 25, Isa. xl. 17, Wisd. iii. 17, xx. 16. *γίνομαι εἰς* in LXX and also in classics; in N.T. *cf.* Luke xiii. 19, xx. 17, Acts iv. 11, and *cf.* 1 Thess. iii. 5. In the first passage it is Hebraistic; in the passage before us and in 1 Thess. the phrases are quite possibly Greek, *cf.* especially Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 143. The phrase is more frequent in St. Luke's writings than in any other books of the N.T., except the Apocalypse.

Ver. 37. *Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλ.*: here too an inaccuracy might have been charged against St. Luke, but it is to be noted that while Josephus speaks of Judas as a Gaulonite in one passage, Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 1, 1, he frequently, as both Belser and Wendt point out, speaks of him as a Galilean, *cf.* *Ant.*, xviii., 1, 6; xx., 5, 2; *B.* 7., ii., 8, 1, and 17, 8. But the name Galilean might easily be given to him because Galilee was the scene of his exploits, or because Gamala, his home, belonged to Lower Gaulonitis, which was reckoned as part of Galilee. The accuracy of St. Luke in the account of Judas is remarkable, for Gamaliel speaks of his insurrection as coming to nothing. He could so speak, say in 34 or 35 A.D., but not some ten years later, when the followers of Judas had again gathered together, and formed a kind of school or party, to say nothing of the rebellion of his three sons, James, Simon, and later, Menahem; see Belser, *u. s.*, p. 61, so Lightfoot, *u. s.*, Nösgen, and Alford's note.

As we consider the characteristics of such men as Theudas and Judas, it is difficult to suppose that the age which produced them could have produced the Messiah of the Gospels. He is, in truth, the Anti-Christ of Judaism. Instead of giving Himself out to be somebody, Jesus is meek and lowly of heart; instead of stirring revolt in Galilee, a burning furnace of sedition, His blessing is upon



ἐάσατε αὐτούς<sup>1</sup>· ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἢ βουλὴ αὕτη ἢ τὸ ἔργον  
τούτου, καταλυθήσεται· 39. εἰ δὲ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἐστίν, οὐ δύνασθε καταλύσαι

<sup>1</sup> After αφετ. αὐτούς (W.H., R.V.) DE, Flor. insert *μη μιαναντες τας χειρας* (E has *μολυνοντες*), d *non coinquinatas manus*, e *non coinquinantes manus*, Flor. *non maculetis manus vestras*. Blass and Hilg. follow D. Chase thinks that the gloss arose in Syriac by assim. of O.T. passages, cf. Isa. lix. 3; but see Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 79 ff., as against this, and for the possible deriv. from Syriac through the trans. of *δυνήσεσθε* (W.H., R.V.), and for theories that the gloss has moved away (as in other instances according to H.) from its right place. Belser sees in each word of the β recension in vv. 38 and 39 "the stamp of originality". Mr. Harold Smith suggests that there was a gloss on *εάσατε* (αφετε) αὐτούς from ver. 33: *μη αναρουντες*—*ΜΗΑΝΑΙΟΥΝΤΕC*—then *μη* became repeated—*ΜΗΜΗΑΝΑΙΟΥΝΤΕC*—the second *μη* became *ΜΙ* (by itacism), while *ΑΙΡ* dropped out after *ΑΝ*. This produces *ΜΗΜΙΑΝΟΥΝΤΕC* which would easily be read *μη μιαναντες*—*τας χειρας* being added for sense. *ἀναιρεῖν* is very common in *Acts*.

the peace-makers; instead of seeking a kingly crown, like Judas the Gaulonite, He withdraws from those who would take Him by force, and make Him a king; instead of preaching revolt and licence in the name of liberty for merely selfish ends, He bade men render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; instead of defiantly bidding His followers to be in subjection to no man, and inaugurating a policy of bloodshed and murder, He bade them remember that whilst One was their Master and Teacher, they all were brethren. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. iii., p. 80, E.T., well points out that we have a literary memorial of the views and hopes of the Zealots in the *Assumption of Moses*, which goes so far as to prophesy that Israel will tread on the neck of the eagle, i.e., the Romans, x. 8; but see also edition of *Assumption of Moses* by Prof. Charles, p. 42.

Ver. 37. ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογ., see Blass, *in loco*, on St. Luke's accuracy. We must be careful to distinguish this from Luke ii. 1. The tribal method of numbering which forms an essential part of St. Luke's story in the Gospel may explain why no such serious disturbance followed as resulted from the Roman numbering and valuation which marked Quirinius' second Roman administration, "the great census," ἡ ἀπογ. (in 6-8 A.D.), taken when Judæa had just become a part of the Roman province of Syria. This "great census," taken after the Roman method, involved the imposition of a tax, Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 1, 1, and it was this impost which roused the indignation of Judas. To pay tribute to a foreign power was to violate an Israelite's allegiance to Jehovah: "We have no Lord and Master

but God," was the watchword of Judas and his followers. For the whole subject see Ramsay, *Expositor*, April and June, 1897, and *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* (1898), e.g., pp. 107, 108, 127, 139.—καὶ ἀπέστησε λαόν: used here transitively, and here only in the N.T., cf. Deut. vii. 4, and in classical writers, Herod., i., 76. The verb ἀφίστημι is not found in any of the Gospels except St. Luke's, where it occurs four times, and in the Acts six times. It is not only one of the words characteristic of the two books, but also of St. Luke and St. Paul (so also μεθίστημι, see on xix. 26), as it is only found once outside St. Paul's Epistles (in which it is employed four times), viz., Heb. iii. 12; "drew away some of the people." R.V. There is no word which actually expresses this as in T.R., where we have ἱκανόν = "much," A.V.—ὁπίσω αὐτοῦ: this prepositional use of ὅπ. is not found in classical writers, where the word is always an adverb. In the N.T. and LXX the prepositional use is derived from Hebrew *אַחֲרָיו*, cf. xx. 30, Luke ix. 23, xxi. 8. Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 126.—διεσκορπίσθησαν: it is true that the sect revived under the name of Zealots, and played an active part in the Jewish wars, but there is no reason for charging St. Luke's account with inaccuracy (so Overbeck following De Wette). The fate of the leader and the dispersion of his followers was quite sufficient to point the moral which Gamaliel wished to draw.

Ver. 38. καὶ τὰ νῦν, cf. also in iv. 29, xvii. 30, xx. 32, xxvii. 22. τὰ neuter accusative absolute—as respects the present, now, cf. 2 Macc. xv. 8; thus in all parts of Acts, *Vindicia Lucana*, Klostermann, p. 53, so Zeller, *Leke-*

αὐτό,<sup>1</sup> μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὐρεθῆτε. 40. Ἐπείσθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκαλεσάμενοι τοὺς ἀποστόλους, δείραντες παρήγγειλαν μὴ λαλεῖν

<sup>1</sup> αὐτο C\*HP, Vulg. (clem. and demid.), Sah., Boh., Syr. Pesh., Chrys.; αὐτους ABC<sup>2</sup>DE, Vulg. (am. fu.), Syr. Harcl., Arm., Aeth., Bede, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.—αὐτο may have come in from το εργον τουτο. Flor. apparently paraphrases latter part of verse, see Blass β. After αὐτους E, Gig., Wern. add οὐτε υμεις οὐτε οι αρχοντες υμων; D, Flor., Syr. Harcl. mg. demid. add οὐτε υμεις οὐτε βασιλεις οὐτε τυραννοι, so Hilg. Belser lays special stress on these words, whilst Weiss only sees here and in the following words of D unfortunate attempts at emending; cf. Wisd. xii. 14, οὐτε βασιλευς η τυραννος, and see also below on vi. 10. D, Syr. Harcl. mg., Flor. demid., 33 mg., 180 add απεχεσθε ουν απο των ανθρωπων των. Weiss sees an empty repetition of ver. 38, but Belser finds in απεχ. that which tables the construction of the following μήποτε και κ.τ.λ. to run quite smoothly.

buch, Friedrich. The expression is quite classical.—ἐάσατε: ἐάω characteristic of Luke, and is only used once elsewhere in the Gospels, Matt. xxiv. 43 (also 'n 1 Cor. x. 13), but twice in St. Luke's Gospel, and seven times in Acts—ἀφίημι occurs only thrice in Acts; viii. 22, xiv. 17.—καταλυθήσεται, "will be overthrown," R.V. *evertere*, Blass, so Rendall. This rendering gives the proper force of the word; it is not διαλύομαι as in ver. 36, which might be rendered "will be dissolved," but κατά indicates subversion, cf. Rom. xiv. 20, Acts vi. 14, Gal. ii. 18; cf. 2 Macc. ii. 22, 4 Macc. iv. 16, and frequently *ibid.*, Vulgate, "dissolvetur".

Ver. 39. ἐάν . . . εἰ δέ: it has sometimes been thought that the change of mood from subjunctive to indicative, "but if it is of God," as if indicating that the second supposition were the more probable (cf. Gal. i. 8, 9), indicates sympathy on the part of Gamaliel. It is of course possible that he may have been rendered favourably disposed towards the Christians by their strict observance of the Law, and by their appeal to a doctrine which widely divided Pharisees and Sadducees. Others have attributed the change in mood, not to Gamaliel at all, but to the author (so Overbeck, Holtzmann), and have maintained (so Blass, Weiss, cf. Winer-Moulton, xli. 2) that the indicative may be used because the second is the case with which the Council had actually to deal, the assertion, *i.e.*, of the Apostles. There may also be an underlying contrast between the transitoriness of all mere human schemes, all of which would be overthrown, and the certainty of that which is "of God," and which has Him for its Author. There cannot be the least ground for supposing that Gamaliel's counsel was in its tenor a mere invention, as it bears the impress

of a thorough Rabbinical wise saying, cf. *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, v., 24 (Taylor, p. 93, second edition). See too Herod., ix., 16; Eur., *Hippol.*, vi., 76; for the construction, cf. Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 96, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, pp. 103, 113 (1893), who compares LXX, Gen. xlv. 23, 26.—οὐ δύνασθε: R.V. and W.H., *δυνήσεσθε*. καταλύσαι with accusative of person in Xen., *Cyr.*, viii., 5, 24; Plato, *Legg.*, iv., p. 714, C., cf. 4 Macc. iv. 16. But without this addition it is usual to refer back to προσέχετε in ver. 35 (cf. Luke xxi. 34) for the construction of μήποτε; but μήποτε . . . εὐρεθῆτε may be explained on the principle that a verb of fearing is sometimes unexpressed, the idea of fear being supplied by the context (in clauses where μή with the subjunctive is found), Burton, *u. s.*, p. 96.—μήποτε, "lest haply," its use in later Greek, Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 208. καὶ sometimes interpreted (so Alford, Wendt, Holtzmann), as if it meant not only against man but also against God. θεομάχοι: not found elsewhere, but cf. LXX, Job xxvi. 5, Symm., and in Prov. ix. 18, xxi. 16, applying the word to the Rephaim (see B.D.<sup>2</sup> "Giants"); in 2 Macc. vii. 19 we have θεομαχεῖν ἐπεχειρήσας. In classical Greek the same verb is found, see Grimm and Wendt for instances; θεομαχία, Plato, *Rep.*, 378, D. (as certain books of the *Iliad* were called, especially the xix.). The tolerance of the sentiments here attributed to Gamaliel is undoubtedly in perfect accordance with what we know of his character and opinions; the decisions attributed to him, *e.g.*, that relating to the law of the Sabbath (Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 2, 237; see also Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine*, pp. 239-246, and cf. also Renan, *Apostles*, p. 153, E.T.), are marked by a



ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς. 41. Οἱ μὲν οὖν<sup>1</sup>  
ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου, ὅτι ὑπὲρ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> μὲν οὖν (Flor. δε), D, Par. add ἀποστολοι, so Hilg.; Flor. adds ἀπολυθέντες, cf. iv. 23; Blass in β combines both.

tendency to mildness and liberality; and perhaps a still more remarkable illustration of the same tendency is afforded by the enactment so often referred to him (Hamburger, *u. s.*) to allow to the poor of the heathen, as well as of Israel, the gleanings and a participation in the corn left standing in the corner of the fields, to inquire after the welfare of the Gentile poor, to maintain them, to visit their sick, to bury their dead (the prayer against heretics belonged not to this Gamaliel, but to Gamaliel II.). But the decision of Gamaliel was not prompted by any sympathy with the Christians; it was the judgment of toleration and prudence, but certainly nothing more, although it scarcely falls under the head of "cynical"; it was rather, as Ewald called it, that of an ordinary politician. No credence whatever can be attributed to the tradition that Gamaliel became a Christian, or that he was secretly a Christian, although we may sympathise with St. Chrysostom's words, "it cannot be that he should have continued in unbelief to the end". The Talmud distinctly affirms that he died a Jew, and, if he had betrayed his faith, we cannot understand the honour which Jewish tradition attaches to his name, "Gamaliel," B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 364. Wendt, while he refuses to admit the historical character of the speech of Gamaliel, is evidently puzzled to discover any definite grounds for St. Luke's wilful introduction of the famous Rabbai into the scene (so too Feine). He therefore supposes that the decision in ver. 38, in which he sees a wise saying similar to those attributed to other Rabbis, was assigned by tradition to Gamaliel, and that St. Luke, who was in possession of the further tradition that Gamaliel had given a decisive judgment in the trial of the Apostles, introduces this saying into the speech which he attributes to Gamaliel as fitting to the occasion. But there is no indication in our authorities that the sentiment thus attributed to Gamaliel was in any way different from what might have been expected of him (see Schürer, *Jewish People*, *u. s.*). The chief objection to the speech, viz., the alleged anachronism involved in the mention of Theudas, really begs the

question as to its authenticity, and even on the supposition of an inaccuracy in the point mentioned, we cannot get rid of the fact that the attitude of Gamaliel in itself betrays no inconsistency. It was this alleged anachronism which caused Spitta to refer the incident of Gamaliel in this chapter to his inferior source B., and to refuse to adopt the solution of Weiss and Feine, who solved the difficulty involved in the mention of Theudas by introducing the hand of a reviser.

Ver. 40. ἐπεισέθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ: whatever scruples Gamaliel may have had in pressing matters against the Apostles, or even if the teaching of Christ, as some have conjectured, with much of which he might have sympathised as a follower of Hillel, had influenced his mind, or if, like Joseph of Arimathea, he too had not consented to the counsel and will of his fellow-Sanhedrists, there is no reason to suppose (see above) that he ever advanced beyond the compromise here suggested. It may be that Neander was right in his judgment that Gamaliel was too wise a man to render a fanatical movement more violent still by opposing it. Others however see in his words a mere *laissez-aller* view of matters, or a timid caution which betokened a mere waiter upon Providence. But at the same time there are occasions when Gamaliel's advice may not be out of place, see Bengel on ver. 38, and Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 110 ff.—δεῖραντες, Deut. xxv. 3, 2 Cor. xi. 24: the punishment was for minor offences, and it was now inflicted upon the Apostles because they had transgressed the command enjoined upon them previously, iv. 18. The Pharisees, probably by their superior number in the Sanhedrim (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii., 10, 6), were able to secure the following of Gamaliel's advice, and to prevent extreme measures against the Apostles, but they were not prepared to disregard the previous injunction of the Council which bade the Apostles refrain from uttering a word in the name of Jesus. But the Apostles themselves must have seen in the punishment a striking fulfilment of their Lord's words, as in the closing hours of His earthly life He foretold their future sufferings for His Name. The

δνόματος αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> κατηξιώθησαν ἀτιμασθῆναι· 42. πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ κατ' οἶκον οὐκ ἐπαύοντο διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστόν.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> After *ονοματος* a few cursives read *αυτον*; but om. *ἈΒCΔHΡ*, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> Flor., Gig. add *Jesus*, Par. adds *Christi* (see for variations Alford and Wendt). R.V., W.H., Weiss have *τον Χριστον Ιησουν*; D, Flor., Par. *τον κυρον Ι. Χ.*, so Hilg.

penalty which must have been a very painful one, although the command not to exceed forty stripes often led to its mitigation, was often inflicted by the synagogues, and not only by the great Sanhedrim, for all kinds of offences as against heretics and others. These verses 40-42, with the exception of the words *ἐπείσθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ*, were referred by Jüngst to the redactor on the ground that they do not fit in well after Gamaliel's speech, and that the Apostles would have been at once released, but the Apostles were punished for a transgression of the command previously laid upon them in iv. 18. According to Jüngst, who here follows Spitta, the original conclusion of the narrative is to be found in inserting after ver. 39, chap. vi. 7! Here we are told is a notice, which is quite out of place where it now stands, that a great number of the priests were obedient to the faith: this was the result of the speech of Gamaliel, and his warning not to be found "fighting against God"; a speech delivered in the Sanhedrim in the midst of the priests!

Ver. 41. *οἱ μὲν οὖν*: no answering δέ as after i. 6, ii. 41, but explained because immediately upon *ἐπορεύοντο* (which answers to *ἀπέλυσαν*) follows *χαίροντες*, marking the attitude of the Apostles, and showing how little they proposed to obey the injunction from fear of further punishment. But see also Mr. Rendall's note, and also his Appendix on *μὲν οὖν*, *Acts*, p. 163, in which he examines this view at length; according to him there is an answering δέ, but it is found in the antithesis to this sentence in chap. vi. 1, the connection being that the Apostles now became more absorbed in their spiritual work, and a murmuring arose in consequence of their neglect of the distribution of the common funds. But this antithesis does not seem natural, and a censure on the Apostles is not necessarily contained in vi. i. ff.—*ἐπορεύοντο χαίροντες*: "imperf. quia describitur modus" (Blass, *Grammatik des N. G.*, p. 186; if one prophecy of their Lord had

been already fulfilled, another was fulfilled in the sequel, Matt. v. 11, 12, Phil. i. 29.—*κατηξιώθησαν . . . ἀτιμασθῆναι*: oxymoron, cf. 2 Cor. vi. 8-10; cf. Bengel's note—he calls it "eximium oxy.". The verb *καταξ.* is used by St. Luke in his Gospel, xx. 35 (xxi. 36, T.R., but not W.H. or R.V.), and here; only found once elsewhere, 2 Thess. i. 5, in a passage where the thought of Christian suffering and inheritance is combined; 2 Macc. xiii. 12, 3 Macc. iii. 21, iv. 11, 4 Macc. xviii. 3. *ἀτιμασθῆναι* only used once elsewhere by St. Luke, cf. Luke xx. 11, where it is also found in connection with *δέρω*.—*ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόμ.*, "the Name"—i.e., the Name *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, cf. 3 John 7, and James v. 14 (ii. 7) (*τοῦ Κ.* doubtful), cf. also Clem. Rom., 2 Cor. (so called), xiii. 4, Ignat., *Ephes.*, iii., 1, used here as the absolute use of *Ω* in Lev. xxiv. 11, 16,

by which the Jews understood Jehovah. See Grimm, Mayor's *St. James* above, and Taylor, *Pirke Aboth*, p. 67, second edition; cf. *τῆς ὁδοῦ*, "the Way," ix. 2, etc.—*πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν*: the *τε* joins the imperfect *ἐπαύοντο* closely to the preceding, indicating the continuance of the work of the Apostles in spite of threats and blows, and of their resolve to welcome suffering for Christ as an honour = *κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν*. This use of *παύεσθαι* with the participle almost entirely in Luke and Paul may be regarded as a remains of literary usage, Luke v. 4, Col. i. 9, Ephes. i. 16 (Heb. x. 2); Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 193 (1893).—*ἐν τῷ ἱερ. καὶ κατ' οἶκον*: the words may mark a contrast between the public preaching which was not discontinued, cf. ver. 21, and the teaching continued at home in a household assembly, or *κατὰ* may be taken distributively, and refer to the Christian assemblies met together in various houses in the city, as in ii. 46. See Zöckler's note, and Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, pp. 259, 260.—*τὸν Χρ. ἰ.*: "Jesus as the Christ," R.V. The contents of the first Apostolic preaching, the sum and substance of the Apostles'



VI. 1. ἘΝ δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις πληθυνόντων τῶν μαθητῶν, ἐγένετο γογγυσμὸς τῶν Ἑλληνιστῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους, ὅτι παρε-

message to their fellow-countrymen. This is allowed and insisted upon by Schwegler, Renan, and others, but in the statement what an intimate knowledge of the life of Jesus is presupposed, and how great must have been the impression made by Him upon His daily companions!

CHAPTER VI.—Ver. 1. δὲ; cf. i. 15, and see above in v. 41. There seems no occasion to regard δὲ as marking a contrast between v. 41 and the opening of this chapter, or as contrasting the outward victory of the Church with its inward dissensions (as Meyer, Holtzmann, Zechler, see Nösgen's criticism *in loco*); simply introduces a new recital as in iii. 1. It may refer back to the notice in v. 14 of the increase of the disciples, and this would be in harmony with the context. On the expression ἐν ταῖς ἡμέρ. ταύτ., as characteristic of Luke, see above, and Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 9; in both his Gospel and the Acts expressions with ἡμέρα abound. Harnack admits that in passing to this sixth chapter "we at once enter on historical ground," *Expositor*, v., p. 324 (3rd series). For views of the partition critics see Wendt's summary in new edition (1899), p. 140, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, p. 390 ff. (1895), and also in commentary below. Wendt sees in vi. 1-7 the hand of the redactor, the author of Acts ii. 5; others suppose that we have in vi. the commencement of a new Hellenistic source; so Feine, J. Weiss, Hilgenfeld. Clemen refers vi. 7, 8 to his *Historia Petri*, whilst ver. 9 commences his *Historia Hellenistarum* (vv. 1-6 belong to a special source); others again see in chap. vi. the continuance of an earlier source or sources.—πληθυνόντων, when the number of the disciples was multiplying (present part.); verb frequent in LXX, sometimes intrans. as here, Exod. i. 20, etc., and see *Psalms of Solomon*, x., 1, and note in Ryle and James' edition; cf. also its classical use in its more correct form, πληθύνω, in the Acts: vi. 7, vii. 17, ix. 31, xii. 24. On St. Luke's fondness for this and similar words (Friedrich) see p. 73. Weiss calls it here a very modest word, introduced by one who knew nothing of the conversions in many of the preceding chapters. But the word, and especially its use in the present participle, rather denotes that the numbers went on increasing, and so

rapidly that the Apostles found the work of relief too great for them.—μαθητῶν, the word occurs here for the first time in the Acts (surely an insufficient ground for maintaining with Hilgenfeld that we are dealing with a new source). The same word is found frequently in each of the Gospels, twenty-eight times in Acts (μαθήτρια once, ix. 36), but never in the Epistles. It evidently passed into the ancient language of the early Church from the earthly days of the ministry of Jesus, and may fairly be regarded as the earliest designation of the Christians; but as the associations connected with it (the thought that Jesus was the διδάσκαλος and His followers His μαθηταί) passed into the background it quickly dropped out of use, although in the Acts the name is still the rule for the more ancient times and for the Jewish-Christian Churches; cf. xxi. 16. In the Acts we have the transition marked from μαθηταί to the brethren and saints of the Epistles. The reason for the change is obvious. During the lifetime of Jesus the disciples were called after their relationship to Him; after His departure the names given indicated their relation to each other and to the society (Dr. Sanday, *Inspiration*, p. 289). And as an evidential test of the date of the various N.T. writings this is just what we might expect: the Gospels have their own characteristic vocabulary, the Epistles have theirs, whilst Acts forms a kind of link between the two groups, Gospels and Epistles. It is, of course, to be remembered that both terms ἀδελφοί and ἄγιοι are also found in Acts, not to the exclusion of, but alongside with, μαθηταί (cf., e.g., ix. 26, 30, xxi. 4, 7, 16, 17): the former in all parts of the book, and indeed more frequently than μαθηταί, as applied to Christians; the latter four times, ix. 13, 32, 41, xxvi. 10. But if our Lord gave the charge to His disciples recorded in St. Matt. xxviii. 19, bidding them make disciples of all the nations, μαθητεύσατε (cf. also Acts xiv. 21 for the same word), then we can understand that the term would still be retained, as it was so closely associated with the last charge of the Master, whilst a mutual discipleship involved a mutual brotherhood (Matt. xxiii. 8). St. Paul in his Epistles would be addressing those who enjoyed through Christ a common share with himself in a holy fellowship and calling, and whom

he would therefore address not as μαθηταί but as ἀδελφοί and ἅγιοι. They were still μαθηταί, yet not of man but of the Lord (only in one passage in Acts, and that a doubtful one, ix. 43, is the word μαθηταί or μαθητής used of any human teacher), and the word was still true of them with that significance, and is still used up to a period subsequent (we may well believe) to the writing of several of Paul's Epistles, Acts xxi. 16. How the word left its impress upon the thought of the Church, in the claim of the disciple to be as his Master, is touchingly evidenced by the expressions of St. Ign., *Ephes.* i. 2; *Magn.*, ix., 2; *Rom.* iv. 2; *Tral.*, v., 2 (St. Polyc., *Martyr*, xvii., 3, where the word is applied to the martyrs as disciples of the Lord, and the prayer is offered: ὡν γένοιτο καὶ ἡμᾶς συγκοινωνούς τε καὶ συμμαθητάς γενέσθαι). — γογγυσμός and γογγύζειν are both used by St. Luke (*cf.* Luke v. 30), by St. John, and also by St. Paul, Phil. ii. 14, and 1 Cor. x. 10, the noun also by St. Peter, i. 4, 9. The noun is found seven times in the LXX of Israel in the wilderness (*cf.* 1 Cor. x. 10); so in Phil. ii. 14 it is probable that the same passage, Exod. xvi. 7, was in the Apostle's mind, as in the next verse he quotes from the Song of Moses, Deut. xxxii. 5, LXX; so γόγγυσις is also found in LXX with the same meaning, Numb. xiv. 27. γογγυσμός is also found in Wisd. i. 10, Eccles. xlvi. 7, with reference to Numb. xiv. 26, 27, and twice in Psalms of Solomon v. 15, xvi. 11. In Attic Greek τονθυρισμός would be used (so τονθυρίζω and τονθυρίζω). Phrynichus brands the other forms as Ionian, but Dr. Kennedy maintains that γογγυσμός and γογγύζειν from their frequent use in the LXX are rather to be classed amongst "vernacular terms" long continued in the speech of the people, from which the LXX drew. Both words are probably onomatopoeic.—Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, pp. 38-40, 72, 73, 76; see also Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 463; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 106. Here the word refers rather to *indignatio clandestina*, not to an open murmuring. — Ἑλληνιστῶν. The meaning of the term, which was a matter of conjecture in St. Chrysostom's day, cannot be said to be decided now (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 48). The verb Ἑλληνίζειν, to speak Greek (Xen., *Anab.*, vii., 3, 25), helps us reasonably to define it as a Greek-speaking Jew (so also Holtzmann and Wendt). The term occurs again in ix. 29 (and xi. 20? see

*in loco*), and includes those Jews who had settled in Greek-speaking countries, who spoke the common Greek dialect in place of the vernacular Aramaic current in Palestine, and who would be more or less acquainted with Greek habits of life and education. They were therefore a class distinguished not by descent but by language. This word "Grecians" (A.V.) was introduced to distinguish them from the Greeks by race, but the rendering "Grecian Jews" (R.V.) makes the distinction much plainer. Thus in the Dispersion "the cultured Jew was not only a Jew but a Greek as well"; he would be obliged from force of circumstances to adapt himself to his surroundings more or less, but, even in the more educated, the original Jewish element still predominated in his character; and if this was true of the higher it was still more true of the lower classes amongst the Hellenists—no adoption of the Greek language as their mode of speech, no separation of distance from the Holy City, no defections in their observances of the law, or the surrender as unessential of points which the Pharisees deemed vital, could make them forget that they were members of the Commonwealth of Israel, that Palestine was their home, and the Temple their pride, see B.D.<sup>3</sup>, "Hellenist," Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 282, E.T.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 3, "Griechenthum". But bearing this description in mind, we can the more easily understand the conflict with Stephen, and his treatment by those who were probably his fellow-Hellenists. If as a cultured Hellenist St. Stephen's sympathies were wider and his outlook less narrow than that of the orthodox Jew, or of the less educated type of Hellenist, such a man, who died as St. Stephen died with the prayer of Jesus on his lips (see Feine's remarks), must have so lived in the spirit of his Master's teaching as to realise that in His Kingdom the old order would change and give place to new. But the same considerations help us to understand the fury aroused by St. Stephen's attitude, and it is not difficult to imagine the fanatical rage of a people who had nearly risen in insurrection because Pilate had placed in his palace at Jerusalem some gilt shields inscribed with the names of heathen gods, against one who without the power of Pilate appeared to advocate a change of the customs which Moses had delivered (see Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 69). — Ἑβραῖοι—in W.H. with smooth breath-



θεωροῦντο ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῇ καθημερινῇ αἱ χῆραι αὐτῶν.<sup>1</sup> 2. προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ<sup>2</sup> οἱ δώδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν, εἶπον, Οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> At end D adds ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ τῶν Ἑβραίων, according to Flor. οτι ἐν τ. καθ. διακ. αἱ χ. τῶν Ἑλλ. ὑπο τῶν διακονῶν τῶν Ἑβρ. παρεθεωρ. Blass in β reads simply after αἱ χ. αὐτῶν the words ὑπο τῶν διακ. τῶν Ἑβραίων.

<sup>2</sup> οὐν CEHP, Vulg.; δε B, so Tisch., W.H. text, R.V. marg., Weiss, Wendt; δη A, so Lach., W.H. marg. D reads τι οὐν ἐστὶν ἀδελφοί; ἐπισκεψ., so Flor., Par.; cf. xxi. 22 (Weiss).

ing, see W.H., Introduction, p. 313, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 40; here those Jews in Palestine who spoke Aramaic; in the Church at Jerusalem they would probably form a considerable majority, cf. Phil. iii. 5, and Lightfoot's note. In the N.T. Ἰουδαῖος is opposed to Ἕλλην (Rom. i. 16), and Ἑβραῖος to Ἑλληνιστής, Acts vi. 1. In the former case the contrast lies in the difference of race and religion; in the latter in the difference of customs and language. A man might be called Ἰουδαῖος, but he would not be Ἑβραῖος in the N.T. sense unless he retained in speech the Aramaic tongue; the distinction was therefore drawn on the side of language, a distinction which still survives in our way of speaking of the Jewish nation, but of the Hebrew tongue. See Trench, *Synonyms*, i., p. 156 ff. In the two other passages in which Ἑβρ. is used, Phil. iii. 5 and 2 Cor. xi. 22, whatever difficulties surround them, it is probable that the distinctive force of the word as explained above is implied. But as *within* the nation, the distinction is not recognised by later Christian writers, and that it finds no place at all in Jewish writers like Philo and Josephus, or in Greek authors like Plutarch and Pausanias (Trench, *u. s.*).—πρὸς, cf. St. Luke v. 30, ἐγγύς τ. μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.—παρεθεωροῦντο: not found elsewhere in N.T. and not in LXX, but used in this sense in Dem. (also by Diodorus and Dion. Hal.) = παρορᾶν, Attic: imperfect, denoting that the neglect had been going on for some time; how the neglect had arisen we are not told—there is no reason to suppose that there had been previously Palestinian deacons (so Blass in β, critical notes), for the introduction of such a class of deacons, as Hilgenfeld notes, is something quite new, and does not arise out of anything previously said, although it would seem that in the rapidly growing numbers of the Church the Hebrew Christians regarded their Hellenist fellow-Christians as having only a secondary claim on their care. Possibly the supply for the Hellenists fell short, simply be-

cause the Hebrews were already in possession. The Church had been composed first of Galileans and native Jews resident in Jerusalem, and then there was added a wider circle—Jews of the Dispersion. It is possible to interpret the incident as an indication of what would happen as the feeling between Jew and Hellenist became more bitter, but it is difficult to believe that the Apostles, who shared with St. James of Jerusalem the belief that *θηρσκέα* consisted in visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction, could have acted in a spirit of partiality, so that the neglect, if it was due to them, could be attributed to anything else than to their ignorance of the greatness of the need.—διακονία, see below on ver. 2.—καθημερινῇ: not found elsewhere in N.T. or in LXX, only in Judith xii. 15. It is a word only used in Hellenistic Greek, cf. Josephus, *Ant.*, iii., 10, 1; but it may be noted that it is also a word frequently employed by medical writers of a class of fevers, etc. See instances in Hobart, pp. 134, 135, and also in Wetstein, *in loco*.—αἱ χῆραι αὐτῶν: not merely a generic term for the poor and needy—under the Mosaic dispensation no legal provision was made for widows, but they would not only receive the privileges belonging to other distressed classes, but also specific regulations protected them—they were commended to the care of the community, and their oppression and neglect were strongly condemned—it is quite possible that the Hellenistic widows had previously been helped from the Temple Treasury, but that now, on their joining the Christian community, this help had ceased. On the care of the widow in the early Church, see James i. 27 (Mayor's note); Polycarp, *Phil.*, vi., 1, where the presbyters are exhorted to be εὐσπλαγχνοὶ μὴ ἀμελοῦντες χήρας ἢ ὀρφανοῦ ἢ πένητος, and cf. iv. 3. The word χήρα occurs no less than nine times in St. Luke's Gospel, three times in the Acts, but elsewhere in the Evangelists only three times in St. Mark (Matt. xxiii. 14, omitted by W.H. and R.V.), and two

of these three in an incident which he and St. Luke alone record, Mark xii. 42, 43, and the other time in a passage also peculiar to him and St. Luke (if we are justified in omitting Matt. xxiii. 14), *viz.*, Mark xii. 40.

Ver. 2. *προσκαλεσάμενοι δὲ οἱ δώδεκα*: whatever may have been the irritation caused by the pride or neglect of the Hebrews, the Apostles recognised that there was ground for complaint, and thus showed not only their practical capacities, but also their freedom from any partiality. *οἱ δώδε.*: only here in Acts, but *cf.* 1 Cor. xv. 5, where St. Paul uses the title as if it were well and widely known, and required no explanation from him. It is found six times in St. Luke's Gospel, and no less than ten in St. Mark's. See also above i. 26, ii. 14. — *τὸ πλῆθος* = the whole Church, not the hundred-and-twenty, as J. Lightfoot. The expression is a general one, and need not imply that every single member of the Church obeyed the summons. For the word *πλῆθος* and the illustration of its use in religious communities on the papyri by Deissmann, see p. 73. The passage has been quoted in support of the democratic constitution of the Apostolic Church, but the whole context shows that the government really lay with the Apostles. The Church as a whole is under their direction and counsel, and the Apostles alone determine what qualification those chosen should possess, the Apostles alone lay hands upon them after prayer: "The hand of man is laid upon the person, but the whole work is of God, and it is His hand which toucheth the head of the one ordained, if he be duly ordained" (Chrys., *Hom.*, xiv.). The dignity of the Apostles, and their authority as leaders of the Church and ordainers of the Seven, is fully recognised by Feine, but he considers that their position is so altered, and the organisation of the Church so much more developed, that another source and not the Jerusalem *Quellenschrift* must be supposed; but if, as Feine allows, such passages as iv. 34, v. 2, belong to the Jerusalem source, it would appear that the authority of the Apostles in the passage before us was a very plain and natural development.—*καταλείψαντας*: on the formation of the first aorist see Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 43, and also Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 18; Winer-Schmiedel, p. 109.—*διακονεῖν τραπέζαις*: there seems to be an intentional antithesis between these words and *τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ λόγου* in ver.

3. The Twelve do not object to the work of ministering, but only to the neglect of ministering to the higher sustenance for the sake of the lower (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 206); thus Bengel speaks of the expression as used with indignation, "Antitheton, *ministerium verbi*". *διακονία* and *διακονεῖν* are used for ministrations to man, although more usually of man to God; *cf.* Acts xix. 22, of service to St. Paul, *διακονία*, Acts xi. 29, xii. 25, of service to the brethren of Judæa in the famine, Rom. xv. 25, 31, 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1, 12, 13, of the Gentile collections for the same purpose, so too probably in Rom. xvi. 1 of the service rendered by Stephanas to travelling Christians, *cf.* Heb. vi. 10, and its use of the verb in the Gospels of ministering to our Lord's earthly wants, Luke viii. 3, x. 40 (both noun and verb), John xii. 2; *cf.* also Luke xii. 37, xxii. 27, Matt. iv. 11, Luke iv. 39; see further on the use of the word in classical Greek, Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 203. The word had a high dignity conferred upon it when, in contrast to the contemptuous associations which surrounded it for the most part in Greek society, Epictetus remarks that it is man's true honour to be a *διάκονος* of God (*Diss.*, iii., 22, 69; 24, 65; iv. 7, 20; *cf.* iii. 26, 28), and a dignity immeasurably higher still, when the Son of Man could speak of Himself as in Matt. xx. 28, Mark x. 45; *cf.* Luke xxii. 27. "Every clergyman begins as a deacon. This is right. But he never ceases to be a deacon. The priest is a deacon still. The bishop is a deacon still. Christ came as a deacon, lived as a deacon, died as a deacon: *μὴ διακονῆθῃναι, ἀλλὰ διακονῆσαι*" (Lightfoot, *Ordination Sermons*, p. 115). In the LXX the verb does not occur at all, but *διάκονος* is used four times in Esther i. 10, ii. 2, vi. 3, 5, of the king's chamberlains and of the servants that ministered to him, and once in 4 Macc. ix. 17; *διακονία* is also found in two of the passages in Esther just quoted, vi. 3 and 5, where in A we read *οἱ ἐκ τῆς διακονίας* (BS *διάκονοι*), and once in 1 Macc. xi. 58, of the service of gold sent by Jonathan to Antiochus. What is meant by the expression here? does it refer to distribution of money or in kind? The word in itself might include either, but if we were to limit *διακονία* to alms, yet the use of the word remarked upon above renders the service higher than that of ordinary relief: "*ministration*," says St. Chrysostom (although he takes it of alms, *Hom.*, xiv.), "extolling by this at once the doers and



ἀρεστόν ἐστιν ἡμᾶς, καταλείψαντας τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, διακονεῖν τραπέζαις. 3. ἐπισκέψασθε οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἄνδρας ἐξ ὑμῶν μαρτυροῦ-

those to whom it was done". But *τραπέζαις* presents a further difficulty; does it refer to the tables of exchange for money, a rendering which claims support from Matt. xxi. 12, xxv. 27, Luke xix. 23, John ii. 15, or to tables for food, Luke xvi. 21, xxii. 21, 30? Possibly the use of the word in some passages in the N.T., and also the fact that the *διακονία* was *καθημερινή*, may indicate the latter, and the phrase may refer to the actual serving and superintending at the tables at which the poor sat, or at all events to the supplying in a general way those things which were necessary for their bodily sustenance. Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte* (second edition), refers the word to the ministration of the gifts of love offered at the Eucharist in the various Christian houses (so Scaliger understood the expression of the *Agapæ*). Mr. Humphry reminds us that the words were quoted by Latimer (1548) in a sermon against some bishops of his time who were controllers of the mint.

Ver. 3. *ἐπισκέψασθε οὖν*: the verb, though frequently used by St. Luke in both his writings, is not elsewhere used in the sense of this verse, "look ye out," cf. *σκέπτεσθαι* in Gen. xli. 33.—*μαρτυροῦμένους*, cf. Heb. xi. 2, 39, and cf. 4, 5, and 1 Tim. v. 10, Acts x. 22, xxii. 12, also xvi. 2; cf. its use also in Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xvii. 1; xviii. 1, etc.; Ignat., *Phil.*, xi. 1; *Ephes.*, xii. 2. See also the interesting parallels in Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 93. In Jos., *Ant.*, iii. 2, 5, and xv. 10, 5, it is used as here, but of hostile testimony in Matt. xxiii. 31, John xviii. 23.—*ἐπτά*: why was the number chosen? Various answers have been given to the question: (1) that the number was fixed upon because of the seven gifts of the Spirit, Isa. xi. 2, Rev. i. 4; (2) that the number was appointed with regard to the different elements of the Church: three Hellenists, three Hebrews, one Proselyte; (3) that the number was regulated by the fact that the Jerusalem of that day may have been divided into seven districts; (4) that the number was suggested by the Hebrew sacred number—seven; (5) Zöckler thinks that there is no hypothesis so probable as that the small Jerusalem *ἐκκλησίαι κατ' οἶκον* were seven in number, each with its special worship, and its special business connected with alms-giving and distribu-

tion—alms-giving closely related to the Eucharist or to the Love-Feasts; (6) the derivation of the number from Roman usage on the analogy of the *septemviri epulones* advocated by Dean Plumptre, officials no doubt well known to the *Libertini* (see also B.D.<sup>2</sup> "Deacon," and the remarks of Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 375, on Roman organisation and its value). This is far more probable than that there should be any connection between the appointment of the Seven and the two heathen inscriptions quoted by Dr. Hatch (*Bampton Lectures*, p. 50, note 56), in which the word *διάκονος* is used of the assistants in the ritual of sacrificial and temple feasts at Anactorium in Acarnania and Metropolis in Lydia (see on the other hand, Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 210), for in the incident before us the word *διάκονος* is not used at all, and later in the history, xxi. 8, Philip is described not by that title but as one of the Seven. Nor is there any real likeness to be found between the office assigned to the Seven and that of the Chazzan or officer of the Jewish synagogue (*ὑπηρέτης*, Luke iv. 20), who corresponded rather to our parish-clerk or verger, and whose duties were confined to the synagogue; a nearer Jewish parallel is to be found in the

*גבאי הקהילה*, collectors of alms, but these officers would rather present a parallel to the tax-gatherers than to those who ministered to the poor (see "Deacon" in Hastings, B.D.). Whilst, however, these analogies in Jewish offices fail us, we stand on much higher ground if we may suppose that as our Lord's choice of the Twelve was practically the choice of a number sacred in its associations for every Israelite, so the number Seven may have been adopted from its sacredness in Jewish eyes, and thus side by side with the sacred Apostolic College there existed at this period another College, that of the Seven. What was the nature of the office? Was it the Diaconate in the modern sense of the term? But, as we have noted above, the Seven are never called Deacons, and therefore it has been thought that we have here a special office to meet a special need, and that the Seven were rather the prototypes of the later archdeacons, or corresponded to the elders who are mentioned in xi. 30 and xiv. 23. On the other hand St. Luke,

μένους ἑπτὰ, πλήρεις Πνεύματος <sup>1</sup> Ἁγίου καὶ σοφίας, οὓς καταστήσω-  
μεν <sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τῆς χρείας ταύτης · 4. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ διακονίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> ἁγιον om.  $\aleph$ BC<sup>2</sup>D 137, 180 (Vulg. am. fu. lux), Syr. Harcl., Chrys.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> καταστήσομεν  $\aleph$ ABCDE, Bas., Chrys., Wendt, Weiss, W.H; καταστήσωμεν HP (d, e, Vulg.).

from the prominence given to the narrative, may fairly be regarded as viewing the institution of the office as establishing a new departure, and not as an isolated incident, and the emphasis is characteristic of an historian who was fond of recording "beginnings" of movements. The earliest Church tradition speaks of Stephen and Nicolas as ordained to the diaconate, Iren., *Adv. Haer.*, i., 26; iv., 15, and the same writer speaks of Stephen as "the first deacon," iii., 12; cf. also the testimony of St. Cyprian, *Epist.*, 3, 3, and the fact that for centuries the Roman Church continued to restrict the number of deacons to seven (Cornelius, ap. *Euseb. H. E.*, vi., 43). It is quite true that the first mention of *διάκονοι* in the N.T. (although both *διακονία* and *διακονεῖν* are used in the passage before us) is not found until *Phil.* i. 1, but already a deaconess had been mentioned in writing to the Church at Rome (xvi. 1, where Phœbe is called *διάκονος*), in the Church at Philippi the office had evidently become established and familiar, and it is reasonable to assume that the institution of the Seven at Jerusalem would have been well known to St. Paul and to others outside Palestine, "and that analogous wants might well lead to analogous institutions" (Hort, and to the same effect, Gore, *The Church and its Ministry*, p. 403). But if the Seven were thus the prototypes of the deacons, we must remember that as the former office though primarily ordained for helping the Apostles in distribution of alms and in works of mercy was by no means confined to such duties, but that from the very first the Seven were occupied in essentially spiritual work, so the later diaconate was engaged in something far different from mere charity organisation; there were doubtless qualifications demanded such as might be found in good business men of tact and discretion, but there were also moral and spiritual qualities which to a great extent were required of the *διάκονοι* no less than of the *πρεσβύτεροι* and *ἐπισκοποι*: there was the holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience, there was the

moral and spiritual courage which would enable the *διάκονοι* to gain even in the pursuit of their *διακονία* "great boldness in the faith which is in Christ Jesus," 1 Tim. iii. 13 (Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 138 ff.); see also on the whole subject, Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 139 ff.; Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 206 ff.; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, "Dissertation on the Christian Ministry," and *Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theol. und Kirche* (Hauck), "Diakonen" (Heft 38, 1898). —*σοφίας*: practical wisdom, *prudentia*, cf. 1 Cor. vi. 5 (Blass, so Grimm); in ver. 10 the use of the word is different, but in both places *σοφία* is referred to the Spirit, "it is not simply spiritual men, but full of the Spirit and of wisdom . . . for what profits it that the dispenser of alms speak not, if nevertheless he wastes all, or be harsh and easily provoked?" Chrys., *Hom.*, xiv.—*οὓς καταστήσομεν* (on the reading *whom ye*, which was exhibited in some few editions of A.V., see *Speaker's Commentary*, *in loco*): the appointment, the consecration, and the qualifications for it, depend upon the Apostles—the verb implies at all events an exercise of authority if it has no technical force, cf. Titus i. 5. The same shade of meaning is found in classical writers and in the LXX in the use of the verb with the genitive, with *ἐπὶ*, sometimes with a dative, sometimes with an accusative: Gen. xxxix. 4, xli. 41, Exod. ii. 14, xviii. 21, Num. iii. 10, Neh. xii. 44, Dan. ii. 48, 49, 1 Macc. vi. 14; cf. its use in Luke xii. 14, 42, 44. The opposite is expressed by *μεταστήσασθαι ἀπὸ τῆς χρ.*, Polyb., iv., 87, 9; 1 Macc. xi. 63 (Wendt).—*χρείας*: the word might mean need in the sense of necessity, Latin *opus*, want, 2 Chron. ii. 16, Wisdom xiii. 16, 1 Macc. iii. 28, or it might mean business, Latin *negotium*, *officium*. In the LXX it seems to be employed in both senses, as also in classical writers, but here both A. and R.V. render "business" (so in Polybius), cf. Judith xii. 10 AB., 1 Macc. x. 37, xi. 63, xii. 45 (*χρεῖα* is found no less than eight times in 1 Macc., seven times in 2 Macc., once in 3 Macc.); see Wetstein



τοῦ λόγου προσκατερήσομεν.<sup>1</sup> 5. καὶ ἤρρεσεν ὁ λόγος<sup>2</sup> ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ πληθους· καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον, ἄνδρα πλήρη<sup>3</sup> πίστεως καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, καὶ Φίλιππον, καὶ Πρόχορον καὶ Νικάνορα, καὶ

προσκατερησομεν; D, Flor., Gig., Par., Vulg. read εσομεθα . . . προσκατερουντες. This participial construction with the substantive verb is characteristic of St. Luke, and occurs with the same verb as here in i. 14, ii. 42, viii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> ο λογος; D, Flor. (Gig.) add ουτος; Harris refers to retrans. from Latin, παντος του πληθους; D adds των μαθητων, so Hilg.; Flor. substitutes παντων των μαθητων, so Blass in β.

<sup>3</sup> πληρη BC corr., T.R.; so Weiss, Wendt, W.H., R.V.; πληρης BZC\*DEHP so Lach. See further below.

for uses of the word in Philo and Josephus.

Ver. 4. ἡμεῖς δὲ: in marked contrast to the service of tables, etc., but still every work in the Church, whether high or low, was a διακονία.—τῇ διακ. τοῦ λ., see above.—προσκατερήσομεν, "will continue steadfastly," R.V., see above on i. 14.—τῇ προσ., "the prayer" (Hort); the article seems to imply not only private prayer and intercession, but the public prayer of the Church.

Ver. 5. ἤρρεσεν ἐνώπιον: phrase not usual in classical Greek; but ἐνώ. in this sense, so κατενώπιον ἐναντι κατέναντι, derived from the LXX (ἐναντίον frequent in LXX, is also classical); cf., e.g., Deut. i. 23 A, 2 Sam. iii. 36, 1 Kings iii. 10, xx. (xxi.) 2, Jer. xviii. 4, Ju. vii. 16, xiii. 20, 1 Macc. vi. 60, viii. 21 (ἐναντίον, S), where the whole phrase occurs. Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 125, and see on iv. 10.—πλήθους, cf. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 60, and above on p. 73.—ἐξελέξαντο, see above, cf. xv. 22, 25, always in the middle in N.T. (Luke ix. 35 doubtful), so in LXX. Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 181, nearly always = ἤθη.

On the importance of the step thus taken as marking a distinct stage in the organisation of the Church, and in the distribution of work amongst the members of what was now a true body politic, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 372; Hort., *Ecclesia*, p. 52, and on its further importance in the emancipation of the Church, see Lightfoot's "Paul and the Three". The choice of the names has often been held to indicate the liberal spirit in which the complaint of the Hellenists was met, since the Seven bear purely Greek names, and we infer that the bearers were Hellenists, "elegant ergo Graecos non Hebraeos, ut magis satisfacerent murmuri Graecorum" Cornelius à Lapide. But the inference is not altogether certain, however pro-

bable (see Wendt, Felten), for Greek names, e.g., Philip, Didymus, Andrew, were also found amongst the Palestinian Jews. Bengel holds that part were Hebrew, part Hellenist, whilst Gieseler hazarded the opinion that three were Hebrews, three Hellenists, and one a proselyte. But we cannot conclude from the fact that they were probably Hellenists, that the Seven were only charged with the care of distribution amongst the Hellenist section of the Church, as there is nothing in the narrative to warrant this. We cannot say that we know anything of the Seven except Stephen and Philip—Stephen the preacher and martyr of liberty, Philip the practical worker (Lightfoot, "Paul and the Three"). Baronius hazarded the fanciful conjecture that Stephen as well as Saul was a pupil of Gamaliel. Both Stephen and Philip were said to have been amongst the Seventy, Epiphanius, *Haer.*, xx., 4 (but see Hooker, v., lxxviii., 5). If so, it is possible that they may have been sent to labour in Samaria as our Lord had laboured there, Luke ix. 52, xvii. 11; and possibly the after work of Philip in that region, and possibly some of the remarks in St. Stephen's speech, may be connected with a mission which had been committed to Hellenistic Jews. See further on his name and work, Dean Plumptre, *in loco*, and also below, notes on chap. vii. He may well be called not only the proto-martyr, but also the first great Christian Ecclesiastic (B.D.<sup>1</sup> "Stephen").—The description given of Stephen (as of Barnabas, so closely similar, xi. 24, cf. Numb. xxvii. 18 of Joshua) shows that the essential qualifications for office were moral and spiritual; see also below on Φίλιππον.—πλήρη: in some MSS. the word appears as indeclinable, W.H. margin, so in ver. 3, xix. 28, Mark viii. 19, 2 John 8. Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 81. St. Luke uses the adjective twice in his

Τίμωνα καὶ Παρμενᾶν, καὶ Νικόλαον προσήλυτον Ἀντιοχέα, 6. οὗς  
ἔστησαν ἐνώπιον τῶν ἀποστόλων· καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς

Gospel, and eight times in the Acts; on his fondness for such words, see p. 73.—*πίστεως*: not in the lower sense of honesty or truthfulness, but in the higher sense of religious faith, *cf.* xi. 24, "non modo fidelitate sed fide spirituali," Bengel.—*Φίλιππον*, *cf.* viii. 5, xxi. 8: we may probably trace his work also along the coasts of Palestine and Phœnicia, *cf.* viii. 40, xv. 3, xxi. 3, 7 (Plumptre's notes on these passages), and no doubt St. Luke would have learnt from him, when he met him at Cæsarea, xxi. 8, much that relates to the early history of the Church, *Introd.*, 17. It would appear both in his case and in that of St. Stephen that the duties of the Seven could not have been confined to service of the tables. In the deacons M. Renan saw a proclamation of the truth that social questions should be the first to occupy the attention of man, and the deacons were, for him, the best preachers of Christianity; but we must not forget that they did not preach merely by their method and works of charity, but by a proclamation of a Saviour and by the power of the Holy Ghost. In the reference to Philip in xxi. 8 as simply "one of the Seven" we may fairly see one of the many proofs of the unity of the authorship of *Acts*, see Salmon, *Introd.*, chapter xviii., and Lightfoot, "Acts," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and see further, Salmon in the same chapter, on the proof which is afforded in the account of Philip of the antiquity of the *Acts*; see below also on xxi. 8.—*Πρόχορον*: tradition says that he was consecrated by St. Peter Bishop of Nicomedia, and a fabulous biography of John the Evangelist had his name attached to it, as a companion of the Apostle in Asia, and his biographer—but we cannot attach any credence to any such professed information; see Blass, *in loco*, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, 1895, p. 426; B.D.<sup>1</sup> iii. *sub v.* Of Simon, Parmenas, Nicanor, it cannot be said that anything is known, as is frankly admitted by the Romanist commentator Felten.—*Νικόλαον προσήλυτον* 'A.: that the name proselyte is given to him has been held by many to mark him out as the only proselyte among the Seven; otherwise it is difficult to see why he alone is so designated (so Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 375, Lightfoot, Hort, Weiss, Felten, and amongst earlier writers, De Wette and Ewald). No doubt he was a proselyte of the higher and more com-

plete type (a "proselyte of the gate," the lower type—as distinct from a "proselyte of righteousness"—is always in Acts *φοβούμενος* or *σεβόμενος τὸν θεόν*), but Ramsay sees in his election to office another distinct step in advance: "the Church is wider than the pure Jewish race, and the non-Jewish element is raised to official rank," although, as Ramsay himself points out, there was nothing in this step out of harmony with the principle of the extreme Judaistic party (*St. Paul*, p. 375, *cf.* 157). The case of Cornelius was of a different kind, see below on chap. x. But the notice is all the more interesting because it contains the first mention of the Church afterwards so important, the Mother Church of the Gentiles, Antioch in Syria, and this may point to the reason of the description of Nicolaus as a proselyte of Antioch. It was a notice of special interest to St. Luke if his own home was at Antioch, but we cannot say positively that the notice means that Nicolaus was the *only* proselyte among the Seven. That the Jews were numerous at Antioch and had made many proselytes we learn from Jos., *B. J.*, vii., 3, 3: of the supposed connection between this Nicolaus and the sect of the Nicolaitans, Rev. ii. 6, 14, we may hesitate to say with Blass that it is worthy of no more credit than the notice which attaches to Prochorus, although we may also well hesitate to accept it, but it has been advocated by Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 297, and recently by Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 199. Zöckler goes so far as to see in the list of the Seven a copy of the list of the Apostles, inasmuch as the most distinguished is placed first, the traitor last. But Nicolaus would be fitly placed last if he were the only proselyte. The Patristic evidence in support of the connection in question is by no means conclusive, see Ritschl, *Alt-katholische Kirche*, p. 135 and note (second edition), Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 140, and Wendt, *in loco*, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, p. 425 (1895). Holtzmann on Rev. ii. 6 holds that the Nicolaitans, who are not to be connected with Nicolaus the deacon, may = symbolically, the Bileamites, ver. 14; so Grimm, *sub v.* *Νικολαΐτης*, if we take the latter as coinciding with the Hebrew

מְחַלֵּל = destruction of the people.



τὰς χεῖρας. 7. καὶ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἤξανε, καὶ ἐπληθύνετο ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν μαθητῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ σφόδρα, πολὺς τε ὄχλος τῶν ἱερέων<sup>2</sup> ὑπήκουον τῇ πίστει.

<sup>1</sup> Θεοῦ  $\aleph$ ABCHP; but DE 180, Vulg., Par., Syr. Harcl., Chrys., Orint. read Κυρίου.

<sup>2</sup> ἱερέων; but  $\aleph^*$  Syr. Pesh., Theophyl. read ἰουδαίων. (See below.)

Ver. 6. ἔστησαν, cf. i. 23; for ἐνώπιον, see above.—καὶ προσευξάμενοι ἐπέθηκαν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας: change of subject. This is the first mention of the laying on of hands in the Apostolic Church. No doubt the practice was customary in the Jewish Church, Num. xxvii. 18, Deut. xxxiv. 9; see also Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 281, and *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 382, and Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie*, ii., 6, pp. 882-886, "Ordinierung, Ordination"; Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 216; Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, pp. 187, 382; but the constant practice of it by our Lord Himself was sufficient to recommend it to His Apostles. It soon became the outward and visible sign of the bestowal of spiritual gifts in the Apostolic Church, cf. Acts viii. 15, xiii. 3, 1 Tim. iv. 14, v. 22, 2 Tim. i. 6, and every convert was instructed in its meaning as one of the elementary teachings of the faith, Heb. vi. 2. That the act was a means of grace is evident from St. Paul's words, for he reminds Timothy of the grace thus bestowed upon him, 1 Tim. iv. 14, 2 Tim. i. 6, and from the narrative of St. Luke in viii. 15, 17, and passages below. But that it was not a mere outward act dissociated from prayer is evident from St. Luke's words in the passage before us, in viii. 17, xiii. 3, and xix. 6. See especially Hooker, v., lxvi., 1, 2; see below in viii. and xiii., and Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, especially note G. Holtzmann would draw a distinction between the laying on of hands here and in viii. 17, xix. 6. Here, he contends, it only corresponds to the customary usage at the ordination of a Rabbi, as the Seven had already received the Holy Ghost, ver. 3, 5, cf. xiii. 1. But ver. 8 undoubtedly justifies us in believing that an accession of power was granted after the laying on of hands, and now for the first time mention is made of St. Stephen's τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα (see St. Chrysostom's comment).

Ver. 7. τῶν ἱερέων: the reading ἰουδαίων is advocated by Klostermann, *Probleme in Aposteltexte*, pp. 13, 14, but not only is the weight of critical evidence overwhelmingly against it, but we can

scarcely doubt that St. Luke would have laid more stress upon the first penetration of the Christian faith into districts outside Jerusalem—this is represented as the result of the persecution about Stephen, viii. 4; cf. John xii. 42 (see also Wendt, 1899, p. 145, note). The whole verse shows that the γογγυσμός had not interfered with the growth of the Church. The conjecture that in the word ὄχλος reference is made to the priests of the *plebs* in contrast to the learned priests is in no way satisfactory; if this had been the meaning, the words would have been πολλοὶ τε ἱερεῖς τοῦ ὄχλου, and no such distinction of priests is anywhere noticed in the N. T., see further below.—ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ: Hilgenfeld (so Weiss) considers that, as this notice implies that there were disciples outside Jerusalem, such a remark is inconsistent with the statements of the after-spread of the Church in this chapter and in viii., and that therefore the words ἐν Ἱ. are to be referred to the "author to Theophilus". But so far from the words bearing the interpretation of Hilgenfeld, the historian may have introduced them to mark the fact that the growth of the Church continued in Jerusalem, in the capital where the hierarchical power was felt, and that the growth included the accession of priests no less than of laymen.—ὑπήκουον τῇ πίστει: the imperfect may denote repetition—the priests kept joining the new community, Blass, *in loco*; cf. Rom. i. 5, ii. 16, 17, x. 16, 2 Thess. i. 8—the verb (very frequent in LXX) is only used in Acts in this place in the sense given, but often in St. Paul's Epistles. No doubt when the number of Jewish priests was so large (according to Josephus, twenty thousand) both poor and wealthy would have been included in the statement, and we cannot limit it to the Sadducees. It must be borne in mind that the obedience of these priests to the Christian faith need not of necessity have interfered with the continuance of their duties in the Temple (so Felten), especially when we remember the attitude of Peter and John; but the words certainly seem to mark their complete obedience to the

8. ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ δὲ πλήρης πίστεως<sup>1</sup> καὶ δυνάμεως ἐποίει τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μεγάλα ἐν τῷ λαῷ. 9. ἀνέστησαν δὲ τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνα-

<sup>1</sup> πίστεως HP, Syr. Harcl., Chrys.; cf. ver. 5. χάριτος NABD, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syr. Pesh., Arm., Bas., Did.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Hilg. After λαῷ D (Syr. H. mg.), Par. (E, Flor., Gig.), so Hilg., add δια τοῦ ονόματος κυρίου I. X.; cf. iv. 30 (and in *Classical Review*, July, 1897, p. 319).

faith (see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v. πίστις*, i. b, α), and in face of the opposition of the Sadducees and the more wealthy priestly families, an open adherence to the disciples of Jesus may well have involved a break with their former profession (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 49, and *Ecclesia*, p. 52). May there not have been many among the priests waiting for the consolation of Israel, men righteous and devout like the Pharisee priest or priests, to whom perhaps we owe that expression of the hopes of the pious Jew in the *Psalms of Solomon*, which approach so nearly in style and character to the Hymns of the priest Zacharias and the devout Symeon in the early chapters of St. Luke's Gospel? see Ryle and James's edition, *Psalms of Solomon*, Introd., lix., lx. Spitta refers the whole verse to his source B, as a break in the narrative, without any connection with what follows or precedes. Clemen assigns vi. 1-6 to his special source, *H(istoria) H(ellenistarum)*; vi. 7 to his *H(istoria) Pe(tri)*. Jüngst assigns vi. 1-6. 7b, c, to his source B, 7a to his R(edactor). The comment of Hilgenfeld on ver. 7 is suggestive (although he himself agrees with Spitta, and regards the verse as an interpretation), "Clemen und Jüngst nicht einmal dieses Verstein ungeteilt".

Ver. 8. πλήρης πίστεως, but χάριτος, R.V. Vulgate, *gratia* = divine grace, xviii. 27, not merely favour with the people—the word might well include, as in the case of our Lord, the λόγοι χάριτος which fell from his lips (Luke iv. 22). On the word as characteristic of St. Luke and St. Paul, see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 28, 96; in the other Gospels it only occurs three times; cf. John i. 14, 16, 17. See Plummer's note on the word in *St. Luke*, l. c.—δυνάμεις: not merely power in the sense of courage, heroism, but power to work miracles, supernatural power, cf. viii. 13 and Luke v. 17. That the word also means spiritual power is evident from ver. 10.—ἐποίει, "was doing," imperfect, during Stephen's career of grace and power the attack was made; notice

imperfect combined with aorist, ἀνέστησαν, see Rendall's note. In ver. 8 Spitta sees one of the popular legendary notices of his source B. St. Stephen is introduced as the great miracle-worker, who is brought before the Sanhedrim, because in v. 17, a parallel incident in B, the Apostles were also represented as miracle-doers and brought before the same assembly; it would therefore seem that the criticism which can only see in the latter part of the Acts, in the miracles ascribed to St. Paul, a repetition in each case of the miracles assigned in the former part to St. Peter, must now be further utilised to account for any points of likeness between the career of St. Stephen and the other leaders of the Church. But nowhere is it said that Stephen was brought before the Sanhedrim on account of his miracles, and even if so, it was quite likely that the ζῆλος of the Sanhedrim would be stirred by such manifestations as on the former occasion in chap. v.

Ver. 9. ἀνέστησαν: in a hostile sense, cf. Luke x. 25, Mark xiv. 57, and see above on v. 17.—τῆς συναγωγῆς: in Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome and the larger towns there was no doubt a considerable number of synagogues, but the tradition that assigned no less than four hundred and eighty to Jerusalem alone is characterised by Schürer as a Talmudic myth (*Jewish Temple*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 73, E.T.), so too Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, pp. 83, 252, but see also Renan, *Apostles*, p. 113, E.T.). The number four hundred and eighty was apparently fixed upon as the numerical equivalent of the Hebrew word for "full," in Isa. i. 21, a city "full of judgment". The names which follow have been variously classified, but they have always proved and still prove a difficulty. Ramsay considers that the bad form of the list is due to the fact that St. Luke is here dependent on an authority whose expressions he either translated *verbatim* or did not understand, *Expositor* (1895), p. 35. One thing seems certain, *viz.*, that Λιβερτίνων does not refer to any town Libertum in the neighbourhood of



ωγῆς τῆς λεγομένης<sup>1</sup> Λιβερτίνων, καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξανδρέων,  
καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας,<sup>2</sup> συζητοῦντες τῷ Στεφάνῳ · 10. καὶ

τῆς λεγομένης BCDEHP, Vulg. Syrr. P.H., Arm., Aeth. (Chrys.), so Lach., W.H., Weiss, Wendt; τῶν λεγομένων ῥΑ 13, 47, Gig., Sah., Boh., Chrys., so Tisch.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀσίας om. AD<sup>3</sup> d, so Lach., Hilg. brackets; may easily have dropped out after Κιλικίας. συζητοῦντες, B<sup>3</sup>HP.

Carthage, which has been urged as an explanation of the close juxtaposition of Cyrene, also in Africa. The existence of a town or region bearing any such name is merely conjectural, and even if its existence could be demonstrated, it is improbable that many Jews from such an obscure place should have been resident in Jerusalem. There is therefore much probability that St. Chrysostom was correct in referring the word to the Libertini, Ῥωμαῖοι ἀπελεύθεροι. The Libertini here were probably Roman "freedmen" who were formerly captive Jews brought to Rome by Pompey, B.C. 63 (Suet., *Tib.*, 36; Tac., *Ann.*, ii., 85; Philo., *Legat. ad Gaium*, 23), and afterwards liberated by their Roman masters. These men and their descendants would enjoy the rights of Roman citizenship, and some of them appear to have returned to Jerusalem, where they had their own community and a synagogue called συναγ. Λιβερτίνων (according to Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* Λιβερτ., some evidence seems to have been discovered of a "synagogue of the Libertines" at Pompeii), see Schürer, *Jewish Temple*, div. ii., vol. ii., pp. 57, 276, 277; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 89; and Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 201 (second edition). But a further question arises as to the number of synagogues intended. Thus it has been maintained that they were five in number. This is Schürer's decided view, Weiss, Meyer (in earlier editions), so Hackett, so Matthias, *Handbuch zum N. T.*, V. *Apostelgeschichte*, 1897. By other writers it is thought that reference is made to two synagogues. This is the view advocated by Wendt as against Meyer. Wendt admits that as in the places named there were undoubtedly large numbers of Jewish inhabitants, so it is possible that in Jerusalem itself they may have been sufficiently numerous to make up the five synagogues, but his own view is based upon the ground that τῶν before ἀπὸ Κ. καὶ Ἀ. is parallel with the τῶν after τινες (so Holtzmann, *Fel-*ten). So too Zöckler, who depends upon the simple καὶ before Κυρηναίων and

Ἀλεξ. as pointing to one group with the Libertines; τῶν ἀπὸ Κ. καὶ Ἀσίας forming a second group. Dr. Sanday, *Expositor*, viii., p. 327 (third series), takes the same view of two synagogues only, as he considers that it is favoured by the Greeks (so too Dean Plumptre and Winer-Moulton, xix., 5a, note, but see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 158; cf. critical note above). Mr. Page is inclined to think that three synagogues are intended: (1) i.e., of the Libertini, (2) another of the men of Alexandria and Cyrene, (3) another of the men of Cilicia and Asia; whilst many writers from Calvin, Bengel and others to O. Holtzmann and Rendall hold that only one synagogue is intended; so Dr. Hort maintains that the Greek suggests only the one synagogue of the Libertines, and that the other names are simply descriptive of origin—from the south, Cyrene, and Alexandria; from the north, Cilicia, and Proconsular Asia. On the whole the Greek seems to favour the view of Wendt as above; καὶ Κυρην. καὶ Ἀλεξ. seem to form, as Blass says, a part of the same appellation with Λιβερτίνων. Blass himself has recently, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 49 ff., declared in favour of another reading, Λιβυστίνων, which he regards as the correct text, Λιβερτίνων being corrupt although differing only in two letters from the original. In the proposed reading he is following Oecumenius and Beza amongst others; the same reading is apparently favoured also by Wetstein, who gives both the passages to which Blass refers, one from Catullus, lx., 1, "Leana montibus Libystinis," and the other from the geographical Lexicon of Stephanus Byzantinus. Λιβυστίνων would mean Jews inhabitants of Libya, not Libyans, and the synagogue in question bore the name of Λιβυσ. καὶ Κυρηναίων καὶ Ἀλεξ., thus specifying the African Jews in the geographical order of their original dwelling-places.—Κυρηναίων, see on ii. 9, and below, xi. 20, xiii. 1.—Ἀλεξ.: probably there was no city, next to Jerusalem and Rome, in which the Jewish population was so numerous and influential as in Alexan-

οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀντιστῆναι τῇ σοφίᾳ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ᾧ ἐλάλει.<sup>2</sup> 11. τότε<sup>3</sup>  
ὁπέβαλον ἄνδρας λέγοντας, Ὅτι ἀκηκόαμεν αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος ῥήματα

<sup>1</sup> After σοφία DE, Flor. add τῇ οὐσῃ ἐν αὐτῷ, so Hilg., and after πνεύματι DE, Flor., Gig., Par. add τῷ ἁγίῳ. (Harris regards as Montanist additions.)

<sup>2</sup> At end of verse 10 D (E), Syr. Harcl. mg., Flor., Wern. add δια το ελεγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτου μετα πασης παρρησιας; (11) μὴ δυναμενοι οὖν ἀντοφθαλμεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ so Hilg., Blass. E, διότι ηλεγχοντο . . . ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἠδυναντο ἀντιλεγεῖν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, possible influence of Luke xxi. 15, 2 Tim. iii. 8 (see Chase); Harris refers to Latin and regards as Montanistic. μετα π. παρρησιας characteristic of Luke and Paul, iv. 29, etc.; ἀντοφθαλμεῖν Acts xxvii. 15. Blass refers to Wisdom xii. 14 (also in Polyb.); cf. also v. 39 with Wisdom l.c.

<sup>3</sup> Both οὖν and τότε are retained by Blass in β, but see Weiss, Codex D, p. 66, Flor. reads τότε οὖν μὴ δυν.

dria. In his new city Alexander the Great had assigned the Jews a place: their numbers rapidly grew, and, according to Philo, two of the five districts of the town, named after the first five letters of the alphabet, were called "the Jewish," from the number of Jews dwelling in them, one quarter, Delta, being entirely populated by them. Julius Caesar and Augustus confirmed their former privileges, and they retained them for the most part, with the important exception described by Philo, during subsequent reigns. For some time, until the reign of Claudius, they had their own officer to represent them as ethnarch (alabarch), and Augustus appointed a council who should superintend their affairs according to their own laws, and the Romans evidently recognised the importance of a mercenary race like the Jews for the trade and commerce of the city. Here dwelt the famous teacher Philo, B.C. 20-A.D. 50; here Apollos was trained, possibly under the guidance of the famous philosopher, and here too St. Stephen may have belonged by birth and education (Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 253). St. Paul never visited Alexandria, and it is possible that the Apostle may have felt after his experience at Corinth, and the teaching of Apollos (1 Cor. i. 12), that the simplicity of his own message of Christ Crucified would not have been acceptable to hearers of the word of wisdom and the lovers of allegory. On the causes which tended to produce a distinct form of the Jewish character and faith in the city, see B.D.<sup>2</sup> "Alexandria," and Hastings, B.D., *sub v.*; Stanley's *Jewish Church*, iii., xlvii.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 1, 47. We know that Alexandria had, as was only likely, a synagogue at Jerusalem, specially gorgeous (Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 253); on the history

of the place see, in addition to literature already mentioned, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., pp. 73, 228, 229, 244, E.T.; Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 7, 2; x., 1; xix., 5, 2.—Κιλικίας: of special interest because Saul of Tarsus would probably be prominent amongst "those of Cilicia," and there is no difficulty in supposing with Weiss and even Spitta (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 115) that he belonged to the members of the Cilician synagogue who disputed with Stephen. To the considerable Jewish community settled in Tarsus, from the time of the Seleucidæ, Saul belonged. But whatever influence early associations may have had upon Stephen, Saul by his own confession was not merely the son of a Pharisee, but himself a Pharisee of the Pharisees in orthodoxy and zeal, Gal. i. 14, Phil. iii. 5. It would seem that there was a synagogue of the Tarsians at Jerusalem, *Megilla*, 26a (Hamburger, *u. s.*, ii., 1, 148); see also B.D.<sup>2</sup> "Cilicia," Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 222; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 100. The "Jews from Asia" are those who at a later date, xxi. 27, are again prominent in their zeal for the sacredness of the Holy Place, and who hurl against Paul the same fatal charge which he now directs against Stephen (Plumptre, *in loco*; Sabatier, *L'Apôtre Paul*, p. 20).—συνζητοῦντες: not found in LXX or other Greek versions of the O.T., or Apocrypha, although it may occur, Neh. ii. 4, in the sense of request, but the reading is doubtful (see Hatch and Redpath). In the N.T. it is used six times by St. Mark and four times by St. Luke (twice in his Gospel), and always in the sense of questioning, generally in the sense of disputatious questioning. The words of Josephus in his preface (sect. 5), B. 7., may help us to understand the characteristics of the Hellenists. The same verb is used by



βλάσφημα<sup>1</sup> εἰς Μωσῆν<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὸν Θεόν. 12. συνεκίνησάν τε τὸν λαὸν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τοὺς γραμματεῖς, καὶ ἐπιστάντες συνήρπασαν

βλάσφημα **Σ**ABCEHP, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss; βλασφημίας **Σ**<sup>\*</sup>D, Vulg., Flor., Gig., so Blass in **β**, and Hilg.

<sup>1</sup> Μωσῆν; but Μουσην **Σ**ABCDH, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Hilg. (See esp. Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 51, 52, and note 43.)

St. Paul himself, as in this same Jerusalem he disputed, possibly in their synagogue, with the Hellenists on behalf of the faith which he was now seeking to destroy, Acts ix. 29. In modern Greek the verb has always the meaning to *dis-*cuss, to *dispute* (Kennedy).

Ver. 10. καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀντιστῆναι: the whole phrase is an exact fulfilment of Luke xxi. 15, *cf.* 1 Cor. i. 17, ii. 6. πνεῦμα, as Wendt points out, was the Holy Spirit with which Stephen was filled, *cf.* 3, 5. Vulgate renders "Spiritui Sancto *qui loquebatur*," as if it read *δ*; see critical notes.

Ver. 11. ὑπέβαλον: only found here in N.T., not in LXX in this sense; *subornaverunt*; Vulgate, *submiserunt* (Suet., *Ner.*, 28), *cf.* Appian, *B. C.*, i., 74, ὑπεβλήθησαν κατήγοροι, and Jos., *B. J.*, v., 10, 41, μνηστής τις ὑπόβλητος.—*ῥήματα βλασφημίας* = βλάσφημα, Hebraism, *cf.* Rev. xiii. 1, xvii. 3, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 266.—*εἰς Μωσῆν καὶ τὸν Θεόν*: Rendall draws a distinction between λαλῶντος . . . εἰς and λαλῶν ῥήματα κατὰ in ver. 13, the former denoting charges of blasphemy *about* Moses, and the latter *against*, etc., *cf.* ii. 25, Heb. vii. 14, but it is doubtful whether this distinction can be maintained, *cf.* Luke xii. 10 and xxii. 65. The R.V. renders both prepositions *against*: *cf.* Dan., LXX, vii., 25, and iii. 29 (96; LXX and Theod.).

Ver. 12. συνεκίνησαν: not found in LXX or other Greek versions of O.T., or in the Apocrypha, *cf.* Polyb., xv., 17, 1, so too in Plutarch. As this word and συνήρπασαν are found only in St. Luke it is perhaps worth noting that they are both frequent in medical writers, see below.—τὸν λαόν: a crafty design to gain the people first, not only because they had hitherto favoured the Nazarenes, but because the Sanhedrim would be more inclined to take action if they felt that the people were with them, *cf.* iv. 26.—ἐπιστάντες, see on iv. 1.—συνήρπασαν, "seized him," R.V.; "caught," A.V., signifies rather capture after pursuit than a sudden seizure (Humphry);

only in St. Luke in the N.T., once in his Gospel, viii. 29, and Acts xix. 29, xxvii. 15. In the first passage it is used of the demoniac of the country of the Gerasenes; many times the evil spirit *συνήρπάκει αὐτόν*; see 2 Macc. vii. 27, Prov. vi. 25, 2 Macc. iv. 41, 4 Macc. v. 4. The word is also quite classical, see Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 204, 243; on the hostility against Stephen and its causes, see above. At this word *συνήρπ.* Hilgenfeld would stop, and the rest of the verse, ἤγαγον to vii. 2, is referred by him to his "author to Theophilus". The leading Stephen before the Sanhedrim is thus excluded by Hilgenfeld, because nothing is said of the previous summoning of the Council as in iv. 5, 6! and the introduction of false witnesses and their accusation is something quite different from the charge of blasphemous words against Moses and God! In somewhat the same manner Spitta refers vi. 1-6, 9-12a, to his source A, and sees so far a most trustworthy narrative, no single point in which can fairly be assailed by criticism, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 115, whilst vi. 7 f., 12b-15 constitute B, a worthless document on account of its legendary and fictitious character—instituting a parallel between the death of Stephen and that of Christ, and leaving nothing historical except the fact that Stephen was a conspicuous member of the early Church who died as a martyr by stoning. But whilst Hilgenfeld and Spitta thus treat the passage beginning with καὶ ἤγαγον, Jüngst refers these verses and the rest of the chapter as far as ver. 14 to his source A, whilst the previous part of ver. 12, συνεκίνησαν—αὐτόν, is in his view an insertion of the Redactor. Clemen regards the whole incident of the bringing before the Sanhedrim as a later addition, and as forming part of his *Historia Petri*, the revolutionary nature of Stephen's teaching being placed in the mouth of false witnesses, and the fanaticism of the Jews being lessened by their susceptibility at any rate to the outward impression made by their opponents (ver. 15).

αὐτόν, καὶ ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, 13. ἔστησάν τε μάρτυρας ψευδεῖς<sup>1</sup> λέγοντας, Ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος οὐ παύεται ῥήματα βλάβσημα<sup>2</sup> λαλῶν κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου καὶ τοῦ νόμου· 14. ἀκηκόαμεν γὰρ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος, Ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος οὗτος καταλύσει τὸν τόπον

<sup>1</sup> ψευδεῖς; D, Flor. add κατὰ αὐτοῦ, so Hilg.; ΞABCD om.

<sup>2</sup> βλασφημα, om. Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

Ver. 13. οὗτος: here and in ver. 14 used contemptuously, *iste*, so Vulgate; cf. vii. 40, xviii. 18, xix. 26, ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος.—οὐ παύεται λαλῶν: the words in themselves are sufficient to indicate the exaggerated and biased character of the testimony brought against Stephen—"invidiam facere conantur," Bengel, βλάβσημα omitted, see above.—μάρτυρας ψευδεῖς, "false," inasmuch as they perverted the meaning of Stephen's words, which were no blasphemy against Moses or against God, although no doubt he had taught the transitory nature of the Mosaic law, and that the true worship of God was not confined to the Temple (see Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i., 64, 83, E.T., and Wendt, p. 148 (1899)). So also in the very same manner Christ's words had been perverted (John ii. 21, cf. Mark xiv. 56, Matt. xxvii. 63), and it is likely enough that the spirit of His teaching as to the Sabbath, the laws of purifying, the fulfilling of the law, breathed again in the words of His disciples. But such utterances were blasphemous in the eyes of the Jewish legalists, and Stephen's own words, vii. 48, 49, might well seem to them an affirmation rather than a denial of the charges brought against him.—κατὰ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου: if τούτου is retained (W.H.), phrase could refer not only to the Temple as the holy place, but also to the place of assembly of the Sanhedrim, where according to ver. 15 the charge was brought, which was probably situated on the Temple Mount on the western side of the enclosing wall, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 190, E.T., so Hilgenfeld and Wendt, and also Blass, who adds "itaque etiam τούτου (B, cf. 14) recte se habet," although he omits the word in his own text. Weiss thinks that the word dropped out because it could have no reference to a scene in the Sanhedrim.

Ver. 14. ὁ Ναζ. οὗτος: not part of the words of Stephen, but of the witnesses—see however Blass, *in loco*.—καὶ καταλύσει: the closest similarity

to the words in Mark xiv. 58 (cf. Matt. xxvi. 61), and in both passages the same verb καταλύειν is used. It is also found in all three Synoptists in our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of the Temple, Matt. xxiv. 2, Mark xiii. 2, Luke xxi. 6, and we find it again in the bitter scorn of the revilers who passed beneath the cross (Mark xv. 29, Matt. xxvii. 40). The prophecy, we cannot doubt, had made its impression not only upon the disciples, but also upon the enemies of Jesus, and if St. Stephen did not employ the actual words, we can easily understand how easily and plausibly they might be attributed to him.—ἀλλάξει τὰ ἔθνη, cf. Ezra vi. 11, Isaiah xxiv. 5. ἔθνος is used by St. Luke seven times in Acts, three times in his Gospel, and it is only found twice elsewhere in the N.T., John xix. 40, Heb. x. 25; in the Books of the Maccabees it occurs three or four times, in Wisdom iv. 16 (but see Hatch and Redpath), in Bel and the Dragon v. 15, in the sense of custom, usage, as so often in the classics. Here it would doubtless include the whole system of the Mosaic law, which touched Jewish life at every turn, cf. xv. 1, xxi. 21, xxvi. 3, xxviii. 17. For the dignity which attached to every word of the Pentateuch, and to Moses to whom the complete book of the law was declared to have been handed by God, see Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 307, E.T., and Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 378 (1897). We have moreover the testimony of Jewish literature contemporary with the N.T. books, cf., e.g., *Book of Jubilees*, placed by Edersheim about 50 A.D., with its ultra-legal spirit, and its glorification of Moses and the Thorah, see too *Apocalypse of Baruch*, e.g., xv., 5; xlviii., 22, 24; li., 3; lxxiv., 2, 5.

Ver. 15. ἀνέλσαντες, see above on i. 10.—ὥσει πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου, cf. LXX, Esth. v. 2, where Esther says to the king in reverence εἰδὼν σε κύριε, ὡς ἄγγελον Θεοῦ; in 2 Sam. xiv. 17, 20, the reference is not to outward appearance, but to inward discernment (see Wetstein,



τοῦτον, καὶ ἀλλάξει τὰ ἔθῃ ἃ παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν Μωϋσῆς. 15. καὶ ἀτενίσαντες εἰς αὐτὸν<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντες οἱ καθέζομενοι ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ πρόσωπον ἀγγέλου.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ΑΤΕΝΙΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ, but in D ἠτενίζον δε αὐτῷ; and at the end of verse D, Flor. add ΕΣΤΩΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΜΕΣΦ ΑΥΤΩΝ; cf. iv. 7, etc. (and see below).

<sup>2</sup> On the words in Flor., "stantis inter illos," see esp. Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 70 ff. Blass regards the words as favourable to his theory and as part of Luke's own text. Hilg. retains them. Harris sees in them an instance (amongst many in D) of a wrongly inserted gloss from vii. 1; cf. Mark xiv. 60.

who refers also to Gen. xxxiii. 10, and quotes other instances from the Rabbis, e.g., Dixit R. Nathanael: parentes Mosi viderunt pulchritudinem ejus tanquam angeli Domini: and we have the same expression used by St. Paul in *Acta Pauli et Thekla*, 2; ἀγγέλου πρόσωπον εἶχεν. See too Schöttgen, *in loco*. R. Gedalja speaks of Moses and Aaron when they came to Pharaoh as angels ministering before God). At such a moment when Stephen was called upon to plead for the truth at the risk of his life, and when not only the calmness and strength of his convictions, but also the grace, the beauty of his Master, and the power of His spirit rested upon him, such a description was no exaggeration, cf. a striking passage in Dr. Liddon's *Some Elements of Religion*, p. 180. It was said of the aged Polycarp, as he faced a martyr's death: τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ χάριτος ἐπληροῦτο, and "to have lived in spirit on Mount Tabor during the years of a long life, is to have caught in its closing hours some rays of the glory of the Transfiguration". But if the brightness on the face of St. Stephen is represented by St. Luke as supernatural (as Wendt admits), we are not called upon to conclude that such a description is due to the glorification of the Saint in Christian legend: "the occasion was worthy of the miracle," the ministration of the Spirit, ἡ διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος, in which St. Stephen had shared, might well exceed in glory; and a brightness like that on the face of Moses, above the brightness of the sun, might well have shone upon one who like the angels beheld the face of the Father in heaven, and to whom the glory of the Lord had been revealed: "As if in refutation of the charge made against him, Stephen receives the same mark of divine favour which had been granted to Moses" (Humphry). St. Chrysostom speaks of the face of Stephen as being terrible to the Jews, but lovable and

wonderful to the Christians (cf. Theophylact, *in loco*). But although St. Stephen's words must afterwards have proved terrible to his opponents, we scarcely associate the thought of terror with the verse before us; we may speak of such faces as that of the proto-martyr as αἰδέσιμα but scarcely as φοβερά. It is possible that the representation of St. Stephen in sacred art as a young man may be due to this comparison of his face to that of an angel, angels being always represented as in the bloom of youth (Dr. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, first series, p. 84).

CHAPTER VII.—Ver. 1. The question of the high priest breaks in upon the silence (Holtzmann). St. Chrysostom, *Hom.*, xv., thought that the mildness of the inquiry showed that the assembly was overawed by St. Stephen's presence, but the question was probably a usual interrogation on such occasions (Felten, Farrar).—On εἰ see i. 6, and Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 254.

Ver. 2. Ἀνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, cf. St. Paul's address, xxii. 1, and also note on xxiii. 1. On St. Stephen's speech see additional note at the end of chapter.—ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δόξης: lit., "the God of the glory," i.e., the glory peculiar to Him, not simply ἑνδοξος, a reference to the Shechinah, Exod. xxiv. 16, 17, Ps. xxix. 3, Isa. vi. 3, and in the N.T. cf. 1 Cor. ii. 8, and James ii. 1 (John i. 14). The appearances to Abraham and Moses were similar to those later ones to which the term Shechinah was applied. Such words were in themselves an answer to the charge of blasphemy; but Stephen proceeds to show that this same God who dwelt in the Tabernacle was not confined to it, but that He appeared to Abraham in a distant heathen land. ὥφθῃ: there was therefore no need of a Temple that God might appear to His own (Chrys., *Hom.*, xv.; see Blass, *in loco*).—τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν: emphatic, cf. vv. 19, 38, 39, 44, 45; St. Stephen

VII. 1. Εἶπε δὲ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, Εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει; 2. ὁ δὲ ἔφη, "Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἀκούσατε. ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δόξης ὥφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ<sup>1</sup> ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ, πρὶν ἢ κατοικῆσαι

<sup>1</sup> vii. 2-4. For T.R. Blass reads (2) (ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ ἐν Χαρραν μετὰ το ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ); (3) καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς "Ἐξελθε ἀπὸ . . . δεῖξω"; (4) καὶ μετῴκησεν αὐτοὺς. In Par. we read "cum esset in Mesopotamia in Charran postquam mortuus est pater ipsius, et dixit . . . monstravero, et inde transtulit eum," etc. This reading agrees almost entirely with that adopted by Blass, but it contains the word bracketed by him in ver. 2, and also apparently κακειθεν (*et inde*) (see below). The difficulties in these verses are attributed by Blass and Belser to Alexandrian copyists. An explanatory note was added very early to ver. 2 οτε Α. ἐξελθεν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαιῶν καὶ κατῴκησεν ἐν Χαρραν κακει ἦν μετὰ το ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. These words (which may easily have been derived from the narrative in Genesis) were thought by the Alexandrian copyists to be the additional words of Luke himself, and they inserted them (*inferserunt in ver. 4*, Blass) in ver. 4 as they could not add them at the end of ver. 2, οτε being changed into τοτε, Αβρααμ being omitted, and κακειθεν being substituted for κακει, whilst the words μετὰ το ἀποθ. τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, originally belonging to ver. 2 (so Par. above), were then omitted altogether and added in the text after κακειθεν; then between the words Μεσοπ. and ἐν Χαρραν, which are joined together in Par., these copyists (*audacissimum*, Blass) inserted πρὶν ἢ κατοικῆσαι αὐτοὺς, no doubt with the view of showing that Stephen referred not only to the later injunction from Haran to Canaan but to the earlier one from Ur to Haran. But there is no need to suppose that the text was thus tampered with (see Wendt's note, p. 154, edit. 1899), and whatever difficulties this part of the speech contains, they may be easily explained on the supposition that Stephen in these verses, as elsewhere, was expressing himself in accordance with well-known traditions. In support of his view Blass (so Belser) appeals to Irenæus, iii. 12, who quotes the whole passage from vii. 2, ὁ θεὸς τῆς δ., to ver. 8, τὸν Ἰσαάκ, omitting what Par. omits, and thus being in agreement with it on the whole in Belser's judgment. But Blass admits that Irenæus (who apparently leaves out all not in LXX) also omits words which occur in ver. 2, partly in all authorities and partly in Par. (Gig.): ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μ. ἐν Χαρραν μετὰ το ἀποθ. τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ: "delenda igitur hæc quoque" (see above) "neque ea quidquam desiderabit," Blass, *Praef.* xv. (*Acta Apost. secundum formam quae videtur Romanam*). Belser is not prepared to go so far as this, but he sees in the original text of Luke a much simpler version of Stephen's speech; no reference is made to the original dwelling-place of Abraham in Ur, and only the call given to him in Mesopotamia (in Haran) is specified. According to Belser the original text reads thus: (Ver. 2) ὁ θεὸς τῆς δόξης ὥφθη τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν Α. ὄντι ἐν τῇ Μ. μετὰ το ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, (Ver. 3) καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· ἐξελθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δευρο εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἀν σοὶ δεῖξω. (Ver. 4) καὶ μετῴκησεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ταυτήν, etc. (*Beiträge zur Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 48). See further on Gen. xii. 1-3 and the quotation here, in the passages in Philo, and in Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, x., 2, Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 154.

thus closely associates himself with his hearers. Wetstein comments: "Stephanus ergo non fuit proselytus, sed Judæus natus," but it would seem from Wetstein himself that a proselyte might call Abraham father; cf. his comment on Luke i. 73, and cf. *Ecclus.*, xlv., 21; *Speaker's Commentary*, "Apocrypha," vol. ii.; see also Lumby's note, *in loco*, and cf. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 326, note, E.T.—*Μεσοποταμίᾳ*: a difficulty at once arises in comparing this statement with the Book of Genesis. Here the call of Abraham is said to have come to him *before*

he dwelt in Haran, but in Gen. xii. 1, *after* he removed thither. But, at the same time Gen. xv. 7, cf. Josh. xxiv. 3, Neh. ix. 7, distinctly intimates that Abraham left "Ur of the Chaldees" (see "Abraham," Hastings' B.D., p. 14, and Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 166-169, as to its site) in accordance with the choice and guidance of God. St. Stephen applies the language of what we may describe as the second to the first call, and in so doing he was really following on the lines of Jewish literature, e.g., Philo, *De Abrah.*, ii., 11, 16, Mang., paraphrases the divine counsel,



αὐτὸν ἐν Χαρρὰν, 3. καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν, “Ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου, καὶ δεῦρο εἰς γῆν ἣν ἂν σοι δείξω.” 4. τότε ἐξελθὼν ἐκ γῆς Χαλδαιῶν, κατῴκησεν ἐν Χαρρὰν· κάκειθεν, μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, μετώκισεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν

and then adds διὰ τοῦτο τὴν πρώτην ἀποικίαν ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλδαιῶν γῆς εἰς τὴν Χαρρὰν λέγεται ποιεῖσθαι. Moreover the manner of St. Stephen's quotation seems to mark the difference between the call in Ur and the call in Haran (R.V., not Charran, Greek form, as in A.V.). In Gen. xii. 1 we have the call to Abraham in Haran given as follows: ἐξέλθε ἐκ τῆς γῆς σου καὶ ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας σου καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ πατρὸς σου. But the call in Ur, according to St. Stephen's wording, is one which did not involve the sacrifice of his family, for Abraham was accompanied by them to Haran, and so the clause ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου κ.τ.λ. is omitted because inappropriate. Of course if we omit ἐκ before τῆς συγγενείας (see critical notes), St. Stephen's words become more suitable still to the position of Abraham in Ur, for we should then translate the words, “from thy land and the land of thy kindred” (Rendall, cf. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*). St. Stephen may naturally have referred back to Abraham's first migration from Ur to Haran, as desiring to emphasise more plainly the fact that since the call of God came to him before he had taken even the first step towards the Holy Land by settling in Haran, that divine revelation was evidently not bound up with any one spot, however holy.—Χαρρὰν, Gen. xi. 31, xii. 5, xxvii. 43, LXX, in the old language of Chaldea = road (see Sayce, *u. s.*, pp. 166, 167, and “Haran” Hastings' B.D., and B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i. (Pinches)), in Mesopotamia; little doubt that it should be identified with the *Carra* of the Greeks and Romans, near the scene of the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, B.C. 53, and of his death, Lucan, i., 104; Pliny, N.H., v., 24; Strabo, xvi., p. 747. In the fourth century *Carra* was the seat of a Christian bishopric, with a magnificent cathedral. It is remarkable that the people of the place retained until a late date the Chaldean language and the worship of the Chaldean deities, B.D.<sup>2</sup>, “Haran,” and see Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 4, p. 499, and references cited by him for identification with *Carra* (cf. Winer-Schmiedel, p. 57).

Ver. 4. μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν: St. Stephen apparently falls into the same chronologi-

cal mistake as is made in the Pentateuch and by Philo (*De Migr. Abrah.*, i., 463, Mang.). According to Gen. xi. 26 Terah lived seventy years and begat Abraham, Nahor, Haran; in xi. 32 it is said that Terah's age was 205 years when he died in Haran; in xii. 4 it is said that Abraham was seventy-five years old when he left Haran. But since  $70 + 75 = 145$ , it would seem that Terah must have lived some sixty years after Abraham's departure. Perhaps the circumstance that Terah's death was mentioned, in Gen. xi. 32, before the command to Abraham to leave Haran, xii. 1, may be the cause of the mistake, as it was not observed that the mention of Terah's death was anticipatory (so Alford). Blass seems to adopt a somewhat similar view, as he comments the reading in Gigas: “priusquam mortuus est pater ejus,” for the obedience of the patriarch, who did not hesitate to leave even his father, is opposed to the obstinacy of the Jewish people (see Blass, *in loco*). Other attempts at explanation are that reference is made to *spiritual* death of Terah, who is supposed to have relapsed into idolatry at Haran, a view which appears to have originated with the Rabbis, probably to get rid of the chronological difficulty (Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*; Meyer-Wendt, *in loco*), but for which there is absolutely no justification in the context; or that Abraham need not have been the eldest son of Terah, but that he was mentioned first because he was the most famous, a view adopted with more or less variation by Wordsworth, Hackett, and recently by Felten (see too B.D.<sup>2</sup>, p. 16, note), but apparently in opposition to the authority of Hamburger, who states that Terah was seventy years old when Abraham was born, that he was alive when Abraham departed at the age of seventy-five, being released from the duty of caring for his father by the more imperative command to obey the call of God. Lumby quotes from *Midrash Rabbah*, on Genesis, cap. 39, that God absolved Abraham from the care of his father, and yet, lest Abraham's departure from Terah should lead others to claim the same relaxation of a commandment for themselves, Terah's death is mentioned in Holy Scripture before Abra-

ταύτην εἰς ἣν ὑμεῖς νῦν κατοικεῖτε<sup>1</sup>. 5. καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κληρονομίαν ἐν αὐτῇ, οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός· καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῷ δοῦναι εἰς κατάσχεσιν αὐτήν, καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ μετ' αὐτόν, οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ τέκνου. 6. ἐλάλησε δὲ αὐτῶς ὁ Θεός, "Ὅτι ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ πάροικον ἐν γῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ, καὶ δουλώσουσιν αὐτὸ<sup>3</sup> καὶ κακώσουσιν,

<sup>1</sup> After κατοικεῖτε DE, Syr. Harcl. mg., Aug. add καὶ οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν (ἡμῶν) προ ὑμῶν (ἡμῶν); Weiss (Codex D, p. 67) points out that the addition demands κατωκῆσαν; the words might have been easily added, cf. O.T. phraseology.

<sup>2</sup> For καὶ ἐπηγ. D, Gig., Vulg. read ἀλλ' ἐπηγ., so Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτο; D, Gig., Vulg. read αὐτους, so Hilg.; cf. LXX, Gen. xv. 13.

ham's departure, cf. Gen. xi. 32, and xii. 1. One other solution has been attempted by maintaining that μετώκισεν does not refer to the removal, but only to the quiet and abiding settlement which Abraham gained after his father's death, but this view, although supported by Augustine and Bengel, amongst others, is justly condemned by Alford and Wendt. The Samaritan Pentateuch reads in Gen. xi. 32, 145 instead of 205, probably an alteration to meet the apparent contradiction. But it is quite possible that here, as elsewhere in the speech, Stephen followed some special tradition (so Zöckler).—μετά with infinitive as a temporal proposition frequent in Luke (analogous construction in Hebrew), cf. Luke xii. 5, xxii. 20, etc., cf. LXX, Baruch i. 9; Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 165 (1893).—μετώκισεν, subject ὁ Θεός: cf. for a similar quick change of subject vi. 6. Weiss sees in this the hand of a reviser, but the fact that Stephen was speaking under such circumstances would easily account for a rapid change of subject, which would easily be supplied by his hearers; verb only in ver. 43 elsewhere, in a quotation—found several times in LXX, and also in use in classical Greek.

Ver. 5. κληρονομίαν: the field which Abraham bought, Gen. xxiii. 9-17, could not come under this title—the field was Abraham's purchase, not God's gift as κληρονομία (see Meyer-Wendt, and Westcott, Heb. vi. 12, additional note, also Bengel, *in loco*); ver. 16 sufficiently shows that Stephen was fully acquainted with Abraham's purchase of the field.—οὐδὲ βῆμα ποδός, cf. Deut. ii. 5, xi. 24, same Hebrew (cf. Heb. xi. 9), "spatium quod planta pedis calcatur" (Grimm); cf. also its use in Xen. It may have been a kind of proverbial expression, cf. Gen. viii. 9 (Schöttgen).—καὶ ἐπηγγείλατο, cf. Gen. xii. 7 (xvii. 8, xlviii. 4), so that here again God appeared unto Abraham

in what was a strange and heathen land. See also for verb, James i. 12, ii. 5. On the force of the word see p. 54.—εἰς κατάσχεσιν: "in possession," R.V., the A.V. renders the word in its secondary or derivative sense, which is found in ver. 45.—οὐκ ὄντος αὐτῷ τέκνου: the faith of Abraham "tecte significatur" (Blass), first because nothing was given—there was only a promise—and secondly because the promise was made while yet he had no child.

Ver. 6. δέ: not in contrast to the fact just mentioned that Abraham had no child, but introducing a fuller account of God's promise. The quotation is from LXX, Gen. xv. 13, with a few alterations; in LXX and Heb., the second person, not the third, is used; instead of οὐκ ἰδίᾳ in LXX, ἄλλοτρίᾳ, cf. Heb. xi. 9; and instead of αὐτοῦς, αὐτό corresponding to σπέρμα. Wendt takes ὅτι as "recitantis," and not with Meyer as a constituent part of the quotation itself, LXX: Γινώσκων γνῶση ὅτι κ.τ.λ.—πάροικον in LXX as a stranger or sojourner in a country not one's own, several times in combination with ἐν γῇ ἄλλοτρίᾳ, cf. Gen. xxi. 23, 34, xxvi. 3, and in N.T. cf. this passage and ver. 29. In Eph. ii. 19, 1 Pet. ii. 11, the word is also used, but metaphorically, although the usage may be said to be based on that of the LXX; cf. *Epist. ad Diognet.* v., 5, and Polycarp, *Phil.*, inscript. See Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 102.—ἐτη τετρακόσια: so too Gen. xv. 13. The period named belongs not only to κακῶσουσιν but also to ἔσται, as Meyer rightly observes. But in Exod. xii. 40 four hundred and thirty years are mentioned as the sojourning which Israel sojourned in Egypt, and in both passages the whole space of time is so occupied; or, at all events it may be fairly said that this is implied in the Hebrew text in both Gen. xv. 13 and Exod. xii. 40:



ἐτη τετρακόσια. 7. καὶ τὸ ἔθνος, ᾧ ἔαν<sup>1</sup> δουλεύσωσι, κρινῶ ἐγώ," εἶπεν ὁ Θεός· "καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξελεύσονται, καὶ λατρεύσουσί μοι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ." 8. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ διαθήκην περιτομῆς· καὶ οὕτως ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰσαάκ, καὶ περιέτεμεν αὐτὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ·

<sup>1</sup> εαν NACEHP, so Tisch., W.H. alt., Weiss; an BD, so W.H. δουλευσωσι NBEHP, d, Vulg., Chrys., Lach., Weiss, Wendt, so in LXX, Gen. xv. 14; δουλευσουσι ACD 26, 96, Sah., Ir., so Tisch., Alford, W.H., R.V., so Blass in β (see his Proleg. to *Acta Apost.*, p. 35, and *Grammatik*, p. 212). In vii. 3 on the contrary the LXX has ἡν αν σοι δεῖξω; only ζζ reads εαν, perhaps anticipating the reading in vv. before us (Weiss). Winer-Schmiedel, p. 52, points out that δουλευσουσιν, though well attested, is open to suspicion.

cf. also for the same mode of reckoning Philo, *Quis rer. div. her.*, 54, p. 511, Mang. But neither here nor in Gal. iii. 17 is the argument in the least degree affected by the precise period, or by the adoption of one of the two chronological systems in preference to the other, and in a speech round numbers would be quite sufficient to mark the progressive stages in the history of the nation and of God's dealings with them. For an explanation of the point see Lightfoot, Gal. iii. 17, who regards the number in Genesis as given in round numbers, but in Exodus with historical exactness (to the same effect Wendt, Felten, Zöckler). But in the LXX version, Exod. xii. 40, the four hundred and thirty years cover the sojourn both in Egypt and in Canaan, thus including the sojourn of the Patriarchs in Canaan before the migration, and reducing the actual residence in Egypt to about half this period, the Vatican MS. reading four hundred and thirty-five years after adding καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναὰν (the word *five*, however, πέντε, being erased), and the Alexandrian MS. reading after ἐν Χαναὰν the words αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν, making the revision in the chronology more decisive. This is the chronology adopted in Gal. iii. 17, and by Josephus, *Ant.*, ii., 15, 2; but the latter writer in other passages, *Ant.*, ii., 9, 1, and *B. J.*, v., 9, 4, adopts the same reckoning as we find here in Acts. But see also Charles, *Assumption of Moses*, pp. 3, 4 (1897).

Ver. 7. The *oratio recta* is introduced by the words εἶπεν ὁ Θεός . . . κρινῶ ἐγώ emphatic, cf. Rom. xii. 19. In this verse the quotation is a free rendering of Gen. xv. 14, the words ὡδε μετὰ ἀποσκευῆς πολλῆς being omitted after ἐξελ., and the latter part of the verse being apparently introduced from Exod. iii. 12. And so at length, after so long a time, God appointed for Himself a "holy

place," cf. vi. 13 (Blass).—ᾧ ἔαν δουλεύσωσι, cf. LXX, Gen. xv. 14, and see critical note above, cf. also Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 123.

Ver. 8. διαθήκην, *fædus* (Grimm, Blass), the same word is used in LXX, Gen. xvii. 10, and with two or three exceptions uniformly in LXX for "covenant," so too in the Apocrypha with apparently two exceptions. The ordinary word for "covenant," συνθήκη, is very rare in LXX (though used by the later translators, Aquila, Sym., Theod., for

תַּרְחֻם, but see also Ramsay, *Expositor*, ii., pp. 322, 323 (1898)). But the word διαθ. would be suitably employed to express a *divine* covenant, because it could not be said that in such a case the contractors are in any degree of equal standing (συνθήκη). In the N.T. the sense of "covenant" is correct (except in Gal. iii. 15 and Heb. ix. 16). But in *classical* writers from the time of Plato διαθήκη generally has the meaning of a will, a testament, a disposition of property, and in the Latin renderings of the word in the N.T. we find uniformly *testamentum* in cases where the sense of "covenant" is beyond dispute (Luke i. 72, Acts iii. 25 d. *dispositionis*; and here d. has *dispositionem*, also in Rom. xi. 27), cf., e.g., in this verse, Vulgate and Par. No doubt the early translators would render διαθήκη by its ordinary equivalent, although in the common language it is quite possible that *testamentum* had a wider meaning than the classical sense of *will*, see Westcott, *Hebrews*, additional note on ix. 16; Lightfoot on Gal. iii. 15; A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 161; and "Covenant" in Hastings' B.D. and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*; Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, pp. 47, 48; and more recently Ramsay, *Expositor*, ii., pp. 300 and 321 ff. (1898).

Ver. 9. ἁγιάσαντες, cf. Gen. xxvii.

καὶ ὁ Ἰσαάκ τὸν Ἰακώβ, καὶ ὁ Ἰακώβ τοὺς δώδεκα πατριάρχας. 9. καὶ οἱ πατριάρχαι ζηλώσαντες τὸν Ἰωσήφ ἀπέδοντο εἰς Αἴγυπτον· 10. καὶ ἦν ὁ Θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξείλετο αὐτὸν ἐκ πασῶν τῶν θλίψεων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ χάριν καὶ σοφίαν ἐναντίον Φαραῶ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου, καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἡγούμενον ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ὅλον τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. 11. ἦλθε δὲ λιμὸς ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν Αἰγύπτου καὶ Χαναάν, καὶ θλίψις μεγάλη· καὶ οὐχ εὕρισκον χορτάσματα οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν. 12. ἀκούσας δὲ Ἰακώβ ὄντα σῖτα<sup>1</sup> ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν πρῶτον· 13. καὶ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἀνεγνωρίσθη Ἰωσήφ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ φανερὸν ἐγένετο τῷ

<sup>1</sup> σῖτα HP, Chrys.; σῖτια Ξ ABCDE 5, 8, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. (see Wendt, crit. note, p. 168, and Field, *Otium Norvic.*, iii., 76).

11, and so in Gen. xxvi. 14, xxx. 1, Isa. xi. 13, Eccus. xxxvii. 10; used also in a bad sense in Acts xvii. 5, 1 Cor. xiii. 4, James iv. 2, and so in classical writers. It may be used here absolutely, as in A.V. (see Grimm, Nösgen), or governing Ἰωσήφ, as in R.V.—ἀπέδ. εἰς, cf. for construction Gen. xlv. 4.

Ver. 10. ἦν ὁ Θεὸς μετ' αὐτοῦ, cf. Gen. xxxix. 2, 21, 23 (cf. Luke i. 28, 66).—ἐξείλετο . . . ἐκ: the same construction in Gen. xxxii. 11, Exod. iii. 8, and in N.T., Acts xii. 11, xxvi. 17, Gal. i. 4; so in classical Greek. The middle force of the verb in the sense of causing to be saved is lost.—χάρις, cf. ii. 41. The word means primarily, as the context shows, favour with man, cf. Gen. xxxix. 21; but this χάρις was also a divine gift: ἔδωκεν. It is significant also that Pharaoh speaks of Joseph, Gen. xli. 38, as a man in whom the spirit of God is, although no doubt the expression refers primarily to Joseph's skill in foretelling and providing against the famine.—σοφίαν: in interpreting the king's decree, Gen. xli. 25 ff.—ἐναντίον, so in Gen. xxxix. 21.—βασ. Αἰγ.: without the article as in Hebrew (Blass), cf. Gen. xli. 46; see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 185.—καὶ κατέστησεν, sc., Pharaoh, cf. change of subject as in ver. 4, in which Weiss also sees the hand of a reviser, but see above. The same word is used in Gen. xli. 43, and cf. for ἡγούμενον the same chap., ver. 41, where the sense of the title is shown—the exact word is used of Joseph in Eccus. xlix. 15 (ἡγούμενος ἀδελφῶν); in N.T. four times in Luke, see Luke xxii. 26, Acts vii. 10, xiv. 12, xv. 22; elsewhere only in Hebrews, cf. xiii. 7, 17, 24.

Ver. 11. λιμὸς, cf. Luke iv. 25, where

ἐπί follows.—χορτάσματα: sustenance, R.V., fodder, provender for their cattle, cf. Gen. xxiv. 25, 32, xlii. 27, Judg. xix. 19; only here in N.T., cf. Polyb., ix., 43. The want of it would be a most pressing need for large owners of flocks. Blass takes it as meaning *frumentum*, corn, food for man as well as for beasts, since χορτάζειν, both in LXX and N.T. (Mark viii. 4, cf. vii. 27, 28), is used of the food of man, cf. Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, pp. 82, 156.

Ver. 12. σῖτα, but σῖτια in R.V. (Blass follows T.R.), cf. LXX, Prov. xxx. 22 = properly food made of corn opposed to χόρτος (σῖτα not elsewhere in N.T., but in LXX τὰ σῖτα, corn, *frumenta*). In Gen. xlii. 2 we have σῖτος. But as Wendt points out in the words which follow: πρίασθε ἡμῖν μικρὰ βρώματα we have what may well correspond to σῖτια.—ὄντα: on the participle after verbs of sense, e.g., ὁρῶ, ἀκούω, οἶδα, in classical Greek, construction same as here—especially in Luke and Paul in N.T., cf. Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 196 (1893).—πρῶτον = "the first time," R.V. = τὸ πρότερον opposed to ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ, ver. 13, which is only found here in N.T.: generally δεύτερον (cf. ἐκ δευτέρου, 1 Macc. ix. 1 and Dan. ii. 7 (LXX)).

Ver. 13. ἀνεγνωρίσθη: the compound verb apparently from LXX, Gen. xlv. 1.—φανερόν ἐγέν., cf. Luke viii. 17, iv. 36, i. 65, vi. 49, etc.; on Luke's fondness for periphrasis with γίνομαι, see Plummer on Luke iv. 36.—τὸ γένος τοῦ Ἰ.: R.V. "race," so ver. 19, cf. iv. 36, because wider than συγγένειαν, "kindred," in ver. 14. R.V. "became manifest" strictly; the captain of the guard, Gen. xli. 12, had previously mentioned that Joseph was a Hebrew, but the fact which



Φαραὼ τὸ γένος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ.<sup>1</sup> 14. ἀποστείλας δὲ Ἰωσήφ μετεκαλέσατο τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοῦ, ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐβδομηκονταπέντε.<sup>2</sup> 15. κατέβη δὲ Ἰακώβ εἰς Αἴγυπτον,<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐτε-

<sup>1</sup> τὸ γένος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ DHP, Chrys., so Hilg.; om. Ἰωσήφ BC 47, so Lach., W.H., Wendt, Weiss. τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ NAE 40, Vulg., Arm., so Tisch., Blass; τὴν συγγ. αὐτοῦ—αὐτοῦ om. NABCHP, Vulg. (am. fu. demid.), Syr. Harcl., Arm., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> DH, Gig. read ἐν ἐβδ. καὶ πέντε ψυχαῖς (cf. Deut. x. 22), so Blass and Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> εἰς Αἴγυπτον om. B (W.H. in brackets)—Wendt regards as an addition from LXX—but retained in NACDEHP, Vulg., Syrr. (P.H.), etc.; so Weiss and Hilg.

had been only mentioned incidentally "became manifest" when Joseph's brethren came, and he revealed himself to them, so that Pharaoh and his household were aware of it, ver. 16. It was not until later that five of Joseph's brethren were actually presented to Pharaoh, xlvii. 1 ff. (Hackett).

Ver. 14. μετεκαλέσατο: four times in Acts, and nowhere else in N.T., cf. x. 32, xx. 17, xxiv. 25, only once in LXX, H. and R., cf. Hosea xi. 2, A; so εἰσκαλέομαι, only once in N.T., cf. Acts x. 23; not in LXX or Apocrypha. Both compounds are peculiar to St. Luke in N.T., and are frequent in medical writers, to "send for" or to "call in" (although Polyb. in middle voice, xxii. 5, 2, in same sense) a physician, Hobart, *Medical Language*, etc., p. 219. In Attic Greek we should have μεταπέμπεσθαι.—ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐβδομήκοντα πέντε: ἐν = Hebrew כ, cf. Deut.

x. 22, in (consisting in) so many souls, cf. Luke xvi. 31. Here in Deut., LXX, as also in Hebrew, we have the number given as seventy (although in A, seventy-five, which seems to have been introduced to make the passage similar to the two others quoted below) who went down into Egypt. But in Gen. xlvii. 27, and in Exod. i. 5, LXX, the number is given as seventy-five (the Hebrew in both passages however giving seventy as the number, although in Gen. xlvii. 26 giving sixty-six, making up the seventy by adding Jacob, Joseph, and his two sons). For the curious Rabbinical traditions current on the subject, see Lumby, *Acts*, p. 163. In Gen. xlvii. 27 the LXX make up the number to seventy-five by adding nine sons as born to Joseph while in Egypt, so that from this interpolation it seems that they did not obtain their number by simply adding the sons and grandsons, five in all, of Ephraim and Manasseh from Gen. xlvii. 20 (LXX) to the seventy mentioned in the Hebrew

text, as Wetstein and others have maintained. But there is nothing strange in the fact that Stephen, as a Hellenist, should follow the tradition which he found in the LXX. Josephus in *Ant.*, ii., 7, 4; vi., 5, 6, follows the Hebrew seventy, and Philo gives the two numbers, and allegorises about them. See Meyer-Wendt, p. 174, note, Hackett, Lumby, *in loco*, and Wetstein. Nothing in the argument is touched by these variations in the numbers.

Ver. 15. The frequent mention of Egypt may perhaps indicate that Stephen meant to emphasise the fact that there, far away from the land of promise, God's Presence was with the chosen race (who were now all in a strange land) and His worship was observed.—μετετέθησαν: only here in this sense in N.T. Some have supposed that only οἱ πατέρες and not αὐτός is the subject; this would no doubt avoid the first difficulty of the verse, viz., that Jacob was buried in Shechem, whereas according to Gen. 1. 13 he was laid to rest in the cave of Machpelah. But a further difficulty must be met. Joseph is the only son of the Patriarch who is expressly stated to have been buried in Shechem, Josh. xxiv. 32, and of the removal of the bodies from Egypt nothing is said. But the silence as to the latter fact need not trouble us, as whether we accept the tradition mentioned by Josephus or by St. Jerome, they both presuppose the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs to the promised land, cf. the discussion on Exod. xiii. 19. *Mechilta* (Lumby, p. 164), Wetstein, *in loco*, and see also the tradition in the *Book of Jubilees*, chap. xlv., that the children carried up the bones of the sons of Jacob, and buried them in Machpelah, except those of Joseph. But another tradition is implied in *Sol.* 7 b. According to Josephus, who probably repeats a local tradition, *Ant.*, ii., 8, 2, they were buried at Hebron. But according to

λεύτησεν αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν · 16. καὶ μετετέθησαν<sup>1</sup> εἰς Συχέμ,  
καὶ ἐτέθησαν ἐν τῷ μνήματι ὃ ὠνήσατο<sup>2</sup> Ἀβραὰμ τιμῆς ἀργυρίου παρὰ  
τῶν υἱῶν Ἑμμόρ<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Συχέμ. 17. Καθὼς δὲ ἤγγιζεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς  
ἐπαγγελίας ἣν ὤμοσεν<sup>4</sup> ὁ Θεὸς τῷ Ἀβραάμ, ἠύξησεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ  
ἐπληθύνθη ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, 18. ἄχρις<sup>5</sup> οὗ ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἕτερος, ὃς οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> μετετέθησαν; but in D μετηχθησαν, so Hilg. and Blass, who thinks μετετεθ suggested by ετεθ. below—but D stands alone.

<sup>2</sup> ο ὠνησ. HP, Chrys.; φ Ν ABCDE, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> εν for του is read by Ν<sup>1</sup>BC, and so Tisch., Blass (α and β), Weiss.

<sup>4</sup> ὤμοσεν HP 31, 61, Syrr. Pesh. Harcl. text, Boh., Chrys.; ὡμολογησεν Ν ABC 15, 36, Vulg., Sah., Arm. (Syr. Harcl. mg.), Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (gloss, after LXX), rare in sense of "promised," and so ἐπηγγελιατο DE tol. (Syr. Harcl. marg.), also Hilg., gloss for ὡμολ. corrupted into ὡμοσε.

<sup>5</sup> ἄχρις Ν AB<sup>3</sup>EHP; ἀχρι B\*CD, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Hilg. (see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, on the two forms and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 63). After ετερ. Ν ABC, so W.H., R.V., Weiss, add ἐπ' Αἰγυπτων.

St. Jerome their tombs were shown at Shechem, and the Rabbinical tradition mentioned by Wetstein and Lightfoot places their burial there, a statement supported by a Samaritan tradition existing to this day (*Palestine Exploration Fund*, December, 1877, see Felten and Plumptre, *in loco*). When we consider the prominent position of Shechem as compared with Hebron in the time of Joshua, there is nothing strange in the fact that the former place rather than Machpelah should have been chosen as the resting-place not only of Joseph but also of his brethren. Plumptre has ingeniously contended that St. Stephen might have followed the Samaritan tradition, *cf.* Acts vi. 5, and see *Expositor*, vol. vii., first series: "The Samaritan element in the Gospels and Acts," p. 21 ff., although we need not suppose that in this reference to the hated Samaritans Stephen proposed to show that not even they had been rejected by God. There is certainly no difficulty in supposing that here and elsewhere Stephen might easily have adopted some popular tradition, and at all events the fact that the mistake, if it is one, is left unnoticed by the historian is a plain proof of the truthfulness of the record. But a further difficulty. Abraham purchases the cave of Machpelah, but from Ephron the Hittite, Gen. xxiii. 16. The sons of Hamor sell a field, but to Jacob—a field at Shechem, Gen. xxxiii. 19, Josh. xxiv. 32. How can we explain this with reference to the statement in the text? Shechem was the earliest settlement of Abraham when he entered Canaan, and there he built an altar, Gen.

xii. 6, 7. But no devout Hebrew worshipper, with all his reverence for holy places, would be content to see the altar so consecrated belonging to others, and so exposed to desecration; the purchase of the ground on which an altar stood would therefore seem to follow as a kind of corollary from the erection of an altar on that ground. This is at all events a more satisfactory solution than omitting the word Ἀβραάμ or exchanging it for Ἰακώβ (see Hackett). Of course the reading of R.V., W.H. (as above), prevents a further difficulty as to the rendering of τοῦ Συχέμ if the reading τοῦ Συχέμ is retained, *cf.* Wendt, critical note, p. 157 (edition 1899), who follows A.V. in supporting "the father of Sichem," so Hackett, but see on the other hand Plumptre, *Acts, in loco*, and Felten, *in loco*. For the way in which the two purchases and the two burials may have been confused in popular tradition, see Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 302, 2nd edit. (*cf.* Bengel, Stier, Nösgen).

Ver. 17. καθὼς: not "when" as in A.V., but "as" R.V., *prout, quemadmodum, cf.* Mark iv. 33: "in the degree that": Felten thinks that it is temporal, as in 2 Macc. i. 31.—τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, *cf.* ii. 33.—ἥς: Attic attraction.—ὤμοσεν: but if we read with R.V., etc., ὡμολόγησεν "vouchsafed," so in classical Greek, *cf.* Jer. li. 25 (LXX), Matt. xiv. 7 (ὤμοσεν, a gloss from the LXX according to Wendt).—ἠύξησεν ὁ λαὸς καὶ ἐπληθύνθη, *cf.* Exod. i. 7, so in a strange land the blessing was continued (Weiss).

Ver. 18. *Cf.* Exod. i. 8, and Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 9, 1. After ἕτερος add ἐπ' Αἰγ., see



ἦδει τὸν Ἰωσήφ. 19. οὗτος<sup>1</sup> κατασοφισάμενος τὸ γένος ἡμῶν, ἐκάκωσε τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν, τοῦ ποιεῖν ἔκθετα τὰ βρέφη αὐτῶν, εἰς τὸ μὴ ζωογονεῖσθαι. 20. Ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ ἐγεννήθη Μωσῆς,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἦν ἀστείος τῷ

<sup>1</sup> οὗτος, D reads καί, so Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> Μωσῆς AEP; Μωυσῆς BCDH, W.H., Weiss.

above. ἕτερος not ἄλλος, probably meaning the native sovereign after the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings, "Joseph," B.D.<sup>2</sup>; "Egypt," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, pp. 886, 887; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 5, pp. 759, 760; Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 237.—ἄχρις οὖ: only in Luke amongst the Evangelists, Luke xxi. 24, Acts vii. 18, xxvii. 33. Sayce, following Dr. Naville, argues in favour of Ramses II. as the Pharaoh of the Oppression, see *u. s.* and *Expository Times*, January and April, 1899, but see on the other hand the number of February, p. 210 (Prof. Hamond), and *Expositor*, March, 1897, Prof. Orr on the Exodus. Joseph settled under the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, but the words "who knew not Joseph" should apparently refer, according to Dr. Sayce, not to the immediately succeeding dynasty, *i. e.*, the eighteenth, in which a Canaanite might still have occupied a place of honour, but rather to the nineteenth, which led to the overthrow of the stranger, and to a day of reckoning against the Hebrews. But it becomes difficult to speak with absolute confidence in the present state of Egyptological research, see *Expositor*, *u. s.*, p. 177. οὐκ ἦδει: in Robinson's *Gesenius*, p. 380, the word is taken literally, or it may mean "who does not know Joseph's history or services"; others take it "who had no regard for his memory or services". Hamburger understands by it that Joseph was quite forgotten under the new national dynasty, whilst Nösgen refers to the use of οἶδα in Matt. xxv. 12.

Ver. 19. κατασοφισάμενος: in Exod. i. 10 we have the same verb "let us deal wisely with them" here translated "deal subtilly"; Vulgate, "circumveniens," *cf.* Rhemish version: "circumventing our stock" (γένος, as in iv. 36); *cf.* Judith v. 11, x. 19, in both passages the same verb is used, translated (R.V.), v. 11, "dealt subtilly"—the Syriac, probably nearest to the Hebrew, "dealt wisely with them." *i. e.*, the Egyptians dealt so with the Hebrews. In the second passage, R.V., word is rendered "might deceive"; same verb in Syriac as in Exod. i. 10, Heb.;

*Speaker's Commentary*, "Apocrypha," i., p. 290. Josephus and Philo use verb in same sense as in text; see for the force and meaning of κατά here, Page and Rendall.—ἐκάκωσε, *cf.* Exod. i. 11, where the same word is used of task-masters afflicting the people with burdens. For other ways in which Pharaoh is said to have afflicted the people, see Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 9, 1.—τοῦ ποιεῖν κ.τ.λ., "that they [*or he, margin*] should cast out their babes," R.V. But a comparison with Exod. i. 22 (LXX) justifies us in taking these words, as in R.V. margin, as describing the tyranny of Pharaoh, not as declaring that the parents themselves exposed their children. For the construction see Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 231; *cf.* 1 Kings xvii. 20, etc., genitive of result, see Page on iii. 12, and in *loco*, and Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 157.—ἔκθετα: only here in N.T. and not in LXX, but used with γένος in Eur., *Andr.*, 70.—εἰς τὸ: expressing the purpose, *cf.* Luke v. 17.—ζωογονεῖσθαι: in the active the verb is used three times, in Exod. i., of the midwives saving the Hebrew children alive, ver. 17, 18, 22 (*cf.* Judg. viii. 19, etc.), *vivum conservare*. In the N.T. the word is only used by St. Luke here and in his Gospel, chap. xvii. 33, and once by St. Paul, 1 Tim. vi. 13 (see R.V. margin). St. Chrysostom comments on the thought that where man's help was despaired of, and the child was cast forth, then God's benefit did shine forth conspicuous, *Hom.*, xvi.

Ver. 20. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ, *cf.* i. 7, iii. 19, characterising the time, comp. Bengel, *tristi, opportuno*: on the name Μωσῆς see Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 10, and Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 5, p. 768, and critical notes.—ἀστείος τῷ Θεῷ: if we render the expression as in A. and R.V., "exceeding fair," the dative τῷ Θεῷ is used as an equivalent of the Hebrew expression employed almost in a superlative sense, אֱלֹהִים, Jonah iii. 3. πόλις μεγ. τῷ Θεῷ. Or the expression may be rendered "fair to God," *i. e.*, in the judgment of God; *cf.* δυνατὰ τῷ Θεῷ, 2 Cor. x. 4 and James ii. 5, τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῷ κόσμῳ. Page and Wendt

θεῶ· ὃς ἀνετράφη μῆνας τρεῖς ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. 21. ἐκτεθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν,<sup>1</sup> ἀνείλετο αὐτὸν ἡ θυγάτηρ Φαραὼ, καὶ ἀνεθρέψατο αὐτὸν ἑαυτῇ εἰς υἱόν. 22. καὶ ἐπαιδεύθη Μωσῆς πάσῃ σοφίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> DE, Syr. Harcl. mg. add παρα (E eis) τον ποταμον after εκτ. . . . αυτον, Blass in β, so Hilg. ανειλετο; but -ατο in ΞABCDE (H) 61, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Hilg., Winer-Schmiedel, p. 112.

compare Æsch., *Agam.*, 352, and see also Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 81. ἀστείος, lit., belonging to the city (opposite to ἀγροϊκος), witty, clever; then, elegant, pretty; Vulgate, *elegans*, used as a general word of praise: applied to Moses here, in Exod. ii. 2, and Heb. xi. 23, and also by Philo, cf. also Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 97, and see Hamburger, *u. s.*, i., 5, p. 773; *Ḥalkut Rubeni*, f. 75, 4. For other instances of the use of the word see LXX, Num. xxii. 32, Judges iii. 17, and Judith xi. 23, Susannah, ver. 7; in the last two passages used of physical fairness, prettiness (cf. Arist., *Eth. Nic.*, iv., 3, 5, and instances in Wetstein). In 2 Macc. vi. 23 it is also used, and ἀστείως in 2 Macc. xii. 43 in the general sense of right and good, honestly.—ἀνετράφη μῆνας τρεῖς, cf. Exod. ii. 2, verb used only by St. Luke, twice in this chapter, and in xx. 3, once in Luke iv. 16, but cf. margin, W.H.—not used in LXX, but in Wisdom vii. 4 (where A has ἀνεστρ.), and see also 4 Macc. x. 2 and xi. 15 (but A.R., τραφ.). The word is used in classical Greek, as in Wisdom vii. 4 and here, of a child nourished to promote its growth (although sometimes with the idea of improving the mind, cf. Acts xx. 3). In the N.T. it is peculiar to St. Luke, and it is just the word which a medical man would use, frequently found in medical writings, opposed to *ισχυαίνω*; see L. and S., *sub v.*, and Hobart, *Medical Language*, p. 207.

Ver. 21. ἐκτεθ.: the regular word for exposure of children in classical Greek; see also Wisdom xviii. 5, peculiar to Luke in N.T., and only here in this sense; cf. Exod. ii. 3, and β critical note above.—ἀνείλετο—same word in Exod. ii. 5. The verb, though very frequent in Luke in the sense of *to kill*, is only used here in the sense of A. and R.V., Vulgate, *sustulit*—but cf. Aristoph., *Nub.*, 531; Epict., *Diss.*, i. 23, 7. ἑαυτῇ: as in contrast to the child's own mother. According to tradition, Pharaoh's daughter designed him for the throne, as the king had no son, Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 9, 7.—εἰς υἱόν, Exod. ii. 10; cf. xiii. 22, 47; Simcox, *Language of N. T.*, p. 80.

Ver. 22. ἐπαιδεύθη, cf. xxii. 3 here with instrumental dative, or, better, dative of respect or manner; not mentioned in Exodus, but see Philo, *Vita Moys.*, ii., 83, Mang., and also Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 343, E.T.; cf. the knowledge of magic ascribed to Pharaoh's wise men in Exod. vii. 11, and "Jannes and Jambres," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and also 1 Kings iv. 30, and Isa. xix. 2, 11, 12; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums* "Zauberei," i., 7, 1068, and references in Wetstein, *in loco*. παιδεύω, both in LXX and N.T., used in the sense of *training*; cf. Prov. v. 13 (Jos., *C. Apion*, i., 4), 1 Tim. i. 20, Titus ii. 12, and also in the sense of *chastising*, so often in LXX and in N.T., and also similarly used in classical Greek. The passage is also important because it helped to fix the attention of cultivated early Christian writers upon the wisdom of Greek poets and philosophers, and to give a kind of precedent for the right pursuit of such studies; cf. Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, i., 5, 28; vi., 5, 42; Justin Martyr, *Dial. c. Tryph.*, c., 1-4; see Dean Plumptre's note, *in loco*.—ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς, cf. xviii. 24, and especially Luke xxiv. 19; see also Eccles. xxi. 7, Judith xi. 8. If αὐτοῦ is retained, the mode of expression is Hebraistic (Blass). There is no contradiction with Exod. iv. 10, and no need to explain the expression of Moses' writings, for Stephen has in his thoughts not so much, as we may believe, the oratorical form as the powerful contents of Moses' words (e.g., his prophetic teaching, Hamburger, "Moses," *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 5, 772). Josephus speaks of him as πλῆθει ὁμιλεῖν πιθανώτατος, *Ant.*, iii., 1, 4 (see also Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 10, 1, for the traditional exploits of Moses, and Hamburger, *u. s.*, p. 771).

Ver. 23. ὧς, cf. i. 10, Lucan. The exact age is not mentioned in O.T., but it was traditional (Weiss refers its mention to the reviser, perhaps introduced as a parallel to ver. 30). According to the tradition, which Stephen apparently followed, Moses lived forty years in Pharaoh's palace, but some accounts



Αἰγυπτίων· ἦν δὲ δυνατὸς ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἐν ἔργοις. 23. Ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦτο αὐτῷ τεσσαρακοναετῆς<sup>1</sup> χρόνος, ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπισκέψασθαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ. 24. καὶ ἰδὼν τινα ἀδικούμενον<sup>2</sup> ἡμύνατο καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκδίκησιν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> τεσσαρακοναετῆς B<sup>3</sup>EHP, so Hilg.; but τεσσαρακον. NAB<sup>3</sup>C, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss (Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 45, 54).

<sup>2</sup> After ἀδικούμενον, DE, Gig., Syr. Harcl. mg. read ἐκ του γένους αυτον, so Hilg.

give twenty years; his dwelling in Midian occupied forty years, and he governed Israel for the same period, xiii. 18. See *Midrash Tanchuma* on Exod. ii. 6 (Wetstein, with other references, so too Lumby).—ἐπληροῦτο, "but when he was well-nigh," etc., R.V., lit. "when the age of forty years was being fulfilled to him" (imperf. tense), cf. Luke xxi. 24, Acts ii. 1, ix. 23, xxiv. 27, and ver. 30 below; so repeatedly in LXX.—ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ, cf. 1 Cor. ii. 9 for the expression, probably taken from LXX, Isa. lxxv. 17, cf. Jer. iii. 16, xxxii. 35, Ezek. xxxviii. 10, and 2 Kings xii. 4. The phrase is an imitation of the Hebrew. Gesenius compares the phrase before us with Heb., Ezek. xiv. 3, 4; see also Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 66 (1896).—ἐπισκέψασθαι, cf. Luke i. 68, 78, and vii. 16, cf. Exod. iv. 31, of God visiting His people by Moses and Aaron (Acts xv. 14). In each of these passages the verb is used of a divine visitation, and it is so used by St. Luke only amongst N.T. writers, except Heb. ii. 6 = Ps. viii. 5, LXX. It is used elsewhere in Matt. xxv. 36, 43, James i. 27, Acts vi. 3, xv. 36 (cf. Judg. xv. 1). The word is used of visits paid to the sick, cf. Eccus. vii. 35, and so in classical Greek (see Mayor on James i. 27), often in medical writings and in Plutarch (Grimm, *sub v.*, and Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 105); mostly in the LXX, as always in the N.T., in good sense (Gen. xxi. 1, Ps. viii. 4, lxxix. 14, Eccus. xlvi. 14, Judith viii. 33, but also with reference to divine punishment, Ps. lxxviii. 31, 32, Jer. ix. 9, 25, xi. 22, xxxiv. (xxvii.) 8, etc.), cf. its use in *Psalms of Solomon*, where it is generally employed with reference to divine visitation, either for purposes of punishment or deliverance. In modern Greek = *to visit*, same sense as in LXX and N.T.; Kennedy, *u. s.*, p. 155. For its old English sense of *visit*, as looking upon with kindness, Lumby compares Shaks., *Rich. II.*, i. 3, 275: "All places that the eye of heaven *visits*".—τοὺς

ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ: though in a king's palace, and far removed in one sense from his people, Moses remembers that he is an Israelite, and that he has brethren; while others forgot their brotherhood he reminded them of it: "motivum amoris quod Moses etiam aliis adhibuit ver. 26," Bengel, cf. Exod. ii. 10, and Heb. xi. 24, 25.

Ver. 24. ἀδικούμενον, "wronged," i.e., by blows, Exod. ii. 11.—ἡμύνατο: only here in N.T. (sc., τὸν ἀδικούντα); in active the verb means to defend, "debat scribere ἡμυνη," says Blass, but in the middle it means defence of oneself, or of a friend, with the collateral notion of requital or retaliation on an enemy (see Rendall). In the middle it has also the meaning of avenging, and therefore might mean here "he took vengeance on" or "he repulsed" (cf. Josh. x. 13, 2 Macc. x. 17, Wisdom xi. 3, and Jos., *Ant.*, ix., 1, 2), although this is expressed in the next words.—ἐποίησεν ἐκδίκησιν, cf. Luke xviii. 7, 8, xxi. 22; lit., "wrought an avenging," Rom. xii. 19 (cf. Heb. x. 30), 2 Cor. vii. 11, 2 Thess. i. 8, 1 Pet. ii. 14. This and similar expressions are common in LXX, Judg. xi. 36, Ps. cxlix. 7, Ezek. xxv. 17, 1 Macc. iii. 15, vii. 9, 24, 38; ἐκδ. in Polybius with ποιεῖσθαι, iii., 8, 10.—καταπονούμενος: only here and in 2 Pet. ii. 7; cf. 2 Macc. viii. 2 (R has καταπατούμενος, of the Jews oppressed, trodden down, in the days of Judas Maccabæus), 3 Macc. ii. 2, 13; used in Polyb. and Josephus, etc. The exact word is found in *Didache*, v., 2.—πατάξας: lit., to strike, hence to kill, in Biblical language only, cf. Exod. ii. 12 and 14, and ver. 28 below: so also in Matt. xxvi. 31, Mark xiv. 27 (Zech. xiii. 7, LXX). The verb is very frequent in LXX. "Smiting the Egyptian," R.V.—τὸν Αἴγ.: not previously mentioned, but implied in ἀδικ., which involves an oppressor; as in ver. 26 the facts are regarded by St. Stephen as known to his audience.

Ver. 25. ἐνόμιζε δὲ: a comment by St. Stephen, but we are not told upon

καταπονούμενῳ, πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον.<sup>1</sup> 25. ἐνόμιζε δὲ συνίναί τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς σωτηρίαν· οἱ δὲ οὐ συνήκαν. 26. τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὤφθη αὐτοῖς μαχομένοις, καὶ συνήλασεν<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς εἰς εἰρήνην, εἰπών, "Ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί ἐστε ὑμεῖς<sup>3</sup>. ἵνατί ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλήλους;" 27. ὁ δὲ ἀδικῶν τὸν πλησίον ἀπώσατο αὐτόν, εἰπών, "Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ

<sup>1</sup> After Αἰγυπτίον, D (Wer.) add καὶ ἐκρυσεν αὐτον ἐν τῇ ἀμμῷ; cf. Exodus ii. 12 (Blass rejects, Hilg. retains).

<sup>2</sup> συνήλασεν AEP, Chrys., some verss., so Meyer, Alford; συνήλασεν ἤBCD e, Vulg., Syrr. (P. and H.), Sah., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. After μαχομένοις D adds εἶδεν αὐτους ἀδικούντας (not retained by Blass but by Hilg.).

<sup>3</sup> ὑμεῖς HP, Boh., Syr. Harcl., Aeth.; om. ἤABCDE 27, 61, Vulg., Sah., Arm., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. For ἀνδρες ἀδελφοί ἐστε, D, Prom. read τι ποιεῖτε, ἀνδρες ἀδελφοί;

what grounds Moses based his expectation (see however Lumby's note, *in loco*). The verb is found in Luke ii. 44, iii. 23, and seven times in Acts, but elsewhere in the Gospels only three times in St. Matthew; it is used three times by St. Paul. It is frequently found in ii. and iv. Macc., twice in Wisdom and once in Ecclesiasticus.—διὰ χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, ii. 23. δίδωσι, "was giving them," R.V. (not "would give," A.V.), as if the first step in their deliverance was already taken by this act, so συνίναί, "understood," R.V. (not "would understand," A.V.). In Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 9, 2, 3, reference is made to the intimation which was said to have been vouchsafed by God to Amram the father of Moses that his son should be the divine agent who was expected to arise for the deliverance of the Hebrews, and whose glory should be remembered through all ages. It has been sometimes thought that St. Stephen had this tradition in mind.—οἱ δὲ οὐ συνήκαν: Mr. Page notes the rhetorical power in these words, cf. ver. 53 καὶ οὐκ ἐφυλάξατε.

Ver. 26. ὤφθη: Wendt commends Bengel, who sees in the word the thought that he appeared *ultra, ex improviso*, cf. ii. 3, vii. 2, Heb. ix. 28.—συνήλασεν: but if we read συνήλασεν, see critical note = imperfect, *de conatu*, cf. Matt. iii. 14, Luke i. 59, xv. 14, Acts xxv. 11, see Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 12, from συναλλάσσω, only found here in N.T., not in LXX or Apocrypha, but in classical Greek, cf. Thuc., i., 24.—ἵνατί = ἵνα τί γένηται; cf. iv. 25, and Luke xiii. 7 (Matt. ix. 4, xxvii. 46, 1 Cor. x. 29), and with the words

ἵνατί ἀδικεῖτε ἀλλήλους; Exod. ii. 13 (Moulton and Geden); used several times in LXX, also by Aristoph. and Plato. Like the Latin *ut quid?* see Grimm, *sub v.*, and for spelling; and comp. also Blass, *Gram.*, p. 14, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 36.—ἄνδρες, ἀδελφοί ἐστε: the fact of their brotherhood aggravated their offence; it was no longer a matter between an Egyptian and a Hebrew as on the previous day, but between brother and brother—community of suffering should have cemented and not destroyed their sense of brotherhood. Hackett and Alford take ἄνδρες as belonging to ἀδελφοί (not as = κύριοι, 'Sirs' in A. and R.V.), *men* related as *brethren are ye*, cf. Gen. xiii. 8.

Ver. 27. ἀπώσατο for Attic ἀπέωσατο (see also ver. 45), not found in the O.T. parallel, but added by Stephen, cf. ver. 38, compare LXX, Jer. iv. 30. The word may be introduced to emphasize the contumaciousness of the people, which in Stephen's narrative is the motive of the flight of Moses; in Exodus, Moses flees from fear of Pharaoh, and the answer of the Hebrew demonstrates to him that his deed of yesterday was known—but there is no contradiction in the two narratives. The matter would become known to Pharaoh, as the words of the Hebrew intimated; it could not be hidden; and in spite of the attempt at concealment on the part of Moses by hiding the body in the sand, his life was no longer safe, and so he fled because he had nothing to hope for from his people. Stephen's words would be quite consistent with the narrative in Exodus (Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 163, as against Overbeck).



δικαστὴν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς<sup>1</sup>; 28. μὴ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις, ὃν τρόπον ἀνείλες  
χθές<sup>2</sup> τὸν Αἰγύπτιον;” 29.<sup>3</sup> ἔφυγε δὲ Μωσῆς ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, καὶ  
ἐγένετο πάροικος ἐν τῇ Μαδιάμ, οὗ ἐγέννησεν υἱούς δύο. 30. Καὶ  
πληρωθέντων ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα, ὤφθη αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ ὄρους

<sup>1</sup> ἡμας DE, Chrys., so Meyer, Hilg.; ἡμων NABCHP 13, 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> χθες AEHP, Chrys; εχθες NB\*CD 34, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss (Winer-Schmiedel, p. 54).

<sup>3</sup> D reads οὕτως καὶ ἐφυγαδενσεν Μωσῆς (καὶ οὕτως d), so Hilg.; E reads ἐφυγαδενσεν δε Μωσῆς; Gig. has *fugatus est autem M.*; and Par. *effugavit autem se M.* Weiss (Codex D, p. 67) inclines to consider φυγαδ. as the original reading (so Zöckler), and to take it trans., understanding ο ἀδικῶν as the nom. φυγαδεύω nowhere else in N.T.; in LXX found both trans. and intrans. but gen. the latter; commoner ἐφυγεν may be corruption of it here; φυγαδεύω frequent in Letters of Pseudo-Heraclitus.

Ver. 28. Cf. Exod. ii. 14.

Ver. 29. ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ. Weiss points out that Moses fled on account of this word, because he saw that his people would not protect him against the vengeance of Pharaoh. Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 11, 1, makes the cause of the flight of Moses not the words which told him that his deed was known, but the jealousy of the Egyptians, who represented to the king that he would prove a seditious person. — Μαδιάμ: generally taken to mean or to include the peninsula of Sinai (Exod. ii. 15, and iii. 1), and thus agrees with the natural supposition that his flight did not carry Moses far beyond the territory of Egypt (cf. Exod. xviii. 1-27). The name Midianites would be applied to the descendants of Abraham's fourth son by Keturah, who in various clans, some nomadic, some mercantile (e.g., those to whom Joseph was sold), may be described as Northern Arabs. (Dr. Sayce, *u. s.*, p. 270, maintains that Moses to get beyond Egyptian territory must have travelled further than to the S. peninsula of our modern maps, and places Sinai in the region of Seir, with Midian in its close neighbourhood.) Amongst one of these tribes Moses found a home in his flight, Hamburger, "Midian," *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 5, 755. Hackett, *Acts*, p. 104, "Midian," B.D.<sup>1</sup>. — οὗ ἐγένν., cf. Exod. ii. 22, iv. 20, xviii. 3. Weiss thinks the notice due to a reviser, who wished to show that Moses had given up his people, and made himself a home in a strange land.

Ver. 30. πληρωθέντων, see ver. 23, cf. Exod. vii. 7, "fulfilled," R.V. ὤφθη, ver. 2, so the second fundamental re-

velation of God to Israel took place in the wilderness far away from the Promised Land (Weiss), see also ver. 33.— τεσσαράκοντα, cf. i. 3.—Σινᾶ: there is no contradiction between this and Exod. iii. 1, where the appearance is said to take place in Horeb, for whilst in the N.T. and Josephus Sinai only is named for the place of the law-giving, in the O.T. the two names are interchanged, cf. also Eccles. xlviii. 7. According to Hamburger the two names are identical, signifying in a narrower sense only one mountain, the historical mountain of the giving of the law, but in a wider sense given to a whole group of mountains. Thus Hamburger declines to accept the view that Horeb was the name of the whole ridge of mountain-cluster, whilst Sinai specially denotes the mountain of the law-giving, since Horeb is also used for the same event (cf. Exod. iii. 1, xvii. 6, xxxiii. 6), *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 7, 940. See also B.D.<sup>1</sup>, "Sinai," Wendt, edition (1899), *in loco*; Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia*, iv., "Sinai" (also for literature); and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v. According to Sayce, Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 263 ff., Sinai is a mountain of Seir, rather than of the Sinaitic peninsula so called. The same writer lays stress upon the fact that Sinai is associated with Seir and Edom, Deut. xxxiii. 2, Judg. v. 4, 5, and maintains that it is nowhere in the O.T. transported to the Sinaitic peninsula of our modern maps. The word Σινᾶ is an indeclinable noun τὸ (sc., ὄρος); Josephus τὸ Σιναιὸν and τὸ Σιναιῶν ὄρος; Grimm-Thayer, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 91, Blass, *Gram.*, 8, 32; and see also Sayce, *u. s.*, p. 268, 269, and *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 259, who renders as adjective "(the mountain)

Σινᾷ ἄγγελος Κυρίου<sup>1</sup> ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς<sup>2</sup> βάτου. 31. ὁ δὲ Μωσῆς ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασε<sup>3</sup> τὸ ὄραμα· προσερχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι, ἐγένετο φωνὴ Κυρίου πρὸς αὐτόν, 32. “Ἐγὼ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων σου, ὁ Θεὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσαὰκ καὶ ὁ Θεὸς Ἰακώβ.” ἔντρομος δὲ γενόμενος Μωσῆς οὐκ ἐτόλμα κατανοῆσαι. 33. εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος, “Λῦσον τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν σου· ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐν ᾧ

<sup>1</sup> Κυρίου om. **N**ABC 61, 81, Vulg., Sah., Boh.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass (α and β, although found in D), Weiss, Wendt (prob. added from Exod. iii. 2); Hilg. retains.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν φλογὶ πυρός **N**BDHP, Sah., Boh., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Aeth., Chrys., so W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, and Hilg.; ἐν πυρὶ φλογος ACE, Vulg., Syr. Pesh. (so LXX, Exod. iii. 2, varies: ἐν πυρὶ φλογος in B; ἐν φλογὶ πυρός AF).

<sup>3</sup> ἐθαύμασε ABC 13, Vulg., Chrys., so Lach., Meyer, W.H., R.V.; ἐθαύμαζεν **N**DEHP 1, 31, 61, Aug., so Tisch., Weiss (Wendt doubtful), Hilg. Blass and Hilg. both read ακηκοα (D) for ηκουσα; cf. Exod. iii. 7.

which belongs to Sin,” i.e., like desert which it overlooked, to the worship of the Babylonian Moon-God Sin in that region.—ἄγγελος: in Exod. iii. 2 “the angel of the Lord,” but in ver. 7 “the Lord said,” so here in ver. 31 “the voice of the Lord said,” cf. ver. 33. For the same mode of expression cf. Acts xxvii. 23 with xxiii. 11. In this Angel, the Angel of the Lord, cf. Exod. iii. 2 with vv. 6, 14, and Gen. xxii. 11 with ver. 12; the Angel of the Presence, Exod. xxxiii. 11, cf. Isa. lxiii. 9 (ver. 38 below), although Jewish interpreters varied, the Fathers saw the Logos, the Eternal Word of the Father. See references in Felten, *in loco*, and Liddon, *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. ii., and “Angel,” B.D.<sup>8</sup>. Otherwise we can only say that Jehovah Himself speaks through the Angel (Weiss, Blass, *in loco*).—ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς βάτου: words interchanged as in LXX A, Exod. iii. 2; according to Hebrew πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ βάτου—πυρός here = an adjective, *rubus incensus* (Blass, Weiss); cf. 2 Thess. i. 8, ἐν πυρὶ φλογός. For gender of βάτος see ver. 35.

Ver. 31. κατανοῆσαι: this careful observation is implied in the narrative of Exodus though the word is not employed. It is a favourite word with St. Luke, and is used by him four times in his Gospel and four times in Acts, elsewhere in Gospels only in Matt. vii. 3 (five times in Epistles). On its force see Westcott on Heb. iii. 1: “oculos vel mentem defigere in aliquo” Grimm; properly = to take notice of, so in classical Greek; it is used also in the sense of observing, looking at, cf. James i. 27; and in a general sense, to see, cf. LXX, Ps.

xciii. 9, cf. xc. 8; and also, to consider, Heb. x. 24. (Mayor, note on James i. 27). In the LXX, where it is frequent, it is used with both shades of meaning.

Ver. 32. ἔντρομος γεν. (cf. x. 4, ἔμφοβος γεν.), xvi. 29, cf. Exod. iii. 6, expression used only in Acts in these two passages (Heb. xii. 21, quotation from LXX). ἔμφοβος is found five times in Luke, in Gospel xxiv. 5, 37, in Acts x. 4, xxiv. 25 (only once elsewhere, in Rev. xi. 33, with ἐγένοντο), and in each passage with γενόμενος. ἔντρομος, Dan. (Theod.) x. 11, Wisdom xvii. 10, 1 Macc. xiii. 2, and in Ps. xvii. (xviii.) 7, lxxvi. (-vii.) 18, ἔντρομος ἐγενήθη ἡ γῆ—the word is also used by Plutarch.

Ver. 33. λῦσον, cf. Josh. v. 15, λῦσον A., cf. Exod. iii. 5; in classical Greek, λῦσαι, omitting σου. On the custom of worshipping bare-footed, as the priests when actually engaged in the Temple, or as the Arabs enter their mosques with bare feet, or the Samaritan the holiest place on Gerizim, see instances, both classical, Juvenal, *Sat.*, vi., 158, and from Josephus and others, Wetstein and Wendt, *in loco*. The latter refers to an Egyptian custom the order of Pythagoras ἀνυπόδητος θῆε καὶ προσκύνει, Jamblich., *Vit. Pyth.*, 23, and cf. 18 in Wetstein.—τὸ ὑπόδημα, cf. xiii. 25, and John i. 27, where in each passage the singular is used. Both Weiss and Wendt note the significance of the verse—a strange land is consecrated (cf. vi. 13, τόπος ἅγιος) by the presence of God—the Jews thought that the Temple was the only holy place, cf. add. note for significance in connection with the aim



ἐστηκας γῇ ἁγία ἐστίν. 34. ἰδὼν εἶδον τὴν κάκωσιν τοῦ λαοῦ μου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ αὐτῶν ἤκουσα· καὶ κατέβην ἐξελεῖσθαι αὐτούς· καὶ νῦν δεῦρο, ἀποστελῶ<sup>1</sup> σε εἰς Αἴγυπτον.” 35. τοῦτον τὸν Μωϋσῆν ὃν ἠρνήσαντο εἰπόντες, “Τίς σε κατέστησεν ἄρχοντα καὶ δικαστήν<sup>2</sup> ;” τοῦτον ὁ Θεὸς ἄρχοντα<sup>3</sup> καὶ λυτρωτὴν ἀπέστειλεν<sup>4</sup> ἐν χειρὶ ἀγγέλου τοῦ ὀφθέντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ βάρῃ. 36. οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτούς, ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

<sup>1</sup> ἀποστελῶ HP.; ἀποστειλῶ NABCD E 61, Chrys., so Tisch., Alford, W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> δικαστήν, NCD 61, Gig., Par., Syr. Harcl. mg. add ἐφ' ἡμῶν (ἐφ' ἡμᾶς in E and Chrys.), so Hilg., but text in ABHP, Vulg., Syr. Harcl. text, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss.

<sup>3</sup> ἄρχοντα, before this word καὶ inserted by NABDE 15, 18, 61, Syr. Harcl.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.

<sup>4</sup> ἀπεστείλεν CHP, Chrys., so Blass; ἀπεσταλκεν NABDE, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; ἐν NHP d, Syr. Pesh., Boh., Arm., Aeth., Meyer; συν ABCDE, Vulg., Sah., Syr. Harcl., Chrys., so Tisch., Alford, W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; ἐν probably from confusion with last syll. in ἀπεσταλκεν. συν χειρὶ only here in N.T.; ἐν χειρὶ not uncommon.

of St. Stephen's speech, and St. Chrysostom's comment *in loco*.

Ver. 34. ἰδὼν εἶδον: Hebraism, so LXX, Exod. iii. 7, and so frequently, e.g., Ps. xl. 1, cf. Matt. xiii. 14, Heb. vi. 14 (Gen. xxii. 17), the participle with the verb emphasising the assurance. But similar collocations are not wanting in classical Greek, see Page, *in loco*, and Wendt, who compares 1 Cor. ii. 1. The phrase ἰδὼν εἶδον occurs in Lucian, *Dial. Mar.*, iv., 3 (Wetstein). “I have surely seen,” R.V., so in A. and R.V., Exod. iii. 7, see Simcox, *Language of N. T.*, p. 130, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 217 (1896).—καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἀποστελῶ, but cf. Exod. iii. 10; ἀποστειλῶ; see critical notes. On the hortatory subj. in first person singular with δεῦρο or ἄφες prefixed, see Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 74, cf. Matt. vii. 4, Luke vi. 42, but translated by the revisers, “I will send,” with an imperative force as of a divine command (see Rendall's note, *in loco*). For classical instances cf. Wendt, *in loco*.

Ver. 35. τοῦτον: followed by the triple οὗτος, a significant and oratorical repetition—*anaphora* or repetition of the pronoun, cf. ii. 23, v. 31 (so Bengel, Blass, Viteau, see also Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, pp. 65, 66). It plainly appears to be one of the purposes, although we cannot positively say the chief purpose, of the speech to place Moses in typical comparison to Jesus and the be-

haviour of the Jews towards Him, ver. 25.—(καὶ) ἄρχοντα καὶ λυτρωτὴν: Moses was made by God a ruler and even more than a judge—not δικαστής but λυτρωτής. But just as the denial of the Christ is compared with the denial of Moses, cf. ἠρνήσαντο and ἠρνήσασθε in Acts iii. 13, so in the same way the λύτρωσις wrought by Christ is compared with that wrought by Moses, cf. Luke i. 68, ii. 38, Heb. ix. 12, Tit. ii. 14 (so Wendt, *in loco*) “omnia quæ negaverant Judæi Deus attribuit Moysi” (Blass). λυτρωτής in LXX and in Philo, but not in classical Greek. In the Sept. the word is used of God Himself, Ps. xix. 14, lxxviii. 35 (cf. Deut. xiii. 5, and *Psalms of Solomon*, ix. 1).—ἐν χειρὶ, cf. xi. 21, but σύν is closer to the classical σύν θεοῖς with the helping and protecting hand, ἐν χειρὶ =

ἡ, cf. Gal. iii. 19.—τῇ βάρῃ: ὁ Attic, ἡ Hellenistic, but in N.T. it varies, in Luke xx. 37 feminine, in Mark xii. 26 (and in LXX) masculine (W.H.); Blass, *Gram.*, p. 26; Grimm-Thayer, *sub v*.

Ver. 36. On οὗτος see ver. 35.—ἐξήγαγεν, Exod. iii. 10, καὶ ἐξάξεις τὸν λαόν μου.—Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ in LXX frequent, הַיָּם הַהוּא sometimes with, sometimes without the article, here as in the Heb. without: cf. the parallel in *Assumption of Moses*, iii., 11 (ed. Charles), and see below on ver. 38.

37. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μωϋσῆς ὁ εἰπὼν τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, “Προφήτῃν ὑμῖν ἀναστήσει Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ὑμῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐμέ· αὐτοῦ ἀκούσεσθε.”<sup>2</sup> 38. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ γενόμενος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ<sup>3</sup> λαλοῦντος αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Σινᾷ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Κύριος CEHP, Boh., Syr. Harcl., Aeth., Chrys., so LXX, Deut. xviii. 15; om.  $\Sigma$ ABD 61, Vulg., Sah., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.  $\mu\omega\nu$  (1) om.  $\Sigma$ ABCD 61, Vulg. verss., Chrys.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτου ακουσεσθε CDE, Gig., Par., Wern., Vulg., Syrr. (P. and H.), Boh., Arm., Aeth.; om.  $\Sigma$ ABHP 61, Sah., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt (cf. Deut. xviii. 15, and Acts iii. 22).

<sup>3</sup> αγγελου του om. Gig., “recte ut videtur,” according to Blass, cf. ver. 44—Blass brackets in  $\beta$ .

Ver. 37. οὗτός, cf. ver. 35, cf. Deut. xviii. 15, and iii. 22, above. The introduction of the prophecy may mean that St. Stephen wished in this as in the preceding and following verse to emphasise the position and the work of Moses, and to mark more strongly the disobedience of the people. Blass regards οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Μ. κ.τ.λ. as intended to show that Moses, whom the Jews accused. Stephen of injuring, was himself by his own words a supporter of the claims of Christ: “hic est ille M. qui dixit”.

Ver. 38. οὗτός: again emphatic use. —ἐκκλησίᾳ: “in the congregation,” R.V. margin: held in the wilderness for the giving of the law, although the word does not occur in Exod. xix., but cf. Deut. xxxi. 30, Josh. viii. 35 (ix. 2). By Wycliffe the word was translated “Church” here, but afterwards “congregation,” so in Tynd., Cranm., Gen., until A.V. again rendered “Church,” cf. Heb. ii. 12, and on the word see above on v. 11, Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 3 ff., and B.D.<sup>2</sup> “Church”. In Heb. ii. 12, R.V. reads “congregation” in text (but “Church” in margin), following Tynd. and Cranm., and Ps. xxii. 22 from which the quotation is made (where both A. and R.V. have “congregation”). Schmiedel would dismiss the word as a later gloss, which has been inserted here in a wrong place, see Wendt (edit. 1899), p. 160, note.—γενόμε. . . . μετὰ, cf. ix. 19, xx. 18 (Mark xvi. 10); no Hebraism, cf. σύν in Luke ii. 13.—τοῦ ἀγγέλου τοῦ λαλ., but in Exodus Moses is said to speak with God, cf. ver. 30 above, and see also ver. 53, “who was with the angel . . . and with our fathers,” i.e., who acted as the mediator between the two parties, who had relations with them both, cf. Gal. iii. 19, and Philo, *Vit. Moys.*, iii., 19, where Moses is called μεσίτης καὶ διαλλακ-

τής, cf. also Heb. ii. 2, and Jos., *Ant.*, xv., 5, 3; the latter passage represents Herod assaying that the Jews learned all that was most holy in their law δι’ ἀγγέλων παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ (see Westcott *Hebrews*, and Wetstein on Gal. iii. 19). On the title μεσίτης as given to Moses, see further *Assumption of Moses*, i., 14, and Charles’ note and introd. lxiii., but it does not follow that the inference is justified that the Apocryphal Book in question was known to the writer of St. Stephen’s speech. Dr. Charles maintains this on the ground of three passages, but of (1) it may be said that the term μεσίτης evidently could have been known from other sources than Acts, (2) the parallel between ver. 36 and *Assumption of Moses*, iii., 11, is, as Dr. Charles admits, an agreement verbally “for the most part,” but the words “Egypt, the Red Sea, and the wilderness for forty years” might often be used as a summary of the history of Israel at a particular period, whilst the context with which the words are here associated is quite different from that in *Assumption of Moses*, i.c., and (3) there is no close resemblance between the prophecy from Amos quoted in ver. 43 below and the prophecy in *Assumption of Moses*, ii., 13; in both the phraseology is quite general. Perhaps the omission of the word μετὰ before τῶν πατέρων gives emphasis to the privilege of “our fathers,” when one can speak of being with the angel and with them, Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 159. Thus Moses prefigures the Mediator of the new covenant, cf. Heb. viii. 15, ix. 15, xii. 24, and the mention of this honour bestowed upon Moses emphasises still more fully the indignity which he received from his countrymen, cf. St. Chrysostom on the force of οὗτος in this verse.—λόγια, cf. Rom. iii. 2, as in LXX.



τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ὃς ἐδέξατο λόγια ζῶντα δοῦναι ἡμῖν.<sup>1</sup> 39. ᾧ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ὑπῆκοι γενέσθαι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν, ἀλλ'<sup>2</sup> ἀπώσαντο, καὶ ἐστράφησαν<sup>3</sup> ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, 40. εἰπόντες τῷ Ἀαρὼν, "Ποίησον ἡμῖν θεοὺς οἱ προπορεύονται ἡμῶν· ὁ γὰρ Μωσῆς οὗτος, ὃς ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου, οὐκ οἶδαμεν τί γέγονεν<sup>4</sup> αὐτῷ." 41. καὶ ἔμοσχοποίησαν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις, καὶ ἀνήγαγον θυσίαν τῷ εἰδώλῳ, καὶ εὐφραίνοντο ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν. 42. Ἔστρεψε δὲ ὁ Θεός, καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς λατρεύειν τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν, "Μὴ σφάγια καὶ θυσίας προσηνέγκατέ μοι ἔτη τεσσαρά-

<sup>1</sup> ἡμιν; but  $\aleph$ B read ὑμιν, so W.H. text, Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ'; but ἀλλα in  $\aleph$ ABCDEH, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> ἐστραφήσαν, D reads ἀπεστραφήσαν, so Hilg. ταῖς καρδίαις DE, Vulg., Arm., Syr. Pesh., Chrys., Irenint.; so Meyer; *en* pref. in  $\aleph$ ABC, so W.H., R.V., Weiss.

<sup>4</sup> ἐγενετο  $\aleph$ ABC, so W.H., R.V., Blass (*cf.* Exod. xxxii. 1, pr. R.V.).

of the words of God, *cf.* Numb. xxiv. 4, 16, and chiefly for any utterance of God whether precept or promise, only once of human words (Ps. xviii. (xix.) 14); so Philo speaks of the decalogue as τὰ δέκα λόγια, and Jos., *B. J.*, vi., 5, 4, of the prophecies of God in the O.T., and Philo writes τὸ λόγιον τοῦ προφήτου (*i.e.*, Moses), *Vit. Moys.*, iii., 35, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, λόγιον, lit., a little word, from the brevity of oracular responses.—ζῶντα: "vim vitale habentia," Blass, *cf.* Heb. iv. 12, 1 Pet. i. 23, *cf.* Deut. xxxii. 47. The words again show how far St. Stephen was from despising the Law of Moses, *cf.* Heb. iv. 12, "living," R.V. ("quick," A.V.); 1 Pet. i. 3, and ii. 5, where R.V. has "living" instead of "lively"; in Ps. xxxviii. 19 "lively" is retained in R.V. (see also in Exod. i. 19, in contrast to feeble, languid), *cf.* Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, iii., 8, 5. Here the word has the sense of living, *i.e.*, enduring, abiding, *cf.* "thy true and lively [living] word" in prayer for the Church Militant, *cf.* 1 Pet. i. 23, R.V.

Ver. 39. ἐστράφησαν, *i.e.*, in their desires after the Egyptian gods, *cf.* ver. 40, not "turned back again," but simply "turned" (Rendall, *in loco*). The words cannot be taken literally (as Corn. à Lap. and others), or we should have to render "who may go before us in our return to Egypt," which not only is unsupported by the Greek, but *cf.* Exod. xxxii. 4, 1 Kings xii. 28; see also on this verse, Exod. xvi. 3, Num. xi. 4, 5, but the desires there expressed marked a later date.

Ver. 40. προπορεύονται (Exod. xvi. 3, Num. xi. 4, 5), only elsewhere in N.T., in Luke i. 76, with which *cf.* Deut. xxxi. 3. The words in Acts are taken from Exod. xxxii. 1, 23; frequent in LXX, 1 Macc. ix. 11 (but see H. and R.), and also in Xen. and Polyb.—οὗτος, *iste, cf.* vi. 14, the same anacoluthon as in LXX, Exod. xxxii. 23, so in the Heb., "who brought us up": no mention of God—they ascribed all to Moses (Chrysostom); see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 135 (1896).

Ver. 41. ἔμοσχοποίησαν: not in LXX or in classical Greek; in Exod. xxxii. 2, ἐποίησαν μόσχον.—ἀνήγαγον θυσίαν, *cf.* 1 Kings iii. 15 (and 2 Sam. vi. 17, A.), for similar use of the word, "quia victima in aram tollitur," Grimm.—εὐφραίνοντο, *cf.* Exod. xxxii. 6 and 18; the word is very frequent in LXX, and several times with ἐν, *cf.*, *e.g.*, 2 Chron. vi. 41, Ecclesiast. xiv. 5, 1 Macc. iii. 7; χαίρειν ἐν, Luke x. 20; used only by St. Luke amongst the Evangelists, six times in his Gospel, twice in Acts (but ii. 26 is a quotation). Bengel points out that God rejoices in the works of His own hands, and men in the work of God's hands, but not as here—half irony in the words.

Ver. 42. ἔστρεψε: properly intransitive. Weiss takes it transitively: God turned them from one idol worship to another; but here probably means that God turned away from them, in the sense that He cared no longer for them as before; so Grimm, *sub v.*; or that He actually changed so as to be opposed to them; *cf.* Josh. xxiv. 20, Heb., so Wet

κοντα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ; 43. καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολόχ, καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥεμφάν,<sup>1</sup> τοὺς τύπους οὓς ἐποιήσατε προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς· καὶ μετοικίω ὑμᾶς ἐπέκεινα<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ὑμῶν ῬACEHP, Vulg., Boh., Syr. Harcl., Aeth., Chrys. (so LXX, Amos v. 26), so Blass; om. BD 15, 18, Syr. Pesh., Sah., Arm., Ir., Or., Philast., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. Ῥεμφάν 1, 31, Or., Chrys.; Ῥεμφαμ D, Flor., Gig., Par., Wern., Vulg., Iren., so Blass in β, and Hilg.; Ῥεφαν Ῥ<sup>3</sup>ACE, Syrr. (P. and H.), Boh., Sah., so R.V.; Ῥομφαν Ῥ<sup>3</sup> 3, so Tisch.; Ῥομφα B, so W.H., Weiss. In LXX Ραιφαν or Ρεφαν. Wendt prefers Ρομφαν or Ρομφα.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπέκεινα; D<sup>1</sup>, Gig., Par. read ἐπὶ τα μέρη, so Blass in α and β, so Hilg., cf. LXX; originality of Western reading not imposs., or ἐπὶ τα μέρη may have been substituted for a phrase unique in N.T. (see also Wendt, p. 163, edit. 1899).

stein "Deus se ab iis avertit," and cf. LXX, Isa. lxiii. 10.—παρέδωκεν, cf. Rom. i. 24, and εἶασε in xiv. 16; Ephes. iv. 19, "gave themselves up". εἰαυτοὺς παρέδωκαν, from the side of man.—λατρεύειν τῇ στρατιᾷ τοῦ οὐρ., cf. Deut. xvii. 3, 2 Kings xvii. 16, xxi. 3, 2 Chron. xxxiii. 3, 5, Jer. viii. 2, xix. 13, a still grosser idolatry: "antiquissima idolatria, ceteris speciosior" Bengel. The created host was worshipped in place of Jehovah Sabaoth, "the Lord of Hosts". The word, though used always in the N.T. of religious service, is sometimes applied to the worship of idols, as well as of the One God; cf. Rom. i. 25 (LXX, Exod. xx. 5, xxiii. 24, Ezek. xx. 32), so λατρεία is used of the worship of idols in 1 Macc. i. 43; see Trench, *Synonyms*, i., p. 142 ff.—ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφ.: here part of the Hebrew Scriptures which the Jews summed up under the title of "the Prophets," as a separate part, the other two parts being the Law and the Hagio-grapha (the Psalms, Luke xxiv. 44); or Twelve Minor Prophets which probably formed one book.—Μὴ σφάγια κ.τ.λ.: a quotation from Amos v. 25-27, with little variation—the quotation in ver. 42 is really answered by the following verse. The question does not mean literally that no sacrifices were ever offered in the wilderness, which would be directly contrary to such passages as Exod. xxiv. 4, Num. vii. 9. The sacrifices no doubt were offered, but how could they have been real and effectual and acceptable to God while in their hearts the people's affections were far from Him, and were given to idol deities? μὴ, expecting a negative answer = *num* (see Zöckler's note, *in loco*).—οἶκος: nominative for vocative, as often, as if in apposition to the ὑμεῖς contained in προσηγέκατε (Blass). Some emphasise μοι = *mihī soli*, or

suppose with Nösgen that the question is ironical.

Ver. 43. The answer of God to His own question: καὶ should be explained "ye actually took up" ("yea," R.V., in Amos v. 26); ἀνελάβετε, "ye took up," i.e., to carry in procession from one halting place to another. τὴν σκηνὴν, properly σκηνή = *תִּבְרָךְ*, which has sometimes

been explained as the tent or tabernacle made by the idolatrous Israelites in honour of an idol, like the tabernacle of the covenant in honour of Jehovah, but R.V. renders "Siccuth your king" (margin, "the tabernacle of your king"), Amos v. 26, see below.—τοῦ Μολόχ; s in LXX, but in Hebrew, מֹלֶכֶת, i.e., your king (as A.V. in margin, Amos v. 26). The LXX, either as explanatory, or perhaps through another reading מֹלֶכֶת, 2 Kings xxiii. 13, here render by the name of the idol. Sayce also (*Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 258) renders "Sikkuth your Malik," i.e., the Babylonian god Sikkuth also represents "Malik," the king, another Babylonian deity (= Moloch of the O.T.). Most commentators maintain that ver. 26 (Amos v.) is not in the original connected with ver. 25 as the LXX render, referring the latter verse back to Mosaic times. The LXX may have followed some tradition, but not only does the fact that the worship of Moloch was forbidden in the wilderness seem to indicate that its practice was a possibility, but there is also evidence that long before the Exodus Babylonian influence had made itself felt in the West, and the statement of Amos may therefore mean that the Babylonian god was actually worshipped by the Israelites in the wilderness (Sayce, *u. s.*, p. 259). In margin of R.V. we have "shall take up," i.e.,



Βαβυλῶνος." 44. Ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ ἀρτυρίου ἦν ἐν τοῖς πατράσιν  
ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, καθὼς διετάξατο ὁ λαὸν τῷ Μωσῇ, ποιῆσαι

carry away with you into exile (as a threat), while others take the verb not in a future but in a perfect sense, as referring to the practice of the contemporaries of the prophet: "de suo tempore hæc dicit Amos" (Blass). *Siccuth* or rather *Saccuth* is probably a proper name (a name given to Nin-ip, the warlike sun-god of Babylonia (Sayce)), and both it and *Kewan* (*Kaiwan*), כִּיּוֹן, represent

Babylono-Assyrian deities (or a deity), see Schrader, *Cun. Inscript. and the O. T.*, ii., 141, 142, E.T.; Sayce, *u. s.*, Art. "Chiun" in Hastings' B.D., and Felten and Wendt, *in loco*. For the thought expressed here that their gods should go into captivity with the people, cf. Isa. xlvi. 2.—καὶ τὸ ἄστρον . . . Ῥεμφάν, T.R.—but R.V. Ῥεφάν, on the reading see critical notes, and Wendt, p. 177.

For the Hebrew (Amos v. 26) כִּיּוֹן

*Chiun*, the LXX has Ῥαιφάν. How can we account for this? Probably LXX read the word not *Chiun* but *Kewan*

כִּיּוֹן (so in Syr. Pesh., *Kewan* = Saturn your idol), of which Ῥαιφάν is a corruption through *Καιφάν* (cf. similar change of כ into ר in Nah. i. 6, כַּאֲשֶׁר in LXX ἀρχάς as if ראש, Robinson's *Gesenius*, p. 463). *Kewan* = Ka-ai-va-nu, an Assyrian name for the planet Saturn, called by the same name in Arabic and Persian (Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopædie des Judentums*, i., 2, 216, and Art. "Chiun," *u. s.*); and this falls in perfectly with the Hebrew, "the star of

your god" (your star-god) — אֱלֹהֶיכֶם

כְּוִכָב, the previous word, אֱלֹהֶיכֶם, "your images," being placed after the two Hebrew words just quoted, cf. LXX (but see also Sayce, *u. s.*, who renders "Chiun, your Zelem," Zelem denoting another Babylonian deity = the image or disc of the sun). It seems plain at all events that both in the Hebrew and in the LXX reference is made to the divine honours paid to the god Saturn. In the words "ye took up the star," etc., the meaning is that they took up the star or image which represented the god Saturn—your god with some authorities

(so in LXX, see Blass, *in loco*). ὁ θεῶν, *i. e.*, the deity whom these Israelites thus placed on a level with Jehovah. If we

take כִּיּוֹן *Chiun* = the litter, or pedestal, of your gods, *i. e.*, on which they were carried in procession, as if from כְּוִכָב (a meaning advocated by Dr. Robertson Smith), and not as a proper name at all: "the shrines of your images, the star of your God," R.V. margin, Amos v. 26, we may still infer from the mention of a star that the reference is to the debasement of planet worship (so Jerome conjectured Venus or Lucifer). It is to be noted that the vocalisation of *Siccuth* and *Chiun* is the same, and it has been recently suggested that for the form of these two names in our present text we are indebted to the misplaced zeal of the Massoretes, by the familiar trick of fitting the pointing of one word to the consonant skeleton of another—here the pointing is

taken from the word שְׂקִיץ, "abomination," see Art., "Chiun," *u. s.*—τοὺς τύπους, *simulacra*: in LXX, in opposition to σκηνὴ and ἄστρον. If the σκηνὴ is to be taken as meaning the tent or tabernacle containing the image of the god, it might be so described. τύποι is used, Jos., *Ant.*, i., 19, 11; xv. 9, 5, of the images of Laban stolen by Rachel.—προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς: not in LXX, where we read τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς.—ἐπέκεινα βαβυλῶνος: in LXX and Hebrew "Damascus". ἐπέκ. only here in N.T., but in classical authors, and in LXX, Gen. xxxv. 16 (21), Jer. xxii. 19 (and Aquila on passage in Genesis). "Babylon" may have been due to a slip, but more probably spoken designedly: "interpretatur vaticinium Stephanus ex eventu" (as the Rabbis often interpreted passages), see Wendt, *in loco*, and Lightfoot. It may be that St. Stephen thus closes one part of his speech, that which shows how Israel, all through their history, had been rebellious, and how punishment had followed. If this conjecture is correct, we pass now to the way in which Stephen deals with the charge of blasphemy against the temple.

Ver. 44. Here again we notice that the first sanctuary of the fathers was not the temple, nor was it erected on holy ground, but ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ according to

αὐτὴν κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὃν ἑώρακε· 45. ἦν καὶ εἰσήγαγον διαδεξάμενοι οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν μετὰ Ἰησοῦ, ἐν τῇ κατασχέσει τῶν ἐθνῶν ὧν ἐξῴσεν<sup>1</sup> ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, ἕως τῶν ἡμερῶν Δαβὶδ· 46. ὃς εὗρε χάριν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ᾗτήσατο εὐρεῖν σκῆνωμα

<sup>1</sup> ἐξῴσεν  $\aleph^3$  ABCDHP, Chrys., so W.H., Weiss, Hilg.; ἐξέωσεν  $\aleph^*$  E 5, Tisch., so Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 37.

God's direct command.—*ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτ.*: it is possible that there was in the speaker's mind a contrast to the *σκηνή* in ver. 43, but the connection is not clearly drawn out, ἀσυνδέτως, "ut in oratione concitatore" (Blass).—*ἡ σ. τοῦ μαρτυρίου*, "the tabernacle of the testimony". The same phrase in LXX is used (incorrectly as Meyer noted) to translate the Hebrew tabernacle of the congregation or tabernacle of meeting, *i.e.*, of God with His people, *cf.* Exod. xxvii. 21. But the tabernacle was justly called *μαρτυρίου*, because it contained "the ark of the testimony," LXX, Exod. xxv. 9 (10), κιβωτὸς *μαρτυρίου*, and so frequently in the rest of the book, and xxxi. 18, τὰς δύο πλάκας τοῦ *μαρτυρίου*. The tabernacle might properly be so called as a witness of God's presence, and a testimony to the covenant between God and His people. See also Westcott on Heb. viii. 5, additional note.—*διετίξατο*, *cf.* xx. 13, xxiv. 23; only in St. Luke and St. Paul in N.T., except once in Matt. xi. 1; in Gospel four times, in Acts four or five times, and frequent in LXX. Grimm compares *disponere* (verordnen).—*καθὼς δ. ὁ λαλῶν*: "even as he appointed who spake," R.V.; "per reverentiam appellatio siletur" Blass; *cf.* Exod. xxv. 40, Heb. viii. 5.—*κατὰ τὸν τύπον*, *cf.* Wisdom ix. 8, where the command is given to Solomon.—*μίμημα σκηνῆς ἁγίας ἣν προητοίμασας*: "according to the figure," *i.e.*, pattern, likeness, *cf.* ver. 43 and Rom. v. 14. Again we see how far Stephen was from denying the divine sanction given to Moses for the tabernacle. In the thought thus implied lies the germ of Hooker's great argument, *Eccles. Pol.*, iii., 11 (Plumptre).

Ver. 45. *διαδεξάμενοι*: having received in their turn, *i.e.*, from Moses, only here in N.T., *cf.* 4 Macc. iv. 15; so also in classical Greek, in Dem. and in Polyb., *cf.* *διαδοχῆς*, "in their turn," Herod., viii., 142: (on the technical meaning of *διάδοχος*, to which in the LXX *διαδεχόμενος* is akin to the term of a deputy, or of one next to the king, see Deissmann,

*Bibelstudien*, pp. 111, 112).—*μετὰ Ἰησοῦ*, *cf.* Heb. iv. 8, where Syr. Pesh. has "Jesus the son of Nun" (but not here).—*ἐν τῇ κατασχέσει τῶν ἐθνῶν*: "when they entered on the possession of the nations," R.V., lit., in the taking possession of the nations, *i.e.*, of the land inhabited by the nations (Wendt). A.V. follows Vulgate; frequent in LXX, *cf.* Jos., *Ant.*, ix., 1, 2, and *Test. xii. Patr.*, x., used by Philo in the sense of a portion given to keep (Grimm-Thayer).—*ὧν*: Attic attraction, *cf.* i. 1.—*ἀπὸ προσώπου*: for a similar phrase *cf.* Deut. xi. 23, xii. 29, 30, etc., and frequently in LXX, Hebrew *בְּפָנָיו*.—*ἕως τῶν ἡμ.* Δ.: to be connected with the first part of the verse, "which also our fathers brought in . . . unto the days of David" (inclusively), see Wendt, *in loco*, *i.e.*, "et mansit tabernaculum usque ad tempora Davidis" (Blass). Rendall takes the words as closely joined to *ὧν ἐξῴσεν*, but the clause *ὧν ἐξῴσεν* . . . ἡμῶν is rather subordinate.

Ver. 46. *ὃς εὗρε χάριν*, *cf.* Luke i. 30, Hebraistic, *cf.* Gen. vi. 8; it may be tacitly implied that had the temple been so important as the Jew maintained, God would have allowed the man who found favour before him to build it; on the phrase *ἐνώπιον*. K. or Θεοῦ see above on iv. 10.—*ᾗτήσατο εὐρεῖν*, *i.e.*, σκῆνωμα, *cf.* iii. 3; ἡρώτα λαβεῖν, and instances in Wetstein, "asked to find," not only "desired," LXX, 2 Sam. vii. 2 ff., 1 Chron. xxii. 7, Ps. lxxxi. 5.—*σκῆνωμα*: perhaps used by David (as in the Psalm quoted) in his humility (Meyer); used of the temple in 1 Esdras i. 50. David of course desired to build not a *σκηνή*, which already existed.—*τῷ Θεῷ ἰακώβ*, see critical notes.

Ver. 47. *Σολομῶν*, see above on iii. 11.—*δὲ*: "But" or "And"—*δὲ*, adversative as in A. and R.V., *cf.* 2 Chron. vi. 7-9, where Solomon is represented as claiming God's promise that he should build the house—a favour denied to his father David.

Ver. 48. *ἀλλ' οὐχ*: But the presence of the Most High (in contrast to the



τῷ Θεῷ<sup>1</sup> Ἰακώβ· 47. Σολομών<sup>2</sup> δὲ ὠκοδόμησεν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῷ οἶκον. 48. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὁ ὕψιστος ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς<sup>4</sup> κατοικεῖ, καθὼς ὁ προφήτης λέγει, 49. "Ὁ οὐρανός μοι θρόνος, ἡ δὲ γῆ ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν μου· ποῖον οἶκον οἰκοδομήσετέ μοι; λέγει Κύριος· ἡ τίς<sup>5</sup> τόπος τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Θεῷ **N**<sup>3</sup>ACEP, Vulg., Syrr. (P. and H.), Sah., Boh., Arm., Aeth., Chrys.; οἰκῷ **N**<sup>1</sup>BDH, so Weiss (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 7), so also Hilg. W.H. (Appendix, 92) think that although Θεῷ is a very ancient correction of οἰκῷ the latter can hardly be genuine and that there is apparently a primitive error, and with this judgment Wendt agrees. Hort suggests κυριῷ, and concludes that τωοικῷ may have come from τωκῷ (so too Wendt), and refers to LXX, Ps. cxxxi. 5; but we have still to ask if the expression "Lord of Jacob" ever occurred, whilst no doubt "God of Jacob," "House of Jacob" are familiar expressions. In LXX, Ps. cxxxi. 3, we have σκηνῶμα οἶκον, and a similar expression may have been the orig. reading here; again, in Ps. xxiv. 6, Heb., we have "Jacob" = "the God of Jacob" (see LXX), and it has been suggested that some such abbreviation or mode of speech lies at the bottom of the difficulty here. Blass holds that οἰκῷ comes from the next verse "corrupte" (orig. a gloss on σκηνῶμα).

<sup>2</sup> Σολομών BDEHP, so Blass in β, Weiss; Σολομών W.H., Hilg.; Σαλωμων AC, so Tisch.; Σαλομων **N**. (See Winer-Schmiedel, p. 93; Blass, *Gram.*, p. 29.)

<sup>3</sup> ὠκοδόμησεν **NAB**<sup>3</sup>CEHP, so Tisch.; οἰκοδομησεν BD, so W.H., Weiss, Blass in β, Hilg., but see W.H., App., 170. (Winer-Schmiedel, p. 100; Blass, *Gram.*, p. 37.)

<sup>4</sup> ναοῖς om. **NABCDE**; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. (*cf.* xvii. 24).

<sup>5</sup> τις; D, Flor. read ποιος, so Blass in β, and Hilg.—assim. either to preceding ποιον or to LXX.

smallness of any building made by hands) was not so confined—the previous words must not be misunderstood by Stephen's hearers. Solomon's οἶκος might have given the idea of greater permanency, but still Isaiah had taught, lxvi. 1, 2, and even the builder of the temple, Solomon himself, had acknowledged that God was not confined to any single place of worship, 1 King viii. 27, 2 Chron. vi. 18 (Hackett), *cf.* also David's prayer, 1 Chron. xxix. 10-19.—ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ—omit ναοῖς, probably an exegetical addition, *cf.* xvii. 24, where the word is found. The omission makes the contrast with οἶκος still more emphatic. "But Solomon . . . a house, howbeit the Most High dwelleth not in houses made with hands" (R.V.). For χειροποίητος and ἄχειρ. see Westcott on Heb. ix. 11, 24. Both words occur in Mark xiv. 58, in the charge of the false witness against our Lord. In the LXX χειροποίητος is used several times of idols made with hands, and occasionally found in classical Greek. Weiss compares as a parallel with its use here Isa. xvi. 12 (see R.V.), but the meaning is doubtful.—ὁ ὕψιστος, emphatic—Solomon's building a house must not be

misunderstood—see too ver. 49. ὁ ὕψ., xvi. 17, used here absolutely (*cf.* Luke i. 32, 35, 76, vi. 35, without the article), so often in LXX, 2 Sam. xxii. 14, Ps. xvii. 13, and often in Psalms, Isa. xiv. 14, Ecclus. xii. 6, etc. R.V. writes "Most High," instead of A.V. "most High," thus making the proper name of God more emphatic, *cf.* Winer-Schmiedel, p. 172—so in classical Greek Ζεὺς ὕψιστος; ὁ ὕψιστος θεός in Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor; for the Hebrew equivalents, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* St. Stephen's word's apparently impressed at least one of his hearers, for the same thought is reproduced in the words of St. Paul at Athens, where he asserts the same truth, and makes St. Stephen's words as it were his text to emphasise the real power and worship of God: "atque similiter hic Judæi atque illic Græci castigantur" (Blass), *cf.* the teaching of our Lord in John iv. 21 (and see Plumptre's note on this passage in Acts).—καθὼς ὁ προφ., Isa. lxvi. 1, 2 (LXX). The quotation is almost identical with few slight changes, as *e.g.*,

Ver. 49. τίς τόπος for ποῖος, and οὐχὶ introducing the conclusion instead of γάρ.—Although Solomon had expressed this

καταπαύσεώς μου; 50. οὐχὶ ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησε ταῦτα πάντα<sup>1</sup>;

51. Σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ἀπερίτμητοι τῇ καρδίᾳ<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῖς ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ Ἁγίῳ ἀντιπίπτετε, ὡς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν καὶ ὑμεῖς.<sup>3</sup> 52. τίνα τῶν προφητῶν οὐκ ἐδίωξαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν<sup>4</sup>; καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς προκαταγγεῖλانتας περὶ τῆς ἐλεύσεως τοῦ δικαίου,

<sup>1</sup> Flor. omits whole verse, but Blass and Hilg. retain it. Variation from LXX decisive for retention.

<sup>2</sup> (τῇ) καρδίᾳ BHP 61, Flor., Gig., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Boh., Eus., Lucif., so Blass, Meyer, Alford; καρδιαῖς (Σ)ACD 7, 14 (Chrys.), Cyr. (Vulg., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Aeth.), so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; καρδιας B, W.H. marg. Meyer and Alford retain καρδίᾳ because (they think) καρδιαῖς was introduced to suit plural subject, but cf. Ezek. xlv. 7. καρδιας in LXX, Jer. ix. 26, but the reading can scarcely be original here on account of the following dat. τοῖς ὦσιν (Wendt). But on the whole W.H.'s decision is best.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὑμεῖς om. D<sup>2</sup>, Flor., Gig., but Blass retains; Hilg. omits.

<sup>4</sup> οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν; D, Flor. read ἐκεῖνοι.

same truth in the dedicatory prayer of his temple, St. Stephen appeals to the great Messianic prophet. It is not, as some have thought, the worthlessness of the temple, but rather its relative value upon which Stephen insists. Those who take the former view of the words must suppose that St. Stephen had forgotten that Solomon had given utterance to the same thought at the moment when he was consecrating the temple (so Wendt, Felten, McGiffert, *in loco*). Weiss sees in the question another proof of the thought running through the whole address, that God's presence, with the blessings which He confers and the revelations which He imparts, is not confined to the temple: cf. the use of the same quotation as here against the Jews, *Epist. Barn.*, xvi., 2, after the destruction of the temple.

Ver. 51. σκληροτράχηλοι καὶ ἀπερίτμητοι τῇ καρδίᾳ, cf. Exod. xxiii. 3, 5, xxxiv. 9, Deut. ix. 6, Baruch ii. 30, etc., Eccus. xvi. 11 (cf. Cicero, *Verr.*, iii., 95, "tantis cervicibus est"). Both adjectives had been used to describe the sins of Israel in former days. On this reading see above and Wendt, critical note, p. 190, cf. Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 116. For the expression ἀπερ., cf. Deut. x. 16, Jer. iv. 4, and ἀπερ. τὰ ὦτα, Jer. vi. 10. In the N.T. cf. Rom. ii. 25, 29 (which sounds like another echo of St. Stephen's teaching), cf. also *Epist. Barn.*, ix. (Jer. iv. 4). Similar expressions occur in Philo and the Rabbis, and also 1 Macc. i. 48, ii. 46, and see further Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 150, 151. Many writers have maintained that St. Stephen's sharp and abrupt declaration

marks the increasing impatience of his hearers at this point, as if the speaker felt that the murmurs of his audience would not allow him much more speech. But on the other hand St. Stephen's whole speech led up to this point, and his words were not so much an interruption, but a continuance and a summary of what had gone before. No doubt the speech was left unfinished: "cujus cursus ad Iesum tendebat" (Blass); since in His rejection the obstinacy of the people which had marked and marred their history had reached its climax; and the indignant words of St. Stephen bring to mind the indignation of a greater than he against the hypocrisy and wilfulness of the nation—"the wrath of the Lamb" against the Pharisees and the oppressors (Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 68). —ἀεὶ: "summa tractationis — semper quotiescumque vocamini" Bengel.—ἀντιπίπτετε, cf. Num. xxvii. 14, of Israel striving against God, and also in Polyb. and Plut.

Ver. 52. τίνα τῶν προφ.—ἀσυνδέτως, to mark the vehemence of the speech, as above, verse 51: cf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16 for the general statement, and for individual cases, Jeremiah, Amos, and probably Isaiah, the prophet just quoted. We may compare the words of our Lord, Matt. v. 12, Luke xiii. 34, and also Luke xi. 49, Matt. xxiii. 29-37 where the same words ἐδίωξαν and ἀπέκτειναν are used of the treatment of the prophets.—καὶ ἀπέκ.: "they even slew"—perhaps the force of καὶ (Wendt), "they slew them also" (Rendall).—ἐλεύσεως: only here in the N.T., not in LXX or Apocrypha, or



οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδοταὶ καὶ φονεῖς γεγέννησθε<sup>1</sup>. 53. οἵτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων, καὶ οὐκ ἐφύλαξατε. 54. Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα, διεπρίοντο ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔβρουχον τοὺς ὀδόντας

<sup>1</sup> γεγέννησθε HP, Chrys.; ἐγενεσθε  $\Sigma$ ABCDE, Orig., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

in classical writers, but found in *Acta Thomæ* 28, and in Iren., i., 10, in plural, of the first and second advent of Christ (see also Dion. Hal., iii., 59).—τοῦ δικαίου, see Acts iii. 14 and note. It has been suggested that it is used here and elsewhere of our Lord from His own employment of the same word in Matt. xxiii. 29, where He speaks of the tombs τῶν δικαίων whom the fathers had slain whilst the children adorned their sepulchres. But it is more probable that the word was applied to our Lord from the LXX use of it, cf. Isa. liii. 11. Even those Jews who rejected the idea of an atoning Messiah acknowledged that His personal righteousness was His real claim to the Messianic dignity, Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 362; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, p. 185, second edition. We cannot forget that one of those present who heard St. Stephen's burning words was himself to see the Just One and to carry on the martyr's work, cf. xxii. 14, ἰδεῖν τὸν δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.—νῦν ἐγένεσθε: "of whom ye have now become," R.V., the spirit of their fathers was still alive, and they had acted as their fathers had done; ὑμεῖς again emphatic.

Ver. 53. οἵτινες, *quippe qui* ("ye who," R.V.), as often in Acts and Epistles not simply for identification, but when as here the conduct of the persons already mentioned is further enlarged upon (Alford), cf. viii. 15, ix. 35, x. 41, 47, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 235, but see also Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 169.—εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων: "as it was ordained by angels," R.V. εἰς: at the appointment of, cf. its use in Matt. xii. 41, or better εἰς as in ver. 21 = received the law as ordinances of angels (νόμον being regarded as an aggregate of single acts and so with plural "ordinances"), so Rendall, who takes εἰς = ὡς, and Page, cf. Heb. xi. 8, i.e., it was no human ordinance. But see on the other hand Wendt's note, p. 192, where he points out that the law was not received as commands given by angels but by God. This was undoubtedly the case, but St. Stephen was here probably referring to the current tradition in Philo

and Josephus, and LXX, Deut. xxxiii. 2. ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, cf. Ps. lxvii. 17; Philo, *De Somn.*, p. 642 Mang., so Jos., *Ant.*, xv., 5, 3, and also *Book of Jubilees*, chap. i. (see Weststein and Lightfoot (J. B.) on Gal. iii. 19). Others again take εἰς = ἐν, "acceptistis legem ab angelis promulgatam" = διατασσόντων ἀγγέλων, so Blass. Certainly it does not seem possible to take διαταγή = διάταξις = *agmen dispositum* (cf. Judith i. 4, viii. 36), and to render "præsentibus angelorum ordinibus," so that here also εἰς = ἐν (Meyer and others). Lightfoot (J.) takes the "angels" as = Moses and the Prophets; Surenhusius as = the elders of the people, whilst St. Chrysostom sees a reference to the angel of the burning bush. It must not be thought that St. Stephen is here depreciating the Law. From a Christian standpoint it might of course be urged that as Christ was superior to the angels, so the introduction of angels showed the inferiority of the Law to the Gospel (cf. Heb. ii. 2, Gal. iii. 19), but St. Stephen's point is that although the Law had been given with such notable sanctions, yet his hearers had not kept it, and that therefore they, not he, were the real law-breakers.—οὐκ ἐφύλαξατε: "cum omnibus phylacteriis vestris," Bengel. Note the rhetorical power of the words cf. ver. 25 (Page).

Ver. 54. No charge could have been more hateful to such an audience, cf. our Lord's words, John vii. 19; see Schürer, *Jewish People*, vol. ii., div. ii., p. 90 ff., E.T. Schürer twice quotes St. Paul's words, pp. 96, 124, ἡ ἄλυσις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐχουσιν ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν; no words could better characterise the entire tendency of the Judaism of the period.—διεπρίοντο, cf. v. 33.—ἔβρουχον: not elsewhere in N.T., in LXX, Job xvi. 10 (9), Ps. xxxiv. (v.) 16, xxxvi. (vii.) 12, cf. cxi. (xii.) 10; Lam. ii. 16, cf. Plutarch, *Pericles*, 33 (without ὀδόντας, intransitive). The noun βρύχη is found in the same sense, *Ap. Rh.*, ii., 83, of brute passion, not the despair so often associated with the cognate noun; cf. Matt. viii. 12, xii. 42, etc.

ἐπ' αὐτόν. 55.<sup>1</sup> Ὑπάρχων δὲ πλήρης Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, ἀτενίσας εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, εἶδε δόξαν Θεοῦ, καὶ Ἰησοῦν<sup>2</sup> ἑστῶτα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ,<sup>3</sup> 56. καὶ εἶπεν, Ἰδοί, θεωρῶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀνεωγμένους, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκ δεξιῶν ἑστῶτα τοῦ Θεοῦ. 57. κράξαντες δὲ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, συνέσχον τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν, καὶ ὤρμησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

<sup>1</sup> ὑπαρχων δε πλήρης Π. Α., Flor. represents *ὁ δε υπαρχων* (or *ων*) *ἐν πνευματι* *αγιω*; possibly assim. to Apoc. i. 10, iv. 2, as it has been thoughtfully suggested that to be “in the spirit” would account for his vision, whereas the expression in T.R. would not seem to account for it.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰησουν; D, Flor., Gig. add *τον Κυριον*, so Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> For *του θεου* Par., Wern. read *virtutis Dei*; Const. Apost. *της δυναμεως*, “recte ut videtur” Blass, so in β; cf. Matt. xxvi. 64, Luke xxii. 69.

Ver. 55. ἀτενίσας, cf. i. 10, εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, cf. John xvii. 1, “ubi enim est oculus, ibi est cor et amor”. In the power of the Holy Ghost, with which Stephen is represented as being full, as in life so in death, he saw δόξαν Θεοῦ, in which He had appeared to Abraham, cf. ver. 2, πλήρης, “crescente furore hostium, in Stephano crescit robor spiritus, omnisque fructus Spiritus,” Bengel.—Ἰησοῦν ἑστῶτα: elsewhere He is represented as sitting, ii. 34. If St. Luke had placed this saying in the mouth of St. Stephen in imitation of the words of Jesus, Matt. xxi. 64, Mark xvi. 19, Luke xxii. 69, he would, without doubt, have described Him as sitting, cf. also the expression “Son of Man,” only here outside the Gospels, and never in the Epistles (Rev. i. 13, a doubtful instance), a noteworthy indication of the primitive date and truthfulness of the expression and the report. See especially Wendt's note on p. 194 (1888). Standing, as if to succour and to receive His servant, ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν ἀντίληψιν τὴν εἰς αὐτόν (Oecum., and so Chrys.); “quasi obvium Stephano,” Bengel, so Zöckler, and see Alford's note and Collect for St. Stephen's day. St. Augustine represents Christ as standing: “ut Stephano stanti, patienti, et reo, ipse quoque stans, quasi patiens et reus compatiatur”. Alford supposes reference in the vision to that of Zech. iii. 1.—ἐκ δεξιῶν: as the place of honour, cf. 1 Kings ii. 19, Matt. xx. 21. The Sanhedrin would recall the words “the Son of Man,” as they had been spoken by One Who was Himself the Son of Man, and in Whom, as in His follower, they had seen only a blasphemer. On the expression “Son of Man” cf. Charles, *Book of Enoch*, Appendix B, p. 312 ff., and *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 286 (1892).

Ver. 57. κράξαντες: so as to silence him.—συνέσχον τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν: in order that the words which they regarded as so impious should not be heard, cf. Matt. xxvi. 65. Blass compares the phrase LXX, Isa. lii. 15, καὶ συνέξουσιν βασιλεῖς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν.—ὤρμησαν . . . ἐπ' αὐτόν, cf. 2 Macc. x. 16, and in several places in 2 Macc. the verb is found with the same construction (although not quite in the same sense).

Ver. 58. ἔξω τῆς πόλεως: according to the law, Lev. xxiv. 14, so in Luke iv. 29, our Lord is cast out of Nazareth to be stoned.—ἐλιθοβόλουν: as guilty of blasphemy. St. Stephen's closing remarks were in the eyes of his judges a justification of the charge; imperf. as in ver. 59, see note below. The judicial forms were evidently observed, at least to some extent (Weiss attributes the introduction of the witnesses to a reviser), and whilst the scene was a tumultuous one, it was quite possible that it was not wholly bereft of judicial appearances.—μάρτυρες: whose part it was to throw the first stone, cf. Deut. xvii. 7 (John viii. 7).—ἀπέθεντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν: to perform their cruel task with greater ease and freedom, cf. xxii. 20.—νεανίου: only used in Acts, where it occurs three or four times, xx. 9, xxiii. 17 (18), several times in LXX. It has been thought (Wendt) that the term could not have been used of Saul if he had been married, or if he was at this time a widower, but if νεανίας might be used to denote any man of an age between twenty-four and forty, like Latin *adulescens* and the Hebrew נַעַר, Gen. xli. 12 (Grimm-Thayer), Saul might be so described. Josephus applies the term to Agrippa I. when he was at least forty. Jos.-Ant., xviii., 6, 7. See further on



58. καὶ ἐκβαλόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐλιθοβόλουν. καὶ οἱ μάρτυρες<sup>1</sup>  
ἀπέθεντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> παρὰ τοὺς πόδας νεανίου καλουμένου

<sup>1</sup> μαρτυρες, Gig., Par. *falsi testes*; cf. vi. 12. Blass rejects in β.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν; B has εαντων, so Weiss, but W.H. as in T.R.

xxvi. 10.—Σαῦλον: "If the Acts are the composition of a second-century writer to whom Paul was only a name, then the introduction of this silent figure in such a scene is a masterpiece of dramatic invention" (Page, *Acts*, Introd., xxxi.); for the name see below on xiii. 9, and also on its genuineness, Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., 49, as against Krenkel. Of Saul's earlier life we gather something from his own personal notices, see notes on xxii. 3, xxiii. 6, xxiv. 14, xxvi. 4, and cf. ix. 13. He was a Hebrew sprung from Hebrews, Phil. iii. 5; he was a Roman citizen, and not only so, but a Tarsian, a citizen of no mean city; cf. for the two citizenships, xxi. 39 (ix. 11) and xxii. 27, "Citizenship," Hastings' B.D.; Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 48; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 30. Zahn, *u. s.*, pp. 35, 49, maintains that Saul's family had only recently settled in Tarsus (but see Ramsay, *u. s.*), and defends the tradition that his parents had come there from Gischala, their son being born to them in Tarsus. On Saul's family and means see notes on xxiii. 16 and xxiv. 26. But whatever his Roman and Tarsian citizenship may have contributed to his mental development, St. Paul's own words clearly lead us to attach the highest and most significant influence to the Jewish side of his nature and character. Paul's Pharisaism was the result not only of his training under Gamaliel, but also of the inheritance which he claimed from his father and his ancestors (xxiii. 6, **Φαρισαίων** not **Φαρισαίου**, cf. Gal. i. 14). His early years were passed away from Jerusalem, xxvi. 4 (the force of **τε** (R.V.) and the expression **ἐν τῷ ἔθνει μου**, Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 48), but his home-training could not have been neglected (cf. 2 Tim. i. 3), and when he went up to the Holy City at an early stage to study under Gamaliel (xxii. 3, **ἀνατεθραμμένος**, on its force see Sabatier *L'Apôtre Paul*, p. 30) he "lived a Pharisee," and nothing else than his well-known zeal is needed to account for his selection to his dreadful and solemn office at St. Stephen's martyrdom. As a Pharisee he had been "a separated one," and had borne the name with pride, not suspecting that a day was at hand when he would speak of

himself as **ἀφωρισμένος** in a far higher and fuller sense, Rom. i. 1, Gal. i. 15 (Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 48); as a Pharisee he was "separated from all filthiness of heathenism" around (Nivdal), but he was to learn that the Christian life was that of the true "Chasid," and that in contrast to all Pharisaic legalism and externalism there was a cleansing ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, a perfecting holiness in the fear of God—God Who chooseth before all temples the upright heart and pure (Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 231). On the question whether St. Paul ever saw our Lord in the flesh, see Keim, *Geschichte Jesu*, i., 35, 36, and references, and for the views of more recent writers, *Witness of the Epistles* (Longmans), chaps. i. and ii.

Ver. 59. καὶ ἐλιθ. τὸν Σ. ἐπικ.: imperf., as in ver. 58, "quia res morte demum [60] perficitur." Blass. **ἐπικ.**, present participle, denoting, it would seem, the continuous appeal of the martyr to his Lord. Zeller, Overbeck and Baur throw doubt upon the historical truth of the narrative on account of the manner in which the Sanhedrists' action is divided between an utter absence of formal proceedings and a punctilious observance of correct formalities; but on the other hand Wendt, note, p. 195 (1888), points out with much force that an excited and tumultuous crowd, even in the midst of a high-handed and illegal act, might observe some legal forms, and the description given by St. Luke, so far from proceeding from one who through ignorance was unable to distinguish between a legal execution and a massacre, impresses us rather with a sense of truthfulness from the very fact that no attempt is made to draw such a distinction of nicely balanced justice, less or more. The real difficulty lies in the relations which the scene presupposes between the Roman Government and the Sanhedrim. No doubt at this period the latter did not possess the power to inflict capital punishment (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 187, E.T.), as is evident from the trial of our Lord. But it may well be that at the time of Stephen's murder Roman authority was

somewhat relaxed in Judæa. Pilate had just been suspended from his functions, or was on the point of being so, and he may well have been tired of refusing the madness and violence of the Jews, as Renan supposes, or at all events he may well have refrained, owing to his bad odour with them, from calling them to account for their illegal action in the case before us (see McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 91). It is of course possible that the stoning took place with the connivance of the Jewish authorities, as Weizsäcker allows, or that there was an interval longer than Acts supposes between the trial of Stephen and his actual execution, during which the sanction of the Romans was obtained. In the absence of exact dates it is difficult to see why the events before us should not have been transacted during the interregnum between the departure of Pontius Pilate, to answer before Tiberius for his misgovernment, and the arrival of Marcellus, the next Procurator. If this was so, we have an exact historical parallel in the illegal murder of James the Just, who was tried before the high priest, and stoned to death, since Ananias thought that he had a good opportunity for his violence when Festus was dead, and Albinus was still upon his road (Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 9, 1). But if this suggestion of an interregnum is not free from difficulties, we may further take into consideration the fact that the same Roman officer, Vitellius, prefect of Syria, who had caused Pilate to be sent to Rome in disgrace, was anxious at the same time to receive Jewish support, and determined to effect his object by every means in his power. Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii., 4, 2-5, tells us that Vitellius sent a friend of his own, Marcellus, to manage the affairs of Judæa, and that, not content with this, he went up to Jerusalem himself to conciliate the Jews by open regard for their religion, as well as by the remission of taxation. It is therefore not difficult to conceive that both the murder of Stephen and the persecution which followed were connived at by the Roman government; see, in addition to the above references, Rendall's *Acts*, Introd., p. 19 ff.; Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., p. 648 ff., and note, p. 649. But this solution of the difficulty places the date of Saul's conversion somewhat late—A.D. 37—and is entirely at variance with the earlier chronology adopted not only by Harnack (so too by McGiffert), but here by Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 376, 377, who places St. Stephen's martyrdom in A.D. 33 at

the latest. In the account of the death of Stephen, Wendt, following Weiss, Sorof, Clemen, Hilgenfeld, regards vii. 58b, viii. 1a, 3, as evidently additions of the redactor, although he declines to follow Weiss and Hilgenfeld in passing the same judgment on ver. 55 (and 56, according to H.), and on the last words of Stephen in ver. 59b. The second ἐλιθοβόλουν in 59b, which Hilgenfeld assigns to his redactor, and Wendt now refers to the action of the witnesses, as distinct from that of the whole crowd, is repeated with dramatic effect, heightened by the present participle, ἐπικ., "ruthless violence on the one side, answered by continuous appeals to heaven on the other"; see Rendall's note, *in loco*.—ἐπικ.: "calling upon the Lord," R.V. ("calling upon God," A.V.), the former seems undoubtedly to be rightly suggested by the words of the prayer which follow—on the force of the word see above, ii. 21.—Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου: a direct prayer to our Lord, cf. for its significance and reality, Zahn, "Die Anbetung Jesu" (*Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, pp. 9, 288), Liddon, *Our Lord's Divinity*, lect. vii.; cf. Luke xxiii. 46. (Weiss can only see an imitation of Luke, and an interpolation here, because the kneeling, and also another word follow before the surrender of the spirit; but see on the other hand the remarks of Wendt, note, p. 196.)

Ver. 60. θεὸς δὲ τὰ γόνατα: a phrase not used in classical writers, but Blass compares Ovid, *Fasti*, ii., 438; five times in St. Luke's writings, Luke xxii. 41, Acts ix. 40, xx. 36, xxi. 5; only once elsewhere in N.T., Mark xv. 19. The attitude of kneeling in prayer would no doubt commend itself to the early believers from the example of their Lord. Standing would seem to have been the more common attitude among the Jews, but cf. instances in the O.T. of kneeling in prayer, LXX, 1 Kings viii. 54, Ezra ix. 5, Dan. vi. 10, and also the expression used twice by St. Paul, κάμπτειν τὰ γόνατα, 1 Chron. xxix. 20, 1 Esdras viii. 73, Isa. xlv. 23, etc., Ephes. iii. 14, and Phil. ii. 10 (Rom. xi. 4, xiv. 11). See Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 42.—φωνῇ μεγάλῃ, cf. Luke xxiii. 46. The last final effort of the strong love which showed itself also in the martyr's bended knees (see Wendt, *in loco*). Eusebius, *H. E.*, v., 2, tells us how the martyrs of Vienne and Lyons took up St. Stephen's words in their own prayer for their persecutors (cf. the famous instance of the last words of Sir Thomas More before



Σαύλου, 59. καὶ ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν Στέφανον, ἐπικαλούμενον καὶ λέγοντα, Κύριε Ἰησοῦ, δέξαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου. 60. θεῖς δὲ τὰ γόνατα,

his judges, and Dante, *Purgatorio*, xv., 106 ff., on the dying Stephen): μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην: the negative expression best corresponds to the positive ἀφιέναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν (Wendt), cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 38, 39, xv. 5, 8, where the contrast marked between ἱσθάναι and ἀφιέναι seems to favour this explanation. Blass takes it as marking a contrast like that between ἱσθάναι and ἀναιρεῖν, cf. Heb. x. 9. Weiss lays stress upon ταύτην, and regards the prayer as asking that their present sin might not be weighed out to them in an equivalent punishment, cf. Grotius on the Hebrew

לִשְׁפֹּת, 1 Kings xx. 39, whilst De Wette (so Felten) takes it as simply "reckon it not," i.e., "weigh it not," cf. Zech. xi. 12. Schöttgen sees a reference to the Rabbinical notion "si quis bonum aut malum opus facit, hoc sequitur eum, et stat juxta eum in mundo futuro," Rev. xiv. 13, and cf. a similar view quoted by Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 167. Rendall regards it as a judicial term, as if Stephen appealed to Christ as *Judge* not to impute their sin to the murderers in condemnation (Rom. x. 3). The words of St. Stephen again recall the words of his Master, Luke xxiii. 34, words which (Eusebius, *H. E.*, cf. ii., 20) also formed the dying prayer of James, "the Lord's brother". In James as in Stephen we may see how the true Christian character, whilst expressing itself in righteous indignation against hypocrisy and wrong, never failed to exhibit as its counterpart the meekness and gentleness of Christ.—ἐκοιμήθη (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 18), a picture-word of rest and calmness which stands in dramatic contrast to the rage and violence of the scene. The word is used of death both in LXX and in classical Greek, cf., e.g., Isa. xiv. 8, 18, xliii. 17, 1 Kings xi. 43, 2 Macc. xii. 45, etc.; Homer, *Il.*, xi., 241; Soph., *Elect.*, 509. Blass well says of this word, "sed nullo loco æque mirandum," and describes the reference in Homer, *κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον*, as "et simile et dissimile": Christians sleep in death, but no "brazen sleep"; they sleep ἐν Χριστῷ; simple words which formed the epitaph on many a Christian grave—in Him, Who is Himself "the Resurrection and the Life". Page notes the cadence of the word expressing rest and repose, cf. Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 167, note, and ἀκαλύτως, xxviii. 31.

*St. Stephen's Speech.*—Many and varied explanations have been given of the drift and purpose of St. Stephen's address. But the various explanations need not be mutually exclusive, and St. Stephen, like a wise scribe instructed unto the kingdom, might well bring out of his treasury things new and old. It is often said, e.g., that the address is no reply to the charges alleged, that it would be more intelligible how the charges were framed from a perversion of the speech, than how the speech could be framed out of the charges; whilst, on the other hand, it is possible to see from the opening to the closing words an implicit repudiation of the charges of blasphemy against God and contempt of the law. The speech opens with a declaration of the divine majesty of Jehovah; it closes with a reference to the divine sanction of the law, and with the condemnation of those who had not kept it. This implicit repudiation by Stephen of the charges brought against him is also contained in St. Chrysostom's view of the purpose of the martyr, *viz.*, that he designed to show that the covenant and promises were before the law, and sacrifice and the law before the temple. This view, which was adopted by Grotius and Calvin, is in some degree retained by Wendt (so also Felten), who sums up the chief aim of the speech as a demonstration that the presence of God is not confined to the holy place, the temple, but that long before the temple was built, and before the people had settled in the promised land, God had given to the fathers a share in the proofs of this revelation, and that too in strange countries (although there is no reason to suppose that Stephen went so far as to contend that Jew and Gentile were on a precisely equal footing). But Wendt is conscious that this view does not account for the whole of the speech, and that it does not explain the prominence given in it to the obstinacy of Israel against the revelation of God vouchsafed to Moses, with which the counter accusation against Stephen is so closely connected (see Spitta's severe criticism, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 111, 112, and Weizsäcker's evident failure to maintain the position that the climax of the whole address is to be found in the declaration about Solomon's temple, which he is obliged to explain as a later thought belonging to a later time, *Apostolic Age*,

i., pp. 68-71, E.T.). Thus in his last edition, p. 151 (1899), he points out that in section vv. 35-43, as also in vv. 25 and 27, the obstinacy of the people against Moses, sent to be their deliverer, is evidently compared with their obstinacy in rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, and in vv. 51-53 the murder of Jesus is condemned as a fresh proof of the opposition of the people to God's revelation to them: here is a point of view which in Wendt's judgment evidently had a share in the composition of the address. Wendt urges his view against the older one of Meyer and to some extent at all events that of Baur, Zeller and Overbeck, that the central point of the speech is to be found in ver. 51, to which the whole preceding sketch of the history of the people led up: however great had been the benefits bestowed by God upon His people, on their part there had been from the beginning nothing in return but a corresponding thanklessness and resistance to this purpose. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 87, 88, also recognises that the theme of the address is to be found in vv. 51-53, but he also admits the double purpose of St. Stephen, *viz.*, not only to show (as Meyer and others) that at all stages of their history Israel had been stiffnecked and disobedient, but also (as Wendt) to draw a parallel between their conduct and the treatment of Jesus by those whom he is addressing.

This leads us to a consideration of the view of Spitta as to the main purpose of St. Stephen's speech. Whatever may be thought of its merits, it gives a unity to the speech which is wanting in many earlier and more recent expositions of it, as Hilgenfeld recognises, although he himself holds a different view, and one essentially similar to that of Baur. According to Spitta, in vv. 2-16 we have an introduction to the chief section of the address which begins with ver. 17, *καθὼς δὲ ἤγγικεν ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐπαγ.* Moses, ver. 20, was the person through whom God would save His people, and lead them to His true service in the promised land, vv. 7, 35, 38, 44. If we ask why Moses occupies this important place in the speech, the answer is found in ver. 37, which forms the central point of the description of Moses, and divides it into two parts (a verse in which Clemens and Hilgenfeld can only see an interpolation of a redactor, and in which Weiss finds something suspicious, see Zöckler's note, *in loco*). In the first part, 17-36, we are told how Moses by divine and miraculous guidance grows up

to be the deliverer of Israel. But when he would commence his work of deliverance his brethren will not understand his aim and reject him, 23-28. In the wilderness he receives a fresh commission from God to undertake the delivery of the people, 29-34. But *this* Moses (*οὗτος*) who was thus repulsed God had sent to be a ruler and deliverer—*this* man was he who led these people forth—and it was *this* Moses who said to the children: "A prophet" etc., v. 37. Why is this prophecy introduced except to support the inference that as Moses, a type of the Messiah, was thus repulsed, and afterwards raised to be a ruler and deliverer, so must, according to Moses' own words, the Messiah of Israel be first rejected by His people? In the next division, vv. 38-50, the same parallel is again instituted between Moses and the Messiah. The former had delivered a law which consisted of "living oracles," but instead of receiving it, Israel had given themselves up to the worship of idols, 35-43; instead of establishing a worship well-pleasing to God, those who came after Moses, not content with the tabernacle, which was not confined to one place, and which represented the heavenly archetype, had built a temple which called forth the cutting words of the prophet, 47-50. In his explanation of these last verses there lies at least one weakness of Spitta's explanation, for he does not seem in his disapproval of the temple to allow that it had even a relative value, and that Solomon was well aware that God did not dwell only in temples made with hands. But Spitta's main point is to trace again a connection with the verse which forms his centre, ver. 37 (Deut. xviii. 15). As Moses in vain communicated a spiritual law and a corresponding worship to a people whose heart turned after idols and the service of a temple, so the Messiah must also experience that the carnal mind of the people would oppose His revelation of the divine will in relation to a rightful service. Thus the whole speech becomes a proof of the Messiahship of Jesus as against those who appealed to the authority of Moses, and saw in Jesus a twofold cause of offence: (1) that He was rejected by His people and crucified; (2) that He had treated with impiety that which they held most sacred—the law and the temple.

In all this Spitta sees no direct answer to the false witnesses; but the speech, he maintains, is much rather an answer to the two causes of offence which must



ἔκραξε φωνῇ μεγάλῃ,<sup>1</sup> Κύριε, μὴ στήσης αὐτοῖς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ταύτην.  
καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἐκοιμήθη.<sup>2</sup> Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν συνευδοκῶν τῇ ἀναίρεσει  
αὐτοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> D, Vulg., Gig. (not Flor.) add λεγὼν, so Blass in β, and Hilg.; prob. assim. to more usual λεγὼν after κραζειν where the words are given.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκοιμήθη, Par., Wern., Vulg. add in Domino, but not Blass.

have been discussed in every synagogue, and which the infant Church must have been obliged to face from the first, especially as it took its stand upon the proof that Jesus was the Christ. Stephen in his disputations, vi. 9, must have often faced opponents who thus sought to invalidate the Messianic claims of Jesus; what more natural than that he should now repeat before the whole assembly the proofs which he had before given in the synagogue, where no one could resist the spirit and the wisdom with which he spake? In this way Spitta maintains that the charges in vv. 52, 53 occupy their proper place; the Jews had rejected the prophets—Moses and his successors—finally they rejected the Messiah, whom the prophets had foretold (*Apotel-geschichte*, p. 105 ff.). Whatever strictures we may be inclined to pass upon Spitta (see, e.g., Wendt in new edition, 1899, pp. 150, 151), it is not unlikely that he has at all events grasped what others have failed to see, viz., that in the nature of the case, Stephen in his ἀπολογία, or counter-accusation—whichever it was—could not have been unmindful of the Prophet like unto Moses, whom Moses had foretold: his dying prayer revealed the Name, not uttered in the speech, which was enshrined in his inmost heart; Jesus was the Christ—He came οὐ καταλῦσαι ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι, whether that fulfilment was made by a spiritual temple or a spiritual law. In thus keeping the thought of Jesus of Nazareth prominent throughout the speech, whilst not actually uttering His Name, in thus comparing Moses and Christ, Stephen was answering the charges made against him. "This Nazarene" (so it was said in the charge made against Stephen) "would destroy this place and change the customs," etc.—the prophet Moses had given the people living oracles, not a law which should stifle the spirit in the letter; the prophet Isaiah had spoken of a presence of God far transcending that which filled any earthly temple; and if these prophets had pointed on to the Messiah, and if

the Nazarene were indeed the Christ thus foretold, what wonder that He should reveal a commandment unto life, and a worship of the Father in spirit and in truth? Nor must it be forgotten that if Stephen was interrupted before his speech was concluded, he may well have intended to drive home more closely the manifest fulfilment in Christ of the deliverance dimly foreshadowed in the work of Moses and in the freedom from Egyptian bondage. This was the true parallel between Moses and the Messiah on which the Rabbis were wont to dwell. Thus the Messiah, in comparison with Moses, was the second, but in comparison with all others the great, deliverer; as Moses led Israel out of Egypt, so would the Messiah accomplish the final deliverance, and restore Israel to their own land (Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 359, 364 (1897)). It is to be observed that Spitta warmly supports the historical character of the speech, which he ascribes without interpolations to his source A, although in vv. 55-60 he refers some "insertions" to B. His criticism as against the tendency critics, especially Overbeck, is well worth consulting (pp. 110-123), and he quotes with approval the judgment of Gfrörer—"I consider this speech unreservedly as the oldest monument of Gospel history". So too Clemen, pp. 97, 288, allows that the speech is essentially derived, with the exception of ver. 37, as also the whole chapter with the exception of ver. 60, from an old written source, H.H., *Historia Hellenistarum*; and amongst more recent writers, McGiffert holds that whilst many maintain that the author of the Acts composed the speech and put it into the mouth of Stephen, its contents are against such a supposition, and that Luke undoubtedly got the substance of the discourse from an early source, and reproduced it with approximate accuracy (p. 89 and note). So Weiss refers the speech to his Jewish-Christian source, and refuses to admit that with its profound knowledge of the O.T. it could have been composed by the author of

VIII. 1. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωγμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· πάντες τε διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς

the book. The attempt of Feine (so also Holtzmann and Jüngst) to split up the speech into two distinct parts is based upon the idea that in one part an answer is made to the charge that Stephen had spoken against God, and that the other part contains an answer to the charge that he had spoken against the temple. The first part is contained in vii. 2-21, 29-34, 44-50, and the second part in vii. 22-28, 35-43, 51-53. The latter sections are taken from Feine's Jerusalem source; they are then added to those which belong to a new source, and finally combined by the canonical Luke. Hilgenfeld may well ask how it is possible to break up in this manner the narrative part of the speech relating to Moses, so as to regard vv. 22-28 as a section alien from what precedes and what follows! (see especially Hilgenfeld's criticism on Feine, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, p. 396 (1895) and Knabenbauer, p. 120); on the truthful record of the speech see Lightfoot's striking remarks "Acts," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., p. 33. Whatever may be said as to the various difficulties which the speech contains, two things are apparent: (1) that these difficulties do not touch the main drift of the argument; (2) that the fact of their presence, where their removal was easy, bears witness to the accuracy of the report.

CHAPTER VIII.—Ver. 1. Σαῦλος δὲ κ.τ.λ., R.V. joins these words to the conclusion of the previous chapter, and thus brings them into a close and fitting connection with vii. 58. So too Wendt, Blass, Nösgen, Zöckler.—*ἦν συνευδοκῶν*: for this characteristic Lucan use of the imperfect of the substantive verb with a participle, see chap. i. 10. The formula here indicates the lasting and enduring nature of Saul's "consent". The verb *συνευδοκέω* is peculiar to St. Luke and St. Paul, and is used by the former in his Gospel as well as in Acts, cf. Luke xi. 48, Acts xxii. 20 (by St. Paul himself with reference to his share in the murder of St. Stephen), Rom. i. 32, 1 Cor. vii. 12, 13. The word is also found in 1 Macc. i. 57 (iv. 28), 2 Macc. xi. 24, 35, signifying entire approval; it is also twice used by St. Clement, *Cor.*, xxxv., 6; xlv., 3: "consent" does not express the force of the word—"was approving of his death" (Rendall).—*ἀναίρεται*: used only here in N.T. (on St. Luke's favourite

word *ἀναιρέω*, see Friedrich, *Das Lucas-evangelium*, p. 22); both verb and noun were frequent in medical language (Hobart, Zahn), see below on ix. 29, but the noun in LXX, Num. xi. 15, Judith xv. 4, 2 Macc. v. 13, and in classical Greek, e.g., Xen., *Hell.*, vi., 3, 5.—*ἐγένετο δὲ*: another characteristic formula in St. Luke, Friedrich, *u. s.*, p. 13; here introduces a new section of the history.—*ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*: R.V. "on that day" (A.V. "at that time"), cf. ii. 41; the persecution broke out at once, "on that very day" (so Wendt, Rendall, Hort, Hackett, Felten, Zöckler, Holtzmann), the signal for it being given by the tumultuous stoning of the first martyr (but see on the other hand Alford, *in loco*). Weiss draws attention to the emphatic position of *ἐκείνῃ* before *τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*.—*ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱ.*: hitherto as, e.g., v. 11, the Church has been thought of as one, because limited in fact to the one city Jerusalem, but here we have a hint that soon there would be new Ecclesiae in the one Ecclesia, as it spread throughout the Holy Land (Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 53-56, 227, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, etc., pp. 41, 127, 377).—*πάντες τε*: "ridiculum est hoc mathematica ratione accipere" (Blass)—it is evident from ver. 3 that there were some left for Saul to persecute. In ix. 26 we have mention of a company of disciples in Jerusalem, but there is no reason to suppose (Schneckenburger, Zeller, Overbeck) that Luke has made a mistake in the passage before us, for there is nothing in the text against the supposition that some at least of those who had fled returned again later.—*διεσπάρησαν*: only in St. Luke in N.T., here and in ver. 4, and in xi. 19. This use of the word is quite classical, and frequent in LXX, e.g., Gen. ix. 19, Lev. xxvi. 33, 1 Macc. xi. 47. Feine remarks that even Holtzmann allows that the spread of Christianity throughout Judæa and Samaria may be regarded as historical.—*χώρας*: here rendered "regions": Blass takes the word as almost = *κόμας*, and see also Plummer on Luke xxi. 21, *ἐν ταῖς χώραις* "in the country," R.V. The word is characteristic of St. Luke, being used in his Gospel nine times, and in Acts eight; it is used thrice by St. Matthew and by St. John, four times by St. Mark, but elsewhere in N.T. only once, James v. 4.



χώρας τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας, πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων.<sup>1</sup> 2.  
 συνεκόμισαν δὲ τὸν Στέφανον ἄνδρες εὐλαβεῖς, καὶ ἐποιήσαντο

<sup>1</sup> Σαμαρείας ABCHP, so W.H. alt. App., p. 160, Blass, Weiss, Hilg.; Σαμαρίας NDE, so Tisch., W.H., see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 45. After διωγμός D, Flor., Sah. καὶ θλίψις, assim. to Matt. xiii. 21, 2 Thess. i. 4, so Hilg. The same addition occurs in Western text in xiii. 50. After ἀποστόλων D<sup>1</sup>, Flor., Gig., Prov., Sah., Aug. add οἱ ἐμείναν ἐν Ἱερ., retained by Blass in β, so Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 49, and Hilg.

It is found frequently in LXX and in i, 2, 3 Macc.—τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Σαμαρείας: thus the historian makes another step in the fulfilment of the Lord's command, i. 8, and see also Ramsay, *St. Paul*, etc., p. 41. St. Chrysostom remarks ὅτι οἰκονομίας ὁ διωγμός ἦν, since the persecution became the means of spreading the Gospel, and thus early the blood of the martyrs became the seed of the Church.—πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων—πλὴν: characteristic of St. Luke, sometimes as an adverb, sometimes as a preposition with genitive as here and in xv. 28, xxvii. 22; elsewhere it is only found once as a preposition with genitive, in Mark xiii. 32, although very frequent in LXX. The word occurs at least thirteen times in the Gospel, four times in Acts, in St. Matthew five times, in St. Mark once, and in John viii. 10; see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 16, 91. This mention of the Apostles seems unlikely to Schneckenburger, Schleiermacher, and others, but, as Wendt points out, it is quite consistent with the greater steadfastness of men who felt themselves to be πρωταγωνισταί, as Eucumenius calls them, in that which concerned their Lord. Their position too may well have been more secure than that of the Hellenists, who were identified with Stephen, as they were held in favour by the people, v. 13, and as regular attendants at the temple services would not have been exposed to the same charges as those directed against the proto-martyr. There was, too, a tradition (very old and well attested according to Harnack, *Chronologie*, i., 243) to the effect that the Apostles were commanded by Christ not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years, so that none should say that he had not heard the message, Euseb., *H. E.*, v., 18, 14; nor is there anything inconsistent with this tradition in the visit of St. Peter and St. John to Samaria, since this and other journeys are simply missionary excursions, from which the Apostles always returned to Jerusalem (Harnack). The passage in Clem. Alex., *Strom.*, vi., 5, 43, limited the Apostles'

preaching for the time specified not to Jerusalem, but to Israel.—Σαμαρείας: our Lord had recognised the barrier between the Samaritan and the Jew, Matt. x. 5; but now in obedience to His command (i. 8) both Samaritan and Jew were admitted to the Church, for although the Apostles had not originated this preaching they very plainly endorsed it, ver. 14 ff. (cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 54). Possibly the very fact that Philip and others were flying from the persecution of the Jewish hierarchy would have secured their welcome in the Samaritan towns.

Ver. 2. Spitta connects ver. 2 with xi. 19-21, and all the intermediate section, viii. 5-xi. 19; forms part of his source B (so also Sorof, Clemen, who joins his H.H., viii. 1 to xi. 19; but on the other hand see Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, p. 501 (1895), and Jüngst, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 79). According to Spitta the whole narrative of Philip's ministry in viii. ought not to be connected so closely with the death of Stephen, but should fall after ix. 31. The only reason for its earlier insertion is the desire to connect the second deacon with the first (but Hilgenfeld, *u. s.*, pp. 413, 414 (1895), as against both Spitta and Clemen, regards the account of Philip and that of Stephen as inseparable). Spitta strongly maintains that Philip the Apostle, and not the deacon, is meant; and if this be so, he would no doubt help us to answer the objection that in viii. 14-17, and indeed in the whole section 9-24 we have an addition of the sub-Apostolic age inserted to show that the Apostles alone could bestow the Holy Spirit. But it cannot be said that Spitta's attempt at the identification of Philip in viii. with the Apostle is in any way convincing, see, e.g., Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 212; Hilgenfeld, *u. s.*, p. 416 (note), and Jüngst, *u. s.*, p. 81. Feine's objection to viii. 14-17 leads him, whilst he admits that the meeting with Simon Magus is historical, to regard the conversion of the sorcerer as doubtful, because the whole passage presupposes

κοπετὸν μέγαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ. 3. Σαῦλος δὲ ἐλυμαίνεται τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους εἰσπορευόμενος, σύρων τε ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας

(vv. 18-24) that the laying on of the Apostles' hands bestowed the Spirit; so Clemen refers the whole representation in its present form of the communication of the Spirit, not through Baptism, but through the laying on of the Apostles' hands, to his Redactor Antijudaicus (*cf.* xix. 6), and to the same hand he attributes the πλὴν τῶν ἀποστόλων, ver. 1, and *cf.* ver. 25, introduced for the purpose of showing that the Apostles Peter and John sanctioned the Samaritan mission from the central home of the Christian Church.—*συνεκόμισαν*: in its primary sense the verb means to carry or bring together, of harvest; to gather in, to house it; so also in LXX, Job v. 26; in a secondary sense, to help in burying; so Soph., *Ajax*, 1048; Plut., *Sull.*, 38. The meaning is not "carried to his burial," as in A.V., but rather as R.V., "buried," for, although the Greek is properly "joined in carrying," the word includes the whole ceremony of burial—it is used only here in the N.T., and in LXX only in *l. c.*—*εὐλαβεῖς*: only found in St. Luke in N.T., and used by him four times, once in Luke ii. 25, and in Acts ii. 5, xxii. 12 (*εὐσεβής*, T.R.). The primary thought underlying the word is that of one who handles carefully and cautiously, and so it bears the meaning of cautious, circumspect. Although *εὐλάβεια* and *εὐλαβεῖσθαι* are both used in the sense of caution and reverence towards the gods in classical Greek, the adjective is never expressly so used. But Plato connects it closely with *δικαίος* (*cf.* Luke ii. 25), *Polit.* 311 A and 311 B (so *εὐσεβῶς* and *εὐλαβῶς* are used together by Demosthenes). In the LXX all three words are found to express reverent fear of, or piety towards, God; *εὐλαβεῖσθαι*, frequently, *εὐλάβεια* in Prov. xxviii. 14, where *σκληρὰς τὴν καρδίαν* in the second part of the verse seems to point to the religious character of the *εὐλαβ.*, whilst *εὐλαβής* is found in Micah vii. 2 as a rendering of *יָרֵךְ* (*cf.* *Psalms of Solomon*, p. 36, Ryle and James' edition); *cf.* also Ecclus. xi. 17 (but see for both passages, Hatch and Redpath); in Lev. xv. 31 we find the word *εὐλαβεῖς ποιήσετε τοὺς υἱοὺς* 'I. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀκαθαρσιῶν αὐτῶν, *רָחַץ* hi. The adverb *εὐλαβῶς* is found once, 2 Macc. vi. 11. St. Luke uses the word

chiefly at all events of O.T. piety. In Luke ii. 45 it is used of Simeon, in Acts ii. 5 of the Jews who came up to worship at the feasts in Jerusalem, and in xxii. 12, although Ananias was a Christian, yet the qualifying words *εὐλ. κατὰ τὸν νόμον* point again to a devout observance of the Jewish law. Trench, *N. T. Synonyms*, i., pp. 38, 198 ff.; Westcott, *Hebrews*, on v. 7; Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and *sub v. δειλία*.—*ἄνδρες εὐλ.*: much discussion has arisen as to whether they were Jews or Christians. They may have been Christians who like the Apostles themselves were still Jews, attending the temple services and hours of prayer, some of whom were doubtless left in the city. But these would have been described more probably as *ἀδελφοί* or *μαθηταί* (so Felten, Page, Hackett). Or they may have been devout Jews like Nicodemus, or Joseph of Arimathea, who would show their respect for Stephen, as Nicodemus and Joseph for Jesus (so Holtzmann, Zöckler). Wetstein (so too Renan and Blass) explains of Gentile proselytes, men like Cornelius, who rendered the last offices to Stephen out of natural respect for the dead, and who stood outside the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim, so that the funeral rites need not have been performed in secret. But St. Luke as a rule uses other words to denote Gentile proselytes, and the Sanhedrim would probably not have interfered with the burial, not only on account of the known Jewish care for the dead, but also because devout Jews would not have been obnoxious in their eyes to the charges brought against Stephen, vi. 14 (so Nösgen). The word might therefore include both devout Jews and Jewish Christians who joined together in burying Stephen.—*κοπετὸν μέγαν*, from *κόπτω*, *κόπτομαι*, *cf.* *planctus* from *plango*, to beat the breast or head in lamentation. Not used elsewhere in N.T., but frequent in LXX; *cf.*, e.g., Gen. i. 10, 1 Macc. ii. 70, iv. 39, ix. 20, xiii. 26, for the same allocation as here, and for *ποιῆσαι κοπετόν*, Jer. vi. 26, Mic. i. 8, and *cf.* also Zech. xii. 10. In classical Greek *κομός* is found, but see Plut., *Fab.*, 17, and Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 74, for reference to the comic poet Eupolis (*cf.* also Blass), and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* For the Jewish customs of mourning *cf.* Matt. ix. 23, Hamburger, *Real-Encyclo-*



παρεδίδου εἰς φυλακὴν. 4. οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες διήλθον, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> διήλθον; for this word Gig., Par., Wern. seem to have read *επορευοντο*, *ibant*. After *λογον* Par., Wern. and other Latin authorities add "circa (per) civitates et castella Judææ," *κατα τας πολεις και κωμας της Ι.*, Blass in *β*, evidently for the sake of clearness, as also in previous *επορ.*, cf. Wendt. After *λογον* E, Vulg., Par<sup>2</sup>, Wern. add *του θεου*, again addition apparently for clearness (if not omission). Blass rejects in *β*; where *ὁ λόγος* is used in Acts in this sense we almost always have this addition or *του Κυριου*.

*pädie des Judentums*, i., 7, 996, "Trauer"; Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i., p. 616, and *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, p. 172 ff. If the mourners included Jews as well as Jewish Christians, it may well have been that the lamentation was not only a token of sorrow and respect, but also in the nature of a protest on the part of the more moderate section of the Pharisees (see also Trench's remarks, *u. s.*, p. 198). According to the tradition accepted by St. Augustine, it is said that both Gamaliel and Nicodemus took part in the burial of Stephen, and were afterwards laid in the same grave (Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 167, and Plumptre *in loco*).

Ver. 3. *ἐλμάλνετο*: deponent verb, used in classical Greek of personal outrage (*λύμη*), of scourging and torturing, of outraging the dead, of the ruin and devastation caused by an army (Wetstein). In the LXX it is found several times, cf. especially Ps. lxxix. (lxxx.) 13, of a wild boar ravaging a vineyard, and cf. also Eccles. xxviii. 23. As the word is used only by St. Luke it is possible that it may have been suggested by its frequent employment in medical language, where it is employed not only of injury by wrong treatment, but also of the ravages of disease, Hobart, *Medical Language*, pp. 211, 212. R.V. renders "laid waste," A.V. (so Tyndale) "made havoc of," but the revisers have rendered *πορθέω* by the latter, cf. Acts ix. 21, Gal. i. 3. St. Paul's description of himself as *ὑβριστής*, 1 Tim. i. 13, may well refer to the infliction of personal insults and injuries, as expressed here by *ἐλμάλνομαι* (cf. Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, xi., 5).—*τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, i.e., the Church just mentioned at Jerusalem—Saul's further persecution, even to Damascus, probably came later (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 53).—*κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους εἰσπορ.*: the expression may denote "entering into every house," R. and A.V., or perhaps, more specifically, the houses known as places of Christian assembly, the *ἐκκλησίαι κατ' οἶκον*, see on ii. 46.

In any case the words, as also those which follow, show the thoroughness and relentlessness of Saul's persecuting zeal.—*σύρων*: haling, i.e., hauling, dragging (*schlappend*), cf. James ii. 6. The word is used by St. Luke three times in Acts (only twice elsewhere in N.T.), and he alone uses *κατασύρω*, Luke xii. 58, in the same sense as the single verb (where St. Matthew has *παραδῶ*). For its employment in the Comic Poets see Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 76, and also Arrian, *Æpict.*, i. 29, 22, and other instances in Wetstein; cf. LXX, 2 Sam. xvii. 13, 4 Macc. vi. 1, *ἐσυραν ἐπὶ τὰ βασανιστήρια τὸν Ἑλ.*—*γυναῖκας*: repeated also in ix. 2, and xxii. 4, as indicating the relentless nature of the persecution. Some of the devout and ministering women may well have been included, Luke viii. 2, 3, Acts i. 14.

Ver. 4. *οἱ μὲν οὖν*: marking a general statement, *δὲ* in following verse, introducing a particular instance (so Rendall, Appendix on *μὲν οὖν*, *Acts*, p. 162, and see also p. 64).—*διήλθον*: the word is constantly used of missionary journeys in *Acts*, cf. v. 40, xi. 19, ix. 32 (Luke ix. 6), cf. xiii. 6, note.—*εὐαγγελιζόμενοι*: it is a suggestive fact that this word is only used once in the other Gospels (Matt. xi. 5 by our Lord), but no less than ten times in St. Luke's Gospel, fifteen in Acts, and chiefly elsewhere by St. Paul; truly "a missionary word," see ver. 12. Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 79, speaks of its introduction into the N.T. with "such a novel force as to be felt like a new word". It is used several times in LXX, and is also found in *Psalms of Solomon*, xi., 2 (cf. Isa. xl. 9, lii. 7, and Nah. i. 15). On its construction see Simcox, *u. s.*, p. 79, and Vogel, p. 24.

Ver. 5. *Φίλιππος δὲ*: the Evangelist, cf. xxi. 8, and note on vi. 5.—*εἰς πόλιν*: if we insert the article (see above on critical notes), the expression means "the city of Samaria," i.e., the capital of the district (so Weiss, Wendt,

5. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ δὲ κατελθὼν εἰς πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας,<sup>1</sup> ἐκήρυσσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Χριστόν. 6. προσεῖχόν τε<sup>2</sup> οἱ ὄχλοι τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου ὁμοθυμαδόν, ἐν τῷ ἀκούειν αὐτοὺς καὶ βλέπειν τὰ σημεῖα ἃ ἐποίει. 7.<sup>3</sup> πολλῶν γὰρ τῶν ἐχόντων πνεύματα ἀκάθαρτα βοῶντα μεγάλη φωνῇ ἐξήρχετο· πολλοὶ δὲ παραλελυμένοι καὶ χωλοὶ

<sup>1</sup> εἰς Σ. την πόλιν Par. ("Samaria in civitate," again for clearness (Wendt)), so Blass in β; Σαμαρείας ABHP, so Blass; -τας N<sup>3</sup>DE, so Tisch., W.H., see on ver. 1. (See on the reading Winer-Schmiedel, p. 266.)

<sup>2</sup> προσεῖχον τε EHP, Chrys.; but δε N<sup>3</sup>ABCD<sup>2</sup> 61, e, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syr. Harcl., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt, Weiss. In D this verse begins *ὡς δε ηκουον παν(τες) οι οχλοι προσεχον τοις λεγ. παν (omnis turbæ, d)*, but Blass rejects; Hilg. retains. Weiss, Codex D, p. 68, expresses surprise at this rejection by Blass, as the reading is not more superfluous than countless additions in D; the words already lay in the following *εν τω ακουειν αυτους*. Chase refers to Syriac with considerable probability.

<sup>3</sup> πολλων HP, Boh., Arm., Chrys. (D<sup>1</sup> παρα πολλοις, D<sup>2</sup> απο πολλοι, *a multis, d*); πολλοι N<sup>3</sup>ABCD<sup>2</sup>E 18, 36, 40, 61, Vulg., Sah. Syr., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt, Weiss, Hilg. Blass inserts α after ακαθαρτα, so Hilg., "bene" Blass (see below and Wendt, note, p. 172, eighth edition).

Zöckler, see Blass, *in loco*), or *Sebaste*, so called by Herod the Great in honour of Augustus, *Σεβαστή* (Jos., *Ant.*, xv., 7, 3; 8, 5; Strabo, xvi., p. 860), see Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. 1, p. 123 ff., E.T., and Ö. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 93.—ἐκήρυσσεν: the revisers distinguish between this verb and εὐαγγελ. in ver. 4, the latter being rendered "preaching," or more fully, preaching the glad tidings, and the former "proclaimed" (see also Page's note on the word, p. 131), but it is doubtful if we can retain this full force of the word always, e.g., Luke iv. 44, where R.V. translates *κηρύσσω*, "preaching".—αὐτοῖς, i.e., the people in the city mentioned, see Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 162, and cf. xvi. 10, xx. 2.

Ver. 6. προσεῖχον . . . τοῖς λεγ., cf. xvi. 14, 1 Tim. i. 4, Tit. i. 14, 2 Pet. i. 9, see note on v. 35, used in classical Greek sometimes with *νοῦν*, and sometimes without as here; frequent in LXX, cf. with this passage, Wisdom viii. 12, 1 Macc. vii. 12.—ὁμοθυμαδόν, see above on i. 14.

Ver. 7. πολλῶν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.: if we accept reading in R.V. (see critical notes above), we must suppose that St. Luke passes in thought from the possessed to the unclean spirits by which they were possessed, and so introduces the verb ἐξήρχοντο (as if the unclean spirits were themselves the subject), whereas we should have expected that *θεραπεύθησαν* would have followed after the first πολλοί, as after the second, in the second

clause of the verse. Blass conjectures that α should be read before βοῶντα, which thus enables him, while retaining ἐξήρχοντο, to make πολλοί in each clause of the verse the subject of *θεραπ.* One of the most striking phenomena in the demonised was that they lost at least temporarily their own self-consciousness, and became identified with the demon or demons, and this may account for St. Luke's way of writing, as if he also identified the two in thought, Ederheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i., 479, 647, ff. As a physician St. Luke must have often come into contact with those who had unclean spirits, and he would naturally have studied closely the nature of their disease. It is also to be noted that πολλοί with the genitive, τῶν ἐχόντων (not πολλοὶ ἔχοντες), shows that not all the possessed were healed, and if so, it is an indication of the truthfulness of the narrative. Moreover, St. Luke not only shows himself acquainted with the characteristics of demoniacal possession, cf. his description in Luke viii. 27, ix. 38, 39, but he constantly, as in the passage before us, distinguishes it from disease itself, and that more frequently than the other Evangelists. Hobart draws special attention to Luke vi. 17, viii. 4, xiii. 32, which have no parallels in the other Gospels, and Acts xix. 12. To which we may add Luke iv. 40, Acts v. 16 (Wendt); see further on xix. 12.—βοῶντα, cf. Mark i. 26, Luke iv. 33.—παραλελυμένοι: St. Luke alone of the Evangelists uses the participle of παρα-



θεραπεύθησαν.<sup>1</sup> 8. καὶ ἐγένετο χαρὰ μεγάλη<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκείνῃ.  
9. Ἀνὴρ δέ τις ὀνόματι Σίμων προϋπήρχεν<sup>3</sup> ἐν τῇ πόλει μαγεύων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> θεραπευθησαν; D reads *θεραπευοντο*, so Hilg., perhaps assim. to *εξηρχοντο*, Blass in β rejects.

<sup>2</sup> χαρὰ μεγάλη DEHP, Vulgclm., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Chrys.; πολλή χαρὰ BABC 47, 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; χαρὰ τε μεγάλη ἐγενετο, so Gig., Par., Syr. Pesh., Blass in β, and Hilg. χαρὰ often joined with *μεγ.* elsewhere in N.T.; cf. Luke ii. 10, xxiv. 52, Acts xv. 3.

<sup>3</sup> προϋπήρχεν . . . ἐξισταν; D reads *προϋπαρχων* . . . *ἐξιστανεν*; Par., Vulg., Iren. also read *προυπαρχων*, so Hilg. *Σαμαρειας*, see on ver. 1. *μεγαν*, "delevi," so Blass on the authority of some codices of Iren. see comment. below.

λύειν, instead of *παρालυτικός*, the more popular word; and here again his usage is exactly what we should expect from a medical man acquainted with technical terms (Hobart, Zahn, Salmon), cf. ix. 33 and Luke v. 18, 24 (*παρालυτικῷ*, W.H. margin). Dr. Plummer, *St. Luke*, Introd., lxx., points out that Aristotle, a physician's son, has also this use of *παρालελυμένος* (*Eth. Nic.*, i., 13, 15), but he adds that its use in St. Luke may have come from the LXX, as in *Heb.* xii. 12, where we have the word in a quotation from Isa. xxxv. 3 (cf. also *Ecclesiast.* xxv. 23). It may be added that the participle is also found in 3 Macc. ii. 22, καὶ τοῖς μέλεσι παρालελυμένον, and cf. 1 Macc. ix. 15, where it is said of Alcimus, καὶ παρελύθη. But the most remarkable feature in St. Luke's employment of the word is surely this, that in parallel passages in which St. Matthew and St. Mark have *παρालυτικός* he has *παρालελυμένος*, cf. Luke v. 18, Matt. ix. 2, Mark ii. 3; in Luke v. 24 this same distinction is also found in the Revisers' text (but see W.H. above), when this verse is compared with Matt. ix. 6 and Mark ii. 10.

Ver. 8. This detail, and indeed the whole narrative, may have been derived by St. Luke from the information of St. Philip himself, cf. xxi. 8, xxiv. 27, or from St. Paul as he travelled through Samaria, xv. 3.

Ver. 9. Σίμων: very few of the most advanced critics now dismiss Simon as an unhistorical character, or deny that the account before us contains at least some historical data; see McGiffert's note, *Apostolic Age*, p. 100. Hilgenfeld and Lipsius may be reckoned amongst those who once refused to admit that Simon Magus was an historical personage, but who afterwards retracted their opinion. But it still remains almost unaccountable that so many critics should have more or less endorsed, or developed, the theory first advocated by Baur that the

Simon Magus of the Clementine Homilies is none other than the Apostle Paul. It is sufficient to refer for an exposition of the absurdity of this identification to Dr. Salmon "Clementine Literature" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, iii., pp. 575, 576; see also Ritschl's note, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, p. 228 (second edition)). This ingenuity outdid itself in asking us to see in Simon's request to buy the power of conferring the Holy Ghost a travesty of the rejection of Paul's apostolic claims by the older Apostles, in spite of the gift of money which he had collected for the poor Saints in Jerusalem (Overbeck). No wonder that Spitta should describe such an explanation as "a perfect absurdity" (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 149). Before we can believe that the author of the Acts would make any use of the pseudo-Clementine literature in his account of Simon, we must account for the extraordinary fact that an author who so prominently represents his hero as triumphing over the powers of magic, xiii. 6-12, xix. 11-19, should have recourse to a tradition in which this same hero is identified with a magician (see Spitta, *u. s.*, p. 151; Salmon, "The Simon of Modern Criticism," *Dict. of Christian Biog.*, iv., p. 687; Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 212, and Wendt's note, p. 201). In Acts xxi. 8 we read that St. Luke spent several days in the house of Philip the Evangelist, and if we bear in mind that this same Philip is so prominent in chap. viii., there is nothing impossible in the belief that St. Luke should have received his narrative from St. Philip's lips, and included it in his history as an early and remarkable instance of the triumph of the Gospel—we need not search for any more occult reason on the part of the historian (see Salmon, *u. s.*, p. 688). Simon then is an historical personage, and it is not too much to say that to all the stories which have gathered round his name the narrative of

ἐξιστῶν τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας, λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτὸν μέγαν·  
 18. ᾧ προσεῖχον πάντες<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου, λέγοντες, Οὗτός

<sup>1</sup> πάντες  $\aleph$  ABCDE 61, Vulg., many other verss., Chrys., so all edd.; om. HP, Aethpp., Iren.; Blass brackets: "nec opus".

Acts always stands in a relation of priority—the two facts mentioned in Acts, that Simon was a magician, and that he came into personal antagonism with St. Peter, always recur elsewhere—but Acts tells us nothing of the details of Simon's heretical preaching, and it draws the veil entirely over his subsequent history. But "the hero of the romance of heresy" comes into prominence under the name of Simon in Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i., 26, Irenæus, i., 23 (who speaks of Simon the Samaritan, from whom all heresies had their being), and in the Clementine literature. But there is good reason for thinking that St. Irenæus, whilst he gives us a fuller account, is still giving us an account dependent on Justin, and there is every reason to believe that the Clementine writers also followed the same authority; see further, Salmon, "Simon Magus," *u. s.*, iv., p. 681 ff., and for a summary of the legends which gathered round the name of the Samaritan magician Plumptre's note, *in loco*, may be consulted. To the vexed question as to the identification of the Simon of Justin with the Simon of the Acts Dr. Salmon returns a decided negative answer, *u. s.*, p. 683, and certainly the Simon described by Justin seems to note rather the inheritor and teacher of a Gnostic system already developed than to have been in his own person the father of Gnosticism. Simon, however, was no uncommon name, e.g., Josephus, *Ant.*, xx., 7, 2, speaks of a Simon of Cyprus, whom there is no valid reason to identify with the Simon of the Acts (although famous critical authorities may be quoted in favour of such an identification). On the mistake made by Justin with reference to the statue on the Tiberine island with the words *Semoni Sanco Deo Fidio* inscribed (*cf.* the account of the marble fragment, apparently the base of a statue, dug up in 1574, marked with a similar inscription, in Lanciani's *Pagan and Christian Rome*) in referring it to Simon Magus, *Apol.*, i., 26, 56, Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. xiii., and Irenæus, i., 23, whilst in reality it referred to a Sabine god, Semo Sancus, the Sabine Hercules, see further, Salmon, *u. s.*, p. 682, Rendall,

*Acts*, p. 220. (Van Manen, followed by Feine, claims to discover two representations of Simon in Acts—one as an ordinary magician, viii. 9, 11, the other as a supposed incarnation of the deity, ver. 10—so too Jüngst, who refers the words from μαγεύων to Σαμαρίας to his Redactor; but on the other hand Hilgenfeld and Spitta see no contradiction, and regard the narrative as a complete whole.) —μαγεύων: only here in N.T., not found in LXX (but *cf.* μάγος in Dan. i. 20, ii. 2), though used in classical Greek. The word μάγος was used frequently by Herodotus of the priests and wise men in Persia who interpreted dreams, and hence the word came to denote any enchanter or wizard, and in a bad sense, a juggler, a quack like γόης (see instances in Wetstein). Here (*cf.* xiii. 6) it is used of the evil exercise of magic and sorcery by Simon, who practised the charms and incantations so extensively employed at the time in the East by quacks claiming supernatural powers (Baur, *Paulus*, i., p. 107; Neander, *Geschichte der Pflanzung*, *cf.* i., 84, 85 (fifth edit.); Wendt, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 202; Blass, *in loco*; Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 19, and see below on xiii. 6.—ἐξιστῶν, from ἐξιστάω (ἐξίστημι); so ἐξιστάνων, W. H. from ἐξιστάνω (hellenistic), see Blass, *Grammatik*, pp. 48, 49, transitive in present, future, first aorist active, *cf.* Luke xxiv. 22—so ἐξεστακέναι, ver. 11, perfect active, hellenistic form, also transitive; see Blass, *u. s.* (also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 118, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*) (in 3 Macc. i. 25 ἐξιστάνειν also occurs).—ἵσταμαι, intransitive, ver. 13, Blass, *u. s.*, p. 49—the revisers have consistently rendered the verb by the same English word in the three verses 9, 11, 13, thus giving point and force to the narrative, see on ver. 13.—λέγων κ.τ.λ., *cf.* v. 36 Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 174, regards μέγαν as an interpolation, and it is not found in the similar phrase in v. 36 (so too Winer-Schmiedel, p. 243), *cf.* Gal. ii. 6, and vi. 3, and the use of the Latin *aliquis*, Cicero, *Att.*, iii., 15, so too vii. 3, etc. It may be that Simon set himself up for a Messiah (see Ritschl's note, p. 228, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, second edition), or a Prophet, Jos.,



ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη.<sup>1</sup> 11. προσείχον δὲ αὐτῷ, διὰ  
τὸ ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ ταῖς μαγείαις<sup>2</sup> ἐξεστακέναι αὐτούς. 12. Ὅτε δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ἡ μεγάλη HLP, Sah., Syr. Pesh., Aethpp., Chrys.; ἡ καλουμένη μεγάλη ᾤABCDE, Vulg., Boh., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Aethr., Irint, Orig., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> μαγείαις BLP, so Blass, Weiss, Hilg.; μαγίαις ᾤACDEH, so Tisch., W.H. (see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 44).

*Ant.*, xviii., 4, 1, but ver. 14 points to a definite title, and it is likely enough that the people would repeat what Simon had told them of himself. His later followers went further and made him say, "Ego sum sermo Dei, ego sum speciosus, ego paracletus, ego omnipotens, ego omnia Dei" Jerome, *Commentar. in Matt.*, c. xc., 24 (Neander, *Geschichte der Pflanzung*, cf. i., 85, note).—*ἐαυτὸν*: contrast Philip's attitude; he preached Christ, not himself (cf. Rev. ii. 20).

Ver. 10. ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη: in R.V. the power of God which is called (καλουμένην) Great, see above, critical notes. T.R. may have omitted the word because it appeared unsuitable to the context; but it could not have been used in a depreciatory sense by the Samaritans, as if to intimate that the person claimed was the so-called "Great," since they also gave heed to Simon. On the other hand it has been argued that the title "Great" is meaningless in this relation, for every divine power might be described by the same epithet (so Wendt, *in loco*, and Blass: "mirum maxime ἡ καλ. quasi δύναμις Θ. μικρά quoque esse possit"). This difficulty leads Blass in his notes to introduce the solution proposed by Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, pp. 15-20 (1883), and approved by Wendt, Zöckler, Spitta, and recently by Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii. 420; see also Salmon's remarks in *Hermathena*, xxi., p. 232, *viz.*, that μεγάλη is not a translation of the attribute "great" רב, but rather a transcription of the Samaritan word מגלי or מגלא meaning *qui revelat* (cf. Hebrew גָּלָה, Chaldean גָּלָה גָּלָה, to reveal). The explanation would then be that in contrast to the hidden essence of the Godhead, Simon was known as its revealing power. Nestle however (see Knabenbauer *in loco*) objects on the ground that καλουμένη is not read at all in many MSS. But apart from Klostermann's explanation

the revised text might fairly mean that amongst the "powers" of God (cf. the N.T. use of the word δυνάμεις in Rom. viii. 38, 1 Peter iii. 22, and cf. *Book of Enoch* lxi. 10) Simon was emphatically the one which is called great, *i.e.*, the one prominently great or divine. The same title was assigned to him in later accounts, cf. Irenæus, i., 23 (Clem. *Hom.*, ii., 22; Clem. *Recog.*, i., 72; ii., 7; Tertullian, *De Præscr.*, xlii.; Origen, *c. Celsum*, v.). But whatever the claims made by Simon himself, or attributed to him by his followers, we need not read them into the words before us. The expression might mean nothing more than that Simon called himself a great (or revealing) angel of God, since by the Samaritans the angels were regarded as δυνάμεις, powers of God (cf. Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i., 402, note 4, and De Wette, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 122, fourth edition). Such an explanation is far more probable than the attribution to the Samaritans of later Gnostic and philosophical beliefs, while it is a complete answer to Overbeck, who argues that as the patristic literature about Simon presupposes the emanation theories of the Gnostics so the expression in the verse before us must be explained in the same way, and that thus we have a direct proof that the narrative is influenced by the Simon legend. We may however readily admit that Simon's teaching may have been a starting-point for the later Gnostic developments, and so far from ver. 10 demanding a Gnostic system as a background, we may rather see in it a glimpse of the *genesis* of the beliefs which afterwards figure so prominently in the Gnostic schools (Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, *in loco*, and p. 186, and see McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 99, and "Gnosticism," *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, ii., 680). On the close connection between the Samaritans and Egypt and the widespread study of sorcery amongst the Egyptian Samaritans see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 18, 19. In Hadrian's letter to Servianus we find the Samaritans in Egypt described, like the Jews and Christians there, as all astrologers, sooth-

ἐπίστευσαν τῷ Φιλίππῳ εὐαγγελιζομένῳ τὰ <sup>1</sup> περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐβαπτίζοντο ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες. 13. ὁ δὲ Σίμων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπίστευσε, καὶ βαπτισθεὶς ἦν προσκαρτερῶν τῷ Φιλίππῳ· θεωρῶν τε σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας γινόμενας, ἐξίστατο. 14. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀπόστολοι, ὅτι δέδεκται ἡ Σαμάρεια τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἀπέστειλαν

<sup>1</sup> τα omit W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss.

sayers and quacks (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 230 E.T.): no doubt an exaggeration, as Deissmann says, but still a proof that amongst these Egyptian Samaritans magic and its kindred arts were widely known. In a note on p. 19 Deissmann gives an interesting parallel to Acts viii. 10, ἐπι-καλοῦμαι σε τὴν μεγίστην δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ (ἄλλοι· τὴν ἐν τῇ ἄρκτῳ) ὑπὸ Κυρίου Θεοῦ τεταγμένην (*Par. Par. Bibl. nat.*, 1275 ff.; Wessely, i., 76) (and he also compares *Gospel of Peter*, ver. 19, ἡ δύναμις μου (2)). The expression according to him will thus have passed from its use amongst the Samaritans into the *Zauber-litteratur* of Egypt.

Ver. 11. ἱκανῷ χρόνῳ: dative for accusative, cf. xiii. 20, and perhaps Luke viii. 29, Rom. xvi. 25—the usage is not classical, Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 118, but see also Winer-Moulton, xxxi. 9 a. St. Luke alone uses ἱκανὸς with χρόνος, both in his Gospel and in Acts (Vogel, *Klostermann*).—μαγεῖαις: only here in N.T., not found in LXX or Apocryphal books, but used in Theophrastus and Plutarch, also in Josephus. It is found in a striking passage in St. Ignatius (*Ephes.*, xix., 3) in reference to the shining forth of the star at the Incarnation, ὅθεν ἔλθeto πᾶσα μαγεία καὶ πᾶς δεσμός, and it is also mentioned, *Didache*, v., 1, amongst the things comprised under “the way of death,” and so in ii. 1 we read οὐ μαγεύσεις οὐ φαρμακεύσεις.—ἐξ-εστακέναι, see above on ver. 9.

Ver. 12. εὐαγγέλ. περὶ: only here with περὶ, cf. Rom. i. 3 (Jos., *Ant.*, xv., 2). Amongst the Samaritans Philip would have found a soil already prepared for his teaching, cf. John iv. 25, and a doctrine of the Messiah, in whom the Samaritans saw not only a political but a religious renewer, and one in whom the promise of Deut. xviii. 15 would be fulfilled (Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i., 402, 403; Westcott, *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, pp. 162, 163).—ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, cf. v. 14:

“etiam mulieres quae a superstitionibus difficiliter abstrahuntur,” Wetstein, cf. John iv. 35 ff.

Ver. 13. καὶ αὐτὸς: characteristic of St. Luke, see Friedrich, *Das Lucas-evangelium*, p. 37.—βαπτισθεὶς—ἐβαπτίσθη ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐφωτίσθη (St. Cyril).—ἦν προσκαρτερῶν: on ἦν with a participle as characteristic of St. Luke see on i. 10, and Friedrich, *u. s.*, p. 12; on προσκαρτ. see on i. 14. Here with dative of the person (cf. x. 7); the whole expression shows how assiduously Simon attached himself to Philip.—θεωρῶν: the faith of Simon rested on the outward miracles and signs, a faith which ended in amazement, ἐξίστατο—but it was no permanent abiding faith, just as the amazement which he had himself inspired in others gave way before a higher and more convincing belief. The expression δυνάμεις μεγάλας may have been purposely chosen; hitherto men had seen in Simon, and he himself had claimed to be, ἡ δύν. ἡ μεγάλη (Weiss).—ἐξίστατο: “Simon qui alios obstupesciebat, jam ipse obstupescit,” Wetstein. ἐξίσταμαι, intransitive, Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 49. Irenæus speaks of him as one who pretended faith, i. 23 (so too St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose): he may have believed in the Messianic dignity of Christ, and in His Death and Resurrection, constrained by the miracles which Philip wrought in attestation of his preaching, but it was a belief about the facts, and not a belief in Him whom the facts made known, a belief in the power of the new faith, but not an acceptance of its holiness, ver. 18 (see further, Rendall’s note *in loco*, and on the Baptism of Simon, “Baptism,” in Hastings’ B.D.).

Ver. 14. ἡ Σαμ.: here the district; Weiss traces the revising hand of St. Luke (but see on the other hand Wendt, *in loco*). There is nothing surprising in the fact that the preaching of the Gospel in the town should be regarded by the Apostles at Jerusalem as a proof that the



πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην· 15. οἷτινες καταβάντες  
προσηύξαντο περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως λάβωσι Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον. (16. οὐπω  
γὰρ ἦν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιπεπτωκός, μόνον δὲ βεβαπτισμένοι

good news had penetrated throughout the district, or that the people of the town should themselves have spread the Gospel amongst their countrymen (*cf.* John iv. 28).—δέδεκται τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θ.: the phrase is characteristic of St. Luke, as it is used by him, Luke viii. 13, Acts xi. 1, xvii. 11, but not by the other Evangelists—it is found once in St. Paul, 1 Thess. i. 6 (*cf.* ii. 13 and James i. 21). In the mention of John here, as in iii. 4, Weiss can only see the hand of a reviser, since the beloved disciple is mentioned with Peter in a way for which, as Weiss alleges, no reason can be assigned, iii. 4, 11, iv. 13; but nothing was more likely than that Peter and John should be associated together here as previously in the Gospels, see Plumptre's note on Acts iii. 1.

Ver. 15. οἷτινες: on this form of the relative see Rendall, *in loco*; Blass however regards it as simply = οἱ, *Grammatik*, p. 169, *cf.* xii. 10.—καταβάντες, *cf.* xxiv. 1 (Luke ii. 42), xi. 2, xxi. 12, 15. Wendt defends the historical character of this journey to Samaria as against Zeller and Overbeck.—προσηύξαντο περὶ: here only with περὶ; the verb is characteristic of St. Luke, and he alone has the construction used in this verse, *cf.* Luke vi. 28, W.H. The exact phrase is found in St. Paul's Epistles four or five times (and once in Hebrews), but often in LXX, and *cf.* Baruch i., 11, 13; 2 Macc. i. 6, xv. 14. The laying on of hands, as in vi. 7 and xiii. 3, is here preceded by prayer, see Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.*, v., chap. lxvi., 1-4.—ὅπως λάβωσι Πν. Ἅγιον: the words express the chief and highest object of the Apostles' visit: it was not only to ascertain the genuineness of the conversions, or to form a connecting link between the Church of Samaria and that of Jerusalem, although such objects might not have been excluded in dealing with an entirely new and strange state of things—the recognition of the Samaritans in a common faith. It has been argued with great force that the expression Holy Spirit is not meant here in its dogmatic Pauline sense; Luke only means to include in it the ecstatic gifts of speaking with tongues and prophecy. This view is held to be supported by ἰδὼν in ver. 18, intimating that outward manifestations which meet the eye must have shown

themselves, and by the fact that the same verb, ἐπέτεσε, is used in cases where the results which follow plainly show that the reception of the Holy Ghost meant a manifestation of the outward marvellous signs such as marked the day of Pentecost, x. 44, 46, xi. 15 (*cf.* xix. 6). In the case of these Samaritans no such signs from heaven had followed their baptism, and the Apostles prayed for a conspicuous divine sanction on the reception of the new converts (Wendt, Zöckler, Holtzmann, and see also Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 54, 55). But even supposing that the reception of the Holy Ghost could be thus limited, the gift of tongues was no mere magical power, but the direct result of a supernatural Presence and of a special grace—of that Presence speaking with tongues, prophesyings, and various gifts, 1 Cor. xiv. 1, 14, 37, were no doubt the outward manifestations, but they could not have been manifested apart from that Presence, and they were outward visible signs or an inward spiritual grace. In a book so marked by the working of the Holy Spirit that it has received the name of the "Gospel of the Spirit" it is difficult to believe that St. Luke can mean to limit the expression λαμβάνειν here and in the following verse to anything less than a bestowal of that divine indwelling of the spirit which makes the Christian the temple of God, and which St. Paul speaks of in the very same terms as a permanent possession, Gal. iii. 2, Rom. viii. 15 (Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, p. 258). St. Paul's language, 1 Cor. xii. 30, makes it plain that the advent of the Holy Spirit was not of necessity attested by any peculiar manifestations, nor were these manifestations essential accompaniments of it: "Do all speak with tongues?" he asks, "Are all prophets?" See further on ver. 17.

Ver. 16. ἐπιπεπτωκός: the verb is characteristic of St. Luke, and used by him both in his Gospel and in Acts of the occurrence of extraordinary conditions, *e.g.*, the sudden influence of the Spirit, *cf.* Luke i. 12, Acts x. 44, xi. 15, xix. 17, *cf.* Rev. xi. 11 (Acts x. 10 cannot be supported, and in xiii. 11 read ἔπρεσεν). Similar usage in LXX, Exod. xv. 16, 1 Sam. xxvi. 12, Ps. liv. 4, Judith ii. 28, xi. 11, etc. Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 41

ὑπάρχον εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ.) 17. τότε ἐπιτίθουν<sup>1</sup> τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἐλάβανον Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον. 18. Θεασάμενος<sup>2</sup> δὲ ὁ Σίμων, ὅτι διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων δίδεται

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτίθουν, see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 121; Blass, *Gram.*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> θεασάμενος HLP, Chrys.; ἰδὼν ABCDE, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

For the word as used by St. Luke in another sense also characteristic of him, see below on xx. 37, and Plummer on xv. 20. On the formula of baptism see above p. 91, and "Baptism," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, p. 352, and Hastings' B.D.—ὑπάρχον here perhaps = "made a beginning," took the first step (Lumby).

Ver. 17. There cannot be any reason to doubt the validity of St. Philip's baptism, and it is therefore evident that the laying on of hands (*cf.* xix. 6) is here distinct from baptism, and also from the appointment to any Church office (as in vi. 6, xiii. 3), or the bestowal of any special power of healing as in the person of Ananias, ix. 12, 17, although gifts of healing might no doubt accompany it. But both here and in xix. 6 (*cf.* Heb. vi. 2) it follows closely upon baptism, and is performed by Apostles, to whom alone the function belongs, although it is reasonable to suppose that the prophets and teachers who were associated with them in their Apostolic office, and who could lay on hands in Acts xiii. 1-3, could do so in other cases also for the reception of the Holy Ghost (Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, p. 258). The question why St. Philip did not himself "lay hands" upon his converts has been variously discussed, but the narrative of Acts supplies the answer, inasmuch as in the only two parallel cases, *viz.*, the verse before us and xix. 6, the higher officers alone exercise this power, and also justifies the usual custom of the Church in so limiting its exercise ("Confirmation," *Dict. of Christian Antiq.* (Smith & Cheetham), i., p. 425; B.D.<sup>1</sup>, iii., *App.*; and Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.*, v., ch. lxvi. 5, and passage cited; Jerome, *Advers. Lucif.*, c. 4, and St. Cyprian, *Epis.* 73, *ad Jubaianum* (reference to the passage before us)). Undoubtedly there are cases of baptism, Acts iii. 41, xvi. 15, 33, where no reference is made to the subsequent performance of this rite, but in these cases it must be remembered that the baptiser was an Apostle, and that when this was the case its observance might fairly be assumed. For the special

case of Cornelius see below on x. 44, see further "Confirmation," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., 640. Weizsäcker contrasts this account in viii., v. 16, which he describes as this crude conception of the communication of the Spirit solely by the imposition of the Apostles' hands (*Apostolic Age*, ii., 254 and 299, E.T.), and which represents baptism as being thus completed, with the account of baptism given us by St. Paul in 1 Cor. i. 14-17. But in the first place we should remember that Acts does not describe baptism as being completed by the laying on of hands; the baptism was not invalid, the Samaritan converts became by its administration members of the Church; and the laying on of hands was not so much a completion of baptism as an addition to it. And, in the next place, Heb. vi. 2 certainly indicates that this addition must have been known at a very early period (see Westcott, *in loco*). It may also be borne in mind that 2 Cor. i. 21 is interpreted of confirmation by many of the Fathers (*cf.* too Westcott's interpretation of 1 John ii. 20, 27), and that St. Paul is writing a letter and not describing a ritual.—ἐλάβανον: Dr. Hort, who holds that the reception of the Holy Spirit is here explained as in x. 44 by reference to the manifestation of the gift of tongues, etc., points out that the verb is not ἔλαβον, but imperfect ἐλάβανον, and he therefore renders it "showed a succession of signs of the Spirit" (see also above). But this interpretation need not conflict with the belief in the gift of the Spirit as a permanent possession, and it is well to remember that ἐπετίθεισαν (ἐπετίθουν) is also imperfect. Both verbs may therefore simply indicate the continuous administration of the laying on of hands by the Apostles, and the continuous supernatural result (not necessarily external manifestation) which followed upon this action; *cf.* ἐβαπτίζοντο in ver. 12, imperfect, and so in xviii. 8.

Ver. 18. θεασάμενος: the word would seem to point on (so ἰδὼν, see critical notes) to some outward manifestation of



τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, προσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρήματα,<sup>1</sup> λέγων, 19. Δότε καὶ μοι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην, ἵνα ὡς ἐὰν ἐπιθῶ τὰς χεῖρας, λαμβάνῃ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον. 20. Πέτρος δὲ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν, Τὸ ἀργύριόν σου σὺν σοὶ εἶη εἰς ἀπώλειαν, ὅτι τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνόμισας διὰ

<sup>1</sup> D, Gig. Par. read παρακαλῶν καὶ λέγων (cf. ver. 24 where παρακαλῶ is also found in D), so Hilg.; combination not infrequent, Matt. viii. 5, Acts ii. 40, xvi. 9, to strengthen the request. After ἵνα D, Par. Const. apost. insert καὶ. εἰς ABCELP, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss; an DH 36, Const. apost., Bas., Chrys., Cyr.-Jer. (so Blass in β, and Hilg.).

the inward grace of the Spirit, so Weiss, Wendt, Zöckler; so Felten, although he does not of course limit the reception of the Holy Spirit to such outward evidences of His Presence. The word may further give us an insight into Simon's character and belief—the gift of the Spirit was valuable to him in its external manifestation, in so far, that is, as it presented itself to ocular demonstration as a higher power than his own magic.—διὰ τῆς ἐπιθ. τῶν χ. τῶν ἀποστ., see above on ver. 17, cf. διὰ, “the laying on of hands” was the instrument by which the Holy Ghost was given in this instance: “Church,” Hastings' B.D., i., 426.—προσήνεγκεν αὐτοῖς χρήματα: Simon was right in so far as he regarded the gift of the Spirit as an ἐξουσία to be bestowed, but entirely wrong in supposing that such a power could be obtained without an inward disposition of the heart, as anything might be bought for gold in external commerce. So De Wette, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 124 (fourth edition), and he adds: “This is the fundamental error in ‘Simony,’ which is closely connected with unbelief in the power and meaning of the Spirit, and with materialism” (see also Alford *in loco*). (See further on “Simony,” Luckock, *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by St. Luke*, i., 208.) Probably Simon, after the manner of the time, cf. xix. 19, may already have purchased secrets from other masters of the magical arts, and thought that a similar purchase could now be effected.

Ver. 19. ἵνα ὡς ἐὰν ἐπιθῶ: “that on whomsoever I lay my hands,” i.e., quite apart from any profession of faith or test of character; no words could more plainly show how completely Simon mistook the essential source and meaning of the power which he coveted.

Ver. 20. τὸ ἀργύριόν σου κ.τ.λ.: the words are no curse or imprecation, as is evident from ver. 22, but rather a vehement expression of horror on the

part of St. Peter, an expression which would warn Simon that he was on the way to destruction. Rendall considers that the real form of the prayer is not that Simon may perish, but that as he is already on the way to destruction, so the silver may perish which is dragging him down, to the intent that Simon himself may repent and be forgiven: so Page, “thy money perish, even as thou art now perishing,” cf. Eucumenius, *in loco* (and to the same effect St. Chrys.): οὐκ ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἀρωμένον ἀλλὰ παιδεύοντος, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι· τὸ ἀργύριόν σου συναπόλοιτό σοι μετὰ τῆς προαιρέσεως. But see also on the optative of wishing, Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 79, where he speaks of Mark xi. 14 and Acts viii. 20 as peculiar, being imprecations of evil, and cf. also Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 215.—εἴη εἰς ἀπώλειαν: a frequent construction, “go to destruction and remain there,” see Felten, Wendt, Page, and cf. ver. 23, εἰς χολὴν . . . ὄντα. The noun occurs no less than five times in St. Peter's Second Epistle, cf. also 1 Peter i. 7. εἰς ἀπώλ. occurs five times elsewhere, Rom. ix. 22, 1 Tim. vi. 9, Heb. x. 39, Rev. xvii. 8, 11, and it is frequent in LXX; cf. 1 Chron. xxi. 17, Isa. xiv. 23, liv. 16, Dan. iii. 29, and ii. 5, Theod., etc.; 1 Macc. iii. 42, Bel and the Dragon, ver. 29, and several times in Ecclus.—τὴν δωρεὰν: and so, not to be bought, cf. Matt. x. 8, and our Lord's own words in Samaria, John iv. 10, εἰ ᾗδεις τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.—ὅτι . . . ἐνόμισας διὰ χ. κτᾶσθαι: “because thou hast thought to obtain,” to acquire, gain possession of, κτᾶσθαι, deponent verb, so in classical Greek, not passive as in A.V., see Matt. x. 9, and elsewhere twice in St. Luke's Gospel, xviii. 12, xxi. 19, and three times in Acts, i. 18, viii. 20, xxii. 28, and once in St. Paul, 1 Thess. iv. 4, frequent in LXX, and in same sense as here of acquiring by money.—ἐνόμ.: it was not a mere error of judgment, but a sinful intention, which

χρημάτων κτῶσαι. 21. οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κλήρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ  
τούτῳ· ἡ γὰρ καρδιά σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεία ἐνώπιον<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ. 22.  
μετανόησον οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας σου ταύτης, καὶ δεήθητι τοῦ Θεοῦ,<sup>2</sup> εἰ  
ἄρα ἀφεθήσεται σοι ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς καρδίας σου· 23. εἰς<sup>3</sup> γὰρ χολήν

<sup>1</sup> ἐνώπιον EHL P; ἐναντι NABD 15, 36, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Hilg. (cf. Luke i. 8, a rarer word).

<sup>2</sup> Θεοῦ HLP, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Irint., Blass in β (prob. after ver. 21); Κυρίου ABCDE, Sah., Boh., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Const. apost., Bas., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, so Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> D<sup>1</sup> has ἡν (=εν (?)) γὰρ πικρίας χολή και συνδεσμῷ αδικ., so Blass and Hilg., prob. caused by the difficult εἰς. ορω—DE read θεωρω, so Const. apost., Chrys.; "recte" Blass, so in α and β, and Hilg.; but there seems no real reason why ορω should not occur here.

had come from a heart not right before God, ver. 21; cf. Matt. xv. 19.

Ver. 21. μερίς οὐδὲ κλήρος, cf. Deut. xii. 2, xiv. 27, 29, xviii. 1, Isa. lvii. 6, and instances in Wetstein, see on i. 17.—λόγῳ τούτῳ: both A. and R.V. "in this matter," i.e., in the power of communicating the Holy Spirit, but Grotius, Neander, Hackett, Blass, Rendall and others refer it to the Gospel, i.e., the word of God which the Apostles preached, and in the blessings of which the Apostles had a share. λόγος is frequently used in classical Greek of that *de quo agitur* (see instances in Wendt). Grimm, *sub v.*, compares the use of the noun in classical Greek, like ῥήμα, the thing spoken of, the subject or matter of the λόγος, Herod., i., 21, etc.—ἡ γὰρ καρδιά . . . εὐθεία, cf. LXX, Ps. vii. 10, x. 3, xxxv. 1, lxxvii. 37, etc., where the adjective is used, as often in classical Greek, of moral uprightness (cf. εὐθύτης in LXX, and *Psalms of Solomon*, ii., 15, ἐν εὐθύτητι καρδίας), so also in Acts xiii. 10, where the word is used by St. Paul on a similar occasion in rebuking Elymas; only found once in the Epistles, where it is again used by St. Peter, 2 Pet. ii. 15.

Ver. 22. κακίας: not used elsewhere by St. Luke, but it significantly meets us twice in St. Peter, cf. 1 Pet. ii. 1, 16.—ἀφεθ.: if we read above, Κυρίου, the meaning will be the Lord Jesus, in whose name the Apostles had been baptising, ver. 16, and ἀφεθ. may also point to the word of the Lord Jesus in Matt. xii. 31 (so Alford, Plumptre).—εἰ ἄρα, Mark xi. 13 (Acts xvii. 27). R. and A.V. both render "if perhaps," but R.V. "if perhaps . . . shall be forgiven thee"; A.V. "if perhaps . . . may be forgiven thee". St. Peter does not throw

doubt on forgiveness after sincere repentance, but the doubt is expressed, because Simon so long as he was what he was (see the probable reading of the next verse and the connecting γάρ) could not repent, and therefore could not be forgiven, cf. Gen. xviii. 3. "If now I have found favour in thine eyes," εἰ ἄρα (אִי-אָרָא), which I hope rather than venture to assume; see also Simcox, *Language of N. T. Greek*, pp. 180, 181, and compare Winer-Moulton, xli., 4 c., and liii., 8 a; and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 62 (1893).—ἐπίνοια: only here in N.T.; cf. Jer. xx. 10, Wisdom vi. 16, etc., 2 Macc. xii. 45, 4 Macc. xvii. 2, and often in classical Greek.

Ver. 23. εἰς γὰρ χολήν: The passages in LXX generally referred to as containing somewhat similar phraseology are Deut. xxix. 18, xxxii. 32, Lam. iii. 15. But the word χολή is found in LXX several times, and not always as the equivalent of the same Hebrew. In Deut. xxix. 18, xxxii. 32, Ps. lxi. 21, Jer. viii. 14, ix. 15, Lam. iii. 19, it is used to translate רִאשׁ (רוֹשׁ, Deut. xxxii. 32), a poisonous plant of intense bitterness and of quick growth (coupled with wormwood, cf. Deut. xxix. 18, Lam. iii. 19, Jer. ix. 15). In Job xvi. 14 (where, however, AS<sup>2</sup> read ζωήν for χολήν) it is used to translate מֶרְרָה, *bile, gall*

in xx. 14 of the same book it is the equivalent of מֶרְרָה in the sense of the gall of vipers, i.e., the poison of vipers, which the ancients supposed to lie in the gall. In Prov. v. 4 and Lam. iii. 15 it is the rendering of לַעֲנָה.



πικρίας καὶ σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας ὁρῶ σε ὄντα. 24. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Σίμων εἶπε, Δεήθητε ὑμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐπέλθῃ ἐπ' ἐμέ ὡς εἰρήκατε.<sup>1</sup> 25. Οἱ μὲν οὖν διαμαρτυρούμενοι καὶ λαλήσαντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου, ὑπέστρεψαν<sup>2</sup> εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, πολλὰς τε κώμας τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν εὐηγγελίσαντο.

<sup>1</sup> Before δεήθητε D, Gig., Syr. Harcl. mg., Const. apost. prefix παρακαλῶ; cf. ver. 19, so Hilg. For ὡς D has τούτων των κακῶν, and adds μοι after εἰρήκατε, so Hilg. At end of verse D adds ὅς πολλά κλαίων οὐ διελιμπάνειν, so Syr. H. mg. without ὅς—so Blass in β, but καὶ for ὅς; Hilg. follows D; see Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 4, who refers to xx. 27, xvii. 13, for διαλιμπάνειν, διαλειπειν, constr. with participle as here, instances which he regards as beyond doubt Lucan; cf. Luke vii. 45, where διαλειπω, used only by Luke, is found with a similar constr., διαλιμπανῶ only found elsewhere in Tobit x. 7 (but S al.), but also in Galen, cf. Grimm, *sub v.*, and L. and S. But in spite of the Lucan phraseology it seems difficult to suppose that Luke would himself have struck out the words, unless, indeed, he had gained further information about Simon which led him to conclude that the repentance was not sincere. Such an omission could scarcely be made for the sake of brevity. Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 68, evidently regards the words as added by a later hand, not as omitted by Luke himself; see also Wendt, edit. 1899, p. 177, note.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπέστρεψαν CEHLP, several verss., Chrys.; ὑπεστρεφον ΞABD 15, 61, Vulg., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. Σαμαρειτῶν ABCDHLP, so W.H. (and see App., p. 161), Hilg.; Σαμαριτῶν ΞE, so Tisch., Blass. εὐηγγελίσαντο HLP, Boh., Syr. Pesh., Aeth., Chrys.; εὐηγγελίζοντο ΞABCD, Vulg., Sah., Syr. Harcl., Arm., Aug., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

wormwood; and in the former passage we have πικρότερον χολῆς. If we take the most usual signification of χολή in the LXX, viz., that of the gall plant (see R.V., margin, *in loco, gall, or a gall root*), the thought of bitterness would naturally be associated with it (in the passage which presents the closest parallel to the verse before us, Deut. xxix. 18, ἐν χολῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ, πικρία is a translation of the Hebrew word for wormwood); ἐν χολῇ πικρίας might therefore denote the intense malignity which filled the heart of Simon. (On the word χολή in its sense here, and in Matt. xxvii. 34, see Meyer-Weiss, *Matth.*, p. 546.) The preposition εἰς is generally taken as = ἐν in this passage; but Rendall suggests that here, as is sometimes elsewhere, it = ὡς, and he therefore renders: "I see that thou art as gall of bitterness," denoting the evil function which Simon would fulfil in the Church if he continued what he was. Westcott's note on Heb. xii. 15 should also be consulted.—σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας: R.V. translates "thou art . . . in the bond of iniquity". But if the passage means that Simon "will become . . . a bond of iniquity," R.V., margin, or that he is now as a bond of iniquity (Rendall), the expression denotes, not that Simon is bound, but that he binds others in iniquity. Blass refers to

Isa. lviii. 6, where a similar phrase occurs, σύνδ. ἀδικ., and explains: "improbitate quasi vinculus es"; so Grimm, while pointing out that the phrase in Isa. lviii. 6 is used in a different sense from here, explains "vinculum improbitatis, i.e., quod ab improbate nequitia ad constringendos animos". Others again take the expression to denote a bundle, fasciculus (Weststein) (cf. Hdian., iv., 12, 11), Simon being regarded "quasi ex improbate concretum," cf. especially Cicero, *in Pison.*, ix., 21; but such a rendering is rejected by Grimm, as no examples can be adduced of this tropical use of the noun, and by Wendt, on the ground that ἀδικία is not in the plural, but in the singular. Combinations with ἀδικία are characteristic of St. Luke; cf. Luke xiii. 27, xvi. 8, 9, xviii. 6; cf. Act i. 18; the word only occurs once elsewhere in the Gospels, John vii. 18; Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 23.

Ver. 24. Δεήθητε: the verse is often taken (as by Meyer and others) as a further proof of the hollowness of Simon's belief, and his ignorance of the way of true repentance—he will not pray for himself, and he only asks for deliverance from fear of the penalty and not from hatred of the sin (so Bengel). But on the other hand Wendt, in criticising Meyer, objects to this further condemna-

26. Ἄγγελος δὲ Κυρίου ἐλάλησε πρὸς Φίλιππον, λέγων, Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου κατὰ μεσημβρίαν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν καταβαίνουσαν ἀπὸ

tion of Simon as not expressed in the text. So far as the petition for the Apostles' prayers is concerned, it is of course possible that it may have been prompted by the belief that such prayers would be more efficacious than his own (so Blass, Wendt, see also conclusion of the story in D); he does not ask them to pray instead of himself but ὑπέρ, on his behalf.—ἐπέλθῃ: not used by the other Evangelists, but three times in St. Luke's Gospel and four times in Acts, with ἐπί and accusative both in Gospel (i. 35, cf. xxi. 35) and Acts.

Ver. 25. οἱ μὲν οὖν: the μὲν οὖν and δέ in ver. 26 may connect the return of the party to Jerusalem and the following instructions to Philip for his journey, and so enable us to gather for a certainty that Philip returned to Jerusalem with the Apostles, and received there his further directions from the Lord; see Rendall's Appendix on μὲν οὖν, *Acts*, p. 164, but cf. on the other hand, Belser, *Beiträge*, pp. 51, 52. On the frequent and characteristic use of μὲν οὖν in Luke, see above on i. 6, etc.—ὑπέστρεψαν: if we read the imperfect, we have the two verbs in the verse in the same tense, and the sense would be that the Apostles did not return at once to Jerusalem, but started on their return (imperfect), and preached to the Samaritan villages on the way (as Belser also allows)—the τε closely unites the two verbs (Weiss). The verb is characteristic of St. Luke: in his Gospel twenty-one or twenty-two times; in Acts, eleven or twelve times; in the other Evangelists, only once, Mark xv. 40, and this doubtful; only three times in rest of N.T. (Lekebusch, Friedrich).

Ver. 26. ἄγγελος: on the frequency of angelic appearances, another characteristic of St. Luke, see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, pp. 45 and 52 (so Zeller, *Acts*, ii., 224, E.T.), cf. Luke ii. 9 and Acts xii. 7, Luke i. 38 and Acts x. 7, Luke xxiv. 4 and Acts i. 10, x. 30. There can be no doubt, as Wendt points out, that St. Luke means that the communication was made to Philip by an angel, and that therefore all attempts to explain his words as meaning that Philip felt a sudden inward impulse, or that he had a vision in a dream, are unsatisfactory.—ἀνάστηθι, as Wendt remarks, does not support the latter supposition, cf. v. 17, and its frequent use in Acts and in O.T. see below.—δὲ may be taken as above,

see ver. 25, or as simply marking the return of the narrative from the chief Apostles to the history of Philip. As in vv. 29, 39, πνεῦμα and not ἄγγελος occurs; the alteration has been attributed to a reviser, but even Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 153, can find no reason for this, and sees in the use of πνεῦμα and ἄγγελος here nothing more strange than their close collocation Matt. iv. i, 11.—ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου, words often similarly joined together in LXX.—κατὰ μεσημβρίαν: towards the south, i.e., he was to proceed "with his face to the south," cf. xxvii. 12 (Page).—ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν (not πρὸς), on, i.e., along the road (not "unto," A.V.). R.V. margin renders κατὰ μεσ. "at noon"; so Rendall, cf. xxii. 6, as we have κατὰ not πρὸς; so Nestle, *Studien und Kritiken*, p. 335 (1892) (see Felten's note, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 177; but as he points out, the heat of the day at twelve o'clock would not be a likely time for travelling, see also Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 52, as against Nestle). Wendt, edition 1899, p. 177, gives in his adhesion to Nestle's view on the ground that in LXX, cf. Gen. xviii. 1, etc., the word μεσημβρ. is always so used, and because the time of the day for the meeting was an important factor, whilst there would be no need to mention the direction, when the town was definitely named (see also O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 88).—αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρμος: opinion is still divided as to whether the adjective is to be referred to the town or the road. Amongst recent writers, Wendt, edition 1899, p. 178; Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., 438 (1899); Belser, Rendall, O. Holtzmann, u. s., p. 88, Knabenbauer (so too Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 79; Conder in B.D.<sup>2</sup> "Gaza," and Grimm-Thayer) may be added to the large number who see a reference to the route (in Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 71, E.T., it is stated that this view is the more probable). But, on the other hand, some of the older commentators (Calvin, Grotius, etc.) take the former view, and they have recently received a strong supporter in Prof. G. A. Smith, *Historical Geog. of the Holy Land*, pp. 186-188. O. Holtzmann, although referring αὕτη to ὁδός, points out that both Strabo, xvi., 2, 30, and the Anonymous Geographical Fragment (*Geogr. Græc. Minores*, Hudson, iv., p. 39) designate Gaza as ἔρμος. Dr.



Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς Γάζαν· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος. 27. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη· καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ Αἰθίοψ εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης Κανδάκης τῆς<sup>1</sup> βασιλείσης Αἰθιοπῶν, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γάζης αὐτῆς, ὃς ἐληλύθει

<sup>1</sup> τῆς HLP, Chrys.; om. NABC(D)E δι, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; D adds τινος, but Blass rejects in β, Hilg. retains. ος (2) N<sup>2</sup>BC<sup>2</sup>D<sup>2</sup>EHL<sup>2</sup>P, Syr. Harcl., Arm., Chrys., so Weiss (see comment. below), [W.H.]; om. N<sup>1</sup>AC<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>, Vulg., Sah., so Tisch., Blass, Hilg. Blass suggests orig. reading was οὗτος, which might easily fall out after αὐτῆς—οὗτος in Gig., Boh. For αὐτῆς D reads αὐτου, but Blass rejects, so Hilg.—suggested as due from retrans. of Latin, or unpunctuated Syriac. εἰς om. in D<sup>1</sup>, εν in D<sup>2</sup>.

Smith strengthens these references, not only by Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 4, 4, and Diodorus Siculus, xix., 80, but by maintaining that the New Gaza mentioned in the Anonymous Fragment was on the coast, and that if so, it lay off the road to Egypt, which still passed by the desert Gaza; the latter place need not have been absolutely deserted in Philip's time; its site and the vicinity of the great road would soon attract people back, but it was not unlikely that the name ἔρημος might still stick to it (see also ver. 36 below). If we take the adjective as referring to the road, its exact force is still doubtful; does it refer to one route, specially lonely, as distinguished from others, or to the ordinary aspect of a route leading through waste places, or to the fact that at the hour mentioned, noon-day (see above), it would be deserted? Wendt confesses himself unable to decide, and perhaps he goes as far as one can expect to go in adding that at least this characterisation of the route so far prepares us for the sequel, in that it explains the fact that the eunuch would read aloud, and that Philip could converse with him uninterruptedly. Hackett and others regard the words before us as a parenthetical remark by St. Luke himself to acquaint the reader with the region of this memorable occurrence, and αὕτη is used in a somewhat similar explanatory way in 2 Chron. v. 2, LXX, but this does not enable us to decide as to whether the explanation is St. Luke's or the angel's. Hilgenfeld and Schmiedel dismiss the words as an explanatory gloss. The argument sometimes drawn for the late date of Acts by referring ἔρημος to the supposed demolition of Gaza in A.D. 66 cannot be maintained, since this destruction so called was evidently very partial, see G. A. Smith, *u. s.*, and so Schürer, *u. s.*

Ver. 27. καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐπορεύθη: immediate and implicit obedience.—καὶ ἰδοὺ, see on i. 11; cf. Hort, *Ecclesia*,

p. 179, on the force of the phrase; used characteristically by St. Luke of sudden and as it were providential interpositions, i. 10, x. 17, xii. 7, and see note on xvi. 1.—εὐνοῦχος: the word can be taken literally, for there is no contradiction involved in Deut. xxiii. 1, as he would be simply "a proselyte of the gate" (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 54). The instances sometimes referred to as showing that the exclusion of eunuchs from the congregation of the Lord was relaxed in the later period of Jewish history can scarcely hold good, since Isa. lvi. 3 refers to the Messianic future in which even the heathen and the eunuchs should share, and in Jer. xxxviii. 7, xxxix. 15 nothing is said which could lead us to describe Ebed Melech, another Ethiopian eunuch, as a Jew in the full sense. On the position and influence of eunuchs in the East, both in ancient and modern times, see "Eunuch," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Hastings' B.D. St. Luke's mention that he was a eunuch is quite in accordance with the "universalism" of the Acts; gradually the barriers of a narrow Judaism were broken down, first in the case of the Samaritans, and now in the case of the eunuch. Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii., 1, speaks of him as πρῶτος ἐξ ἔθνων, who was converted to Christ, and even as a "proselyte of the gate" he might be so described, for the gulf which lay between a born Gentile and a genuine descendant of Abraham could never be bridged over (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 326, E.T.). Moreover, in the case of the Ethiopian eunuch, descended from the accursed race of Ham, this separation from Israel must have been intensified to the utmost (cf. Amos ix. 7). No doubt St. Luke may also have desired to instance the way in which thus early the Gospel spread to a land far distant from the place of its birth (McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 100).—δυνάστης: noun in apposition to ἀνὴρ Αἰθ., only used by St. Luke here and in

προσκυνήσων εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, 28. ἦν τε ὑποστρέφων καὶ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄρματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνεγίνωσκε τὸν προφήτην Ἡσαΐαν.<sup>1</sup> 29. εἶπε δὲ τὸ Πνεῦμα τῷ Φιλίππῳ, Πρόσελθε καὶ κολλήθητι τῷ ἄρματι

<sup>1</sup> τον προφ. Ησ. EHLP 61, Boh., Syr. Harcl.; Ησ. τον προφ. NABC 13, 69 Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Arm., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V. See for this note v. 30

his Gospel, i. 52, and once again by St. Paul, 1 Tim. vi. 15. In LXX frequent (used of God, Ecclus. xlv. 5, 2 Macc. xv. 3, 23, etc.; so too of Zeus by Soph.), for its meaning here cf. Gen. i. 4, Latin, *aulicus*.—Κανδάκης: not a personal name, but said to be a name often given to queens of Ethiopia (cf. Pharaoh, and later Ptolemy, in Egypt), Pliny, *N. H.*, vi., 35, 7. In the time of Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii., 1, Ethiopia is said to be still ruled by queens, Strabo, xvii., I., 54; Bion of Soli, *Ethiopica* (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, iv., p. 351). According to Brugsch the spelling would be Kanta-ki: cf. "Candace," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and "Ethiopia," Hastings' B.D.—γάλης: a Persian word found both in Greek and Latin (cf. Cicero, *De Off.*, ii., 22; Virg., *Æn.*, i., 119; and see Wetstein, *in loco*). In LXX, Ezra vi. 1 (Esth. iv. 7), *treasures*; v. 17, vii. 20, *treasury*; vii. 21, *treasurers*; cf. also Isa. xxxix. 2, and γαζοφυλάκιον in LXX, and in N.T., Luke xxi. 1, Mark xii. 41 (2), 43, John viii. 20. "Observat Lucas, et locum, ubi præfatus Gazæ Philippo factus est obviam, Gazam fuisse vocatum" Wetstein; see also on the *nomen et omen* Felten and Plumptre, and compare on the word Jerome, *Epist.*, cviii., 11. If the second δς is retained (R.V.) it emphasises the fact that the eunuch was already a proselyte Weiss).—προσκυνήσων: proves not that (he was a Jew, but that he was not a heathen (Hackett). The proselytes, as well as foreign Jews, came to Jerusalem to worship. We cannot say whether he had gone up to one of the feasts; St. Chrysostom places it to his credit that he had gone up at an unusual time.

Ver. 28. ἄρματος: the chariot was regarded as a mark of high rank: very frequent word in LXX, but in N.T. only here, and in Rev. ix. 9, cf. xviii. 13. "Chariot," Hastings' B.D., properly in classics a war-chariot, but here for ἄρμαμαξα, a covered chariot (Blass), Herod., vii., 41.—ἀνεγίνωσκεν: evidently aloud, according to Eastern usage; there is no need to suppose that some slave was reading to him (Olshausen, Nösgen, Blass). As the following citation proves, he was

reading from the LXX, and the widespread knowledge of this translation in Egypt would make it probable *a priori* (Wendt), cf. Professor Margoliouth, "Ethiopian Eunuch," Hastings' B.D. It may be that the eunuch had bought the roll in Jerusalem "a pearl of great price," and that he was reading it for the first time; ver. 34 is not quite consistent with the supposition that he had heard in Jerusalem rumours of the Apostles' preaching, and of their reference of the prophecies to Jesus of Nazareth: Philip is represented as preaching to him Jesus, and that too as good news. "The eunuch came to worship—great was also his studiousness—observe again his piety, but though he did not understand he read, and after reading, examines," Chrys., *Hom.*, xix., and Jerome, *Epist.*, liii., 5. See also Corn. à Lapede, *in loco*, on the diligence and devotion of the eunuch.

Ver. 29. τὸ πνεῦμα εἶπεν: nothing inconsistent with the previous statement that an angel had spoken to him, as Weiss supposes by referring the angel visit to a reviser. There was no reason why the angel should accompany Philip, or reappear to him, whilst the inward guidance of the Spirit would be always present, as our Lord had promised.—κολλήθητι, cf. v. 13, in Acts five times, and in each case of joining or attaching oneself closely to a person, of social or religious communion with a person, twice in Luke's Gospel, cf. xv. 15 for its sense here, and elsewhere only once in the Evangelists, Matt. xix. 5, and that in a quotation, Gen. ii. 24, cf. its use three times in St. Paul, Rom. xii. 9, 1 Cor. vi. 16, 17. In classical Greek similar usage, and cf. LXX, Ruth ii. 8, Ecclus. ii. 3, xix. 2, 1 Macc. iii. 2, vi. 21, etc. Hebrew קָרַב, see Wetstein on x. 28.

Ver. 30. προσδραμὼν δὲ: rightly taken to indicate the eagerness with which Philip obeyed.—Ἀρά γε—the γε strengthens the ἀρα, dost thou really understand? *num igitur?* ἀρα without γε is only found elsewhere in Luke xviii. 8, and in Gal. ii. 17 (W.H., and also Lightfoot, *Galatians*, l.c.), see Blass, *in*



τούτω. 30. προσδραμὼν δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος τὸν προφῆτην Ἡσαΐαν, καὶ εἶπεν, Ἄρα γε γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις; 31. ὁ δὲ εἶπε, Πῶς γὰρ ἂν δυναίμην, ἐὰν μή τις ὁδηγήσῃ<sup>1</sup> με; παρεκάλεσέ τε τὸν Φίλιππον ἀναβάντα καθίσαι σὺν αὐτῷ. 32. ἡ δὲ περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς ἣν ἀνεγίνωσκεν, ἦν αὕτη, “Ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη, καὶ ὡς ἄμνος ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν ἄφρων, οὕτως οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. 33. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτοῦ ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἦρθη,<sup>3</sup> τὴν δὲ γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς διηγῆσεται; ὅτι αἴρεται

<sup>1</sup> ὁδηγήσῃ AB<sup>3</sup>HLP, Chrys., so Blass, Weiss; ὁδηγήσει ΞB<sup>1</sup>CE 13, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> κείροντος BP, Orig., so Lach., W.H. text, Blass, Weiss; κειραντος ΞACEHL, Chrys., so Tisch., W.H. marg., Hilg. But as Wendt points out, readings vary as in LXX.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν τῇ ταπει. . . . ἦρθη D, Par., Iren. omit. Blass brackets in β; may have been a “Western non-interpolation,” or the omission may have been for shortness. αὐτου CEHL, Syrr. (P. and H.), several verss., Chrys.; om. ΞAB, Vulg., Irint, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, so LXX.

*loco*, and *Grammatik*, p. 254. In LXX very rare, see Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.*, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 22 (1893).—γιν. ἃ ἀναγ.: for *paronomasia*, see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 292, where other instances in N.T. are given, and also Wetstein, *in loco*. Julian's well-known saying with reference to the Christian writings, and the famous retort, are quoted by Alford, Plumptre, Page, Meyer-Wendt, *in loco*.

Ver. 31. γὰρ; “*elegans particula hoc sensu quid quaeris?*” implies, Why do you ask? for how should I be able? (*cf.* Matt. xxvii. 23, Mark xv. 14, Luke xxiii. 22); see Simcox, *Language of N. T. Greek*, p. 172; Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, I.—ἂν δυναίμην: optative with ἂν; occurs only in Luke, both in his Gospel and Acts, expressing what would happen on the fulfilment of some supposed condition: see, for a full list of passages, Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 80; Simcox, *u. s.*, p. 112: twice in direct questions, here and in xvii. 18, but only in this passage is the condition expressed, *cf.* also Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, pp. 33 and 66 (1893).—δδηγῆσῃ, see critical notes, and Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 210; if we read future indicative it will be an instance of a future supposition thus expressed with more probability, Burton, *u. s.*, pp. 104, 105, 109, and see also Simcox, note on the passage, *u. s.*, p. 112. Burton compares Luke xix. 40 (W.H.), see also Viteau, *u. s.*, pp. 4, 111, 226, whilst Blass maintains that there is no one certain example of this usage of

εἰάν with future indicative. The word used here (“*insignis modestia eunuchi*,” Calvin) is used also by our Lord Himself for the Holy Spirit's leading and guidance, John xvi. 13, and also in the LXX, as in the Psalms, of divine guidance.—παρεκάλεσέν: “he besought,” R.V. (“desired” A.V.), the word is rightly taken to denote both the humility and the earnestness of the eunuch (Bengel): a verb frequent both in St. Luke and St. Paul, six or seven times in Gospel, twenty-two or twenty-three times in Acts.—τε: note the closing connecting particle, showing the necessary result of the question (Weiss).

Ver. 32. περιοχὴ τῆς γραφῆς “the contents of the passage of Scripture” *i.e.*, the one particular passage, Isa. liii. 7, 8 (so Meyer-Wendt, Holtzmann, Hackett), *cf.* i. 16, and 1 Pet. ii. 6: περιέχει ἐν τῇ γραφῇ and ταύτης in ver. 35 below; περιοχῇ has been taken to mean a *section*, as in Cicero, *Epist. ad Att.*, xiii., 25 (so in Codex A, before the Gospel of St. Mark, its περιχαί, *i.e.*, *sectiones*, are prefixed), but in Cicero also Meyer-Wendt take the word to mean the *contents* of a passage, *cf.* notes, edit. 1888 and 1899; see also Felten and Plumptre, *in loco*. St. Chrysostom apparently takes γραφῇ here as αἱ γραφαί, “totum corpus scripturae sacræ,” see Blass, *in loco*, but if so, the plural would be used as always; see above references and Lightfoot on *Gal.*, iii., 22. The fact that the eunuch was reading Isaiah is mentioned by St. Chrysostom as another indication

ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ.” 34. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ εὐνοῦχος τῷ Φιλίππῳ εἶπε, Δέομαί σου, περὶ τίνος ὁ προφήτης λέγει τούτου; περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἢ περὶ ἐτέρου τινός; 35. ἀνοίξας δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, εὐηγγελίσατο αὐτῷ

of character, since he had in hand the prophet who is more sublime than all others, *Hom.*, xix.

Ver. 33. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει κ.τ.λ., cf. Isa. liii. 7, 8, “in his humiliation his judgment was taken away” (LXX), so A. and R.V., generally taken to mean by his humbling himself his judgment was cancelled, cf. Phil. ii. 6, 7, so Wendt in seventh and eighth editions: cf. Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, κρίσις, the punishment appointed for him was taken away, *i.e.*, ended, and so *sub v.*, αἶρω = to cause to cease, Col. ii. 14. But the words “in his humiliation” etc., may also fairly mean that in the violence and injustice done to him his judgment, *i.e.*, the fair trial due to him, was withheld, and thus they conform more closely to the Hebrew “by oppression and by (unjust) judgment he was taken away,” so Hitzig, Ewald, Cheyne and R.V. So to the same effect Delitzsch takes the words to mean that hostile oppression and judicial persecution befel him, and out of them he was removed by death (cf. R.V. margin). (The words have been taken to mean that by oppression and judgment he was hurried off and punished, *raptus est ad supplicium.*)—τὴν (δὲ) γενεὰν αὐτοῦ ὅς τις διηγήσεται; (LXX), “his generation who shall declare?” R.V., the words may mean “who shall declare the wickedness of the generation in which he lived?” (see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, γενεά)—their wickedness, *i.e.*, in their treatment of him; so De Wette (and Meyer in early editions), and to the same effect, Lumby, Rendall, cf. our Lord’s own words, Matt. xii. 39-42, etc. In Meyer-Wendt (seventh and eighth edition) the words are taken to mean “who can fitly declare the number of those who share his life?” *i.e.*, his posterity, his disciples, so Felten (but see on the other hand, Delitzsch, *in loco*). The Hebrew seems to mean, as in R.V. text, “and as for his generation who among them considered that he was cut off out of the land of the living? for the transgression of my people” etc., see Cheyne, *in loco*; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 358, and Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, pp. 523, 524, fourth edition (see also Page’s note, and Wendt, edition 1899). The references by the

Fathers (cf. Bede and Wordsworth) to the eternal generation of the Son, and the mystery of His Incarnation, do not seem to find support in the Hebrew or in the Greek rendering. On the oldest Jewish interpretations of Isaiah liii., see Dalman’s *Der leidende und der sterbende Messias*, pp. 21-23, 27-35, 89, 91; and see also in connection with the passage before us, Athanasius, *Four Discourses against the Arians*, i., 13, 54, and Dr. Robertson’s note; see also above on St. Peter’s Discourses in chap. iii., and below on xxvi. 23.—ἀρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς: “is taken,” *i.e.*, with violence (here =

Hebrew נָשָׂא), cf. use of αἶρω, LXX, Acts xxii. 22, xxi. 36, Matt. xxiv. 39, Luke xxiii. 18, John xix. 15.

Ver. 34. ἀποκ., see above iii. 12, v. 8. It has been sometimes supposed that the eunuch was acquainted with the tradition that Isaiah had been sawn asunder by Manassch—Felten, see Wetstein on Heb. xi. 37.

Ver. 35. ἀνοίξας τὸ στ. αὐτοῦ: the phrase is used to introduce some weighty and important utterance, cf. x. 34, xviii. 14, and Luke i. 64, so too Matt. v. 2, 2 Cor. vi. 11, also frequent in LXX; “aperire os in Scriptura est ordiri longum sermonem de re gravi et seria. Significat ergo Lucas coepisse Philippum pleno ore disserere de Christo,” Calvin,

cf. Hebrew phrase פִּתְחֵי־אֶת־פִּתְחָי, in various senses.—ἀρξάμενος, see on i. 22, cf. Luke xxiv. 27.—ταύτης, see above on ver. 32.—εὐηγγελίσατο: used with an accusative both of the person addressed, as in vv. 25, 40, and of the message delivered, cf. Luke viii. 1, Acts v. 42, viii. 4, 12, etc., but when the two are combined the person is always expressed by the dative, cf. Luke i. 19, ii. 10 (Acts xvii. 18), Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 79. From the sequel it is evident that Philip not only preached the glad tidings of the fulfilment of the prophecies in Jesus as the ideal and divine Sufferer, but that he also pointed out to the eunuch the door of admission into the Church of Jesus; cf. Jerome, *Epist.*, liii., 5.

Ver. 36. ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ: “intus fides, foris aqua præsto erat” Bengel. According



τὸν Ἰησοῦν. 36. ὥς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ· καὶ φησιν ὁ εὐνοῦχος, Ἰδοὺ ὕδωρ· τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι; 37.<sup>1</sup> εἶπε δὲ ὁ Φίλιππος, Εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας, ἔξεστιν. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπε, Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. 38. καὶ ἐκέλευσε στήναι τὸ ἄρμα· καὶ κατέβησαν ἀμφότεροι εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, ὃ τε Φίλιππος καὶ ὁ εὐνοῦχος· καὶ ἐβάπτισεν

<sup>1</sup> The whole verse as it stands in T.R. is read in one form or another, with varying variations, also in Patristic quotations, by E (D is wanting from viii. 29b—x. 14), 15, and other good cursives, G<sup>g</sup>, Par., Wern., Vulg. (clem. + am.<sup>xx</sup> demid. tol.), Arm., Syr. Harcl. mg., Iren., Cyr., R.V. marg., and by Hilg.; om. by  $\Sigma$ ABCHLP 13, 61, Vulg. (am.<sup>x</sup> fu.), Syr. Pesh. Harcl. text, Sah., Boh., Aeth., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V. text. The verse is strongly defended by Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 50, as originally Lucan, but omitted by Luke for brevity as in many other cases—but on the other hand Wendt, edit. 1899, p. 180, note, justly points out that it is difficult to see any reason for its omission, whilst it is easily conceivable that the words would have been inserted perhaps originally as a marginal note, since otherwise the belief of the eunuch is nowhere expressly stated in the text; cf. Rom. x. 9 (but cf. ii. 41, xvi. 33). But they were evidently known as early as Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iii., 12, as also to Oecumenius and Theophylact, and they may well have expressed what actually happened, as the question in ver. 36 evidently required an answer. Augustine did not question its genuineness, although he refused to shorten the profession at Baptism on account of it, *De Fide et Operibus*, ix. (see W.H., *App.*, p. 93; Felten, crit. notes, p. 177; *Speaker's Comm.*, in loco).

to Jerome (*Epist.*, ciii.) and Eusebius (*περὶ τόπων*), the site of the baptism was placed at Bethsura (Bethzur, Josh. xv. 28, 2 Chron. xi. 17, Neh. iii. 16, etc.), about twenty miles from Jerusalem, and two from Hebron. Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, ii., 749) thinks that the place is more probably to be found on the road between Eleutheropolis (Beit-Jibrin) and Gaza, whilst Professor G. A. Smith (see above on ver. 26) considers that the fact that Philip was found immediately after at Azotus suggests that the meeting and baptism took place, not where tradition has placed them, among the hills of Judæa, but on the Philistine plain (*Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, pp. 186, 240). But as he finds it impossible to apply the epithet "desert" to any route from Jerusalem to Gaza, whether that by Beit-Jibrin, or the longer one by Hebron, he does not hesitate to apply the epithet to Gaza itself, and as the meeting (according to his view) took place in its neighbourhood, the town would naturally be mentioned. Gaza and Azotus, ver. 40, are the only two Philistine towns named in the N. T.—τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι; "mark the eager desire, mark the exact knowledge . . . see again his modesty; he does not say Baptise me, neither does he hold his peace, but he utters somewhat betwixt strong desire and reverent fear" Chrys., *Hom.*, xix.

Ver. 38. εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ: even if the words are rendered "unto the water" (Plumptre), the context ἀνέβησαν ἐκ indicates that the baptism was by immersion, and there can be no doubt that this was the custom in the early Church. St. Paul's symbolic language in Rom. vi. 4, Col. ii. 12, certainly seems to presuppose that such was the case, as also such types as the Flood, the passage of the Red Sea, the dipping of Naaman in Jordan. But the *Didaché* is fairly quoted to show that at an early period immersion could not have been regarded as essential, cf. vii. 3. See also "Teaching of the Apostles," iv., 807, in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.* (Smith & Wace), "Apostellehre" in *Real-Encyclopädie für protestant. Theol. und Kirche* (Hauck), p. 712; "Baptism" in B.D.<sup>2</sup> "Mutavit Æthiops pellem suam" is the comment of Bede, "id est sorde peccatorum abluta, de lavacro Jesu dealbatus ascendit."

Ver. 39. Πνεῦμα Κ. ἤρπασε: although the expression is simply Πνεῦμα Κ. the reference is evidently to the same divine power as in ver. 29, and cannot be explained as meaning an inward impulse of the Evangelist, or as denoting a hurricane or storm of wind (as even Nösgen and Stier supposed). The article is omitted before Πνεῦμα Κ. in Luke iv. 18, so also in LXX, Isa. lxi. 1, and we

αὐτόν. 39. ὅτε δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος, Πνεῦμα Κυρίου ἤρπασε  
τὸν Φίλιππον<sup>1</sup>. καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν αὐτὸν οὐκέτι εὐνοῦχος, ἐπορεύετο γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> Πνεῦμα Κ. ἤρπασε τὸν Φ.; instead of this A<sup>2</sup>, Par., Wern., Syr. H. mg., Jer., Aug. read πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν εὐνοῦχον, ἀγγελος δὲ Κ. ἤρπασεν τὸν Φ. Wendt regards as interpolation partly according to ver. 26 and partly according to ver. 44. Hilg. retains and Belser, p. 51, defends as Lucan. It is fitting that in Scripture the Holy Ghost is not represented as given after Philip's Baptism, because his work was to be completed by the advent of Peter and John; but in the case before us no Apostle was present, and so the Holy Spirit came down miraculously after Philip had baptised the eunuch. So, too, Hilgenfeld leans towards the reading *l. c.*, and regards it as just possible that the ordinary text is a set-off against the contradiction involved with viii. 15-18, in accordance with which the Holy Spirit was only bestowed through the laying on of the hands of the Apostles. Blass rejects, and follows T.R. (see below). After Φίλιππον Par., Syr. H. mg. (no other authorities) add "ab eo"; so Hilg., and so Blass in β, ἀπ' αὐτου, which seems somewhat strange in the case of the latter writer.

cannot therefore conclude anything from its omission here. ἤρπασε, *abripuit*, the disappearance, as the context shows, was regarded as supernatural, *cf.* LXX, 1 Kings xviii. 12, 2 Kings ii. 16 (Ezek. iii.

14, Hebrew only פָּרַח). Thus Hilgenfeld recognises not only a likeness here to the O.T. passages quoted, but that a miraculous transference of Philip to another place is implied. No doubt, as Hilgenfeld points out, πνεῦμα may mean *wind*, John iii. 8, but this by no means justifies exclusion of all reference here to the Holy Spirit. No doubt we may see with Blass a likeness in the language of the narrative to the O.T. passages just cited, and St. Luke's informants may have been the daughters of Philip, who were themselves προφήτιδες (see Blass, *in loco*); but there is no reason why he should not have heard the narrative from St. Philip himself, and the rendering πνεῦμα by *ventus* is not satisfactory, although Blass fully recognises that Philip departed by the same *divine* impulse as that by which he had come. Holtzmann endorses the reference to the O.T. passages above, but specially draws attention to the parallel which he supposes in Bel and the Dragon, ver. 34 ff. But this passage should be contrasted rather than compared with the simple narrative of the text, so free from any fantastic embellishment, while plainly implying a supernatural element: *cf.* for the verb ἄρπάζω, 1 Thess. iv. 17, 2 Cor. xii. 2, 4 (a reference to which as explaining Philip's withdrawal is not to the point, since the narrative cannot imply that Philip was ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος), Rev. xii. 5, used of a snatching or taking up due to divine agency, *cf.* Wisdom iv. 11, where it is

said of Enoch ἡρπάγη. Both in classical Greek and in the LXX the word implies forcible or sudden seizure (John vi. 15). —καὶ οὐκ εἶδεν . . . ἐπορεύετο γὰρ κ.τ.λ. If these two clauses are closely connected as by R.V., they do not simply state that the eunuch went on *his own way* (Rendall), (in contrast with Philip who went *his way*), rejoicing in the good news which he had heard, and in the baptism which he had received; and R.V. punctuation surely need not prevent the disappearance of Philip from being viewed as mysterious, even if the words καὶ οὐκ εἶδον αὐτὸν οὐκέτι do not imply this. Moreover αὐτοῦ may rather emphasise the fact that the eunuch went *his way*, which he would not have done had he seen Philip, but would perhaps have followed him who had thus enlightened his path (so Weiss, *in loco*, reading αὐτοῦ τὴν ὁδὸν—αὐτοῦ emphatic: see also St. Chrysostom's comment *in loco*).—χαίρων: "the fruit of the Spirit is . . . joy," Gal. v. 22 (the word at the end of a clause is characteristic of Luke; Luke xv. 5, xix. 6, see Vogel, p. 45). Eusebius describes the eunuch, to whom he gives the name of Indich, as the first preacher to his countrymen of the tidings of great joy, and on the possible reception in the earliest Christian times of the Gospel message in the island of Meroë at least, see "Ethiopian Church," *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, ii., 234 (Smith & Wace). In the conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch men have seen the first fulfilment of the ancient prophecy, Ps. lxxviii. 31 (Luckock, *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by St Luke*, i., 219, and C. and H., p. 66).

Ver. 40. εὐρέθη εἰς Ἀ.: *constructio pragnans* = was borne to and found at,



τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ χαίρων. 40. Φίλιππος δὲ εὗρέθη εἰς Ἄζωτον· καὶ διερχόμενος εὐηγγελίζετο τὰς πόλεις πάσας, ἕως τοῦ ἔλθεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Καισάρειαν.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Καισάρειαν BCHLP, so Blass, Weiss, Hilg.; Καισαριαν NAE 61, so Tsch., W.H. (see W.H., *Arb.*, p. 160, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 45).

cf. xxi. 13; or, as εἰς means more than ἐν, implying that he had come *into* the city and was staying there, cf. Esth. i. 5; marg. Hebrew "found," A.V., εὗρίσκω, נִשְׁאָר, is very often found in the LXX in similar phrases, e.g., 1 Chron. xxix. 17, 2 Chron. xxxi. 1, 1 Sam. xiii. 15, etc. The word may imply, however, much more than the fact that Philip *was present* at Azotus, and Alford sees in it a probable reference to 2 Kings ii. 17 (cf. passages in O.T. above), where the same word is used, εὐρέθη. Blass takes it to mean "vento quasi ibi dejectus," but see above on ver. 39.—Ἄζωτον, ΤΙΤΩΝ :

only mentioned here in N.T., but in LXX Ashdod, Josh. xi. 22, xiii. 3, xv. 46, 1 Sam. v. 5, 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, Neh. iv. 7, xiii. 20, Jer. xx. 1, xlvii. 5, Amos i. 8, Zeph. ii. 4, Zech. ix. 6; Azotus in 1 Macc. v. 18, x. 84; Herod., ii., 157: Herod. speaks of the siege of the twenty-nine years under Psammetichus as the longest in history (ζ = σδ, as in Ὠρομιάης, *Ahuramazda*, Blass, *in loco*). An old Philistine town, and one of the five chief cities—it might be regarded as the half-way station on the great road between Gaza and Joppa. Schürer holds that the population was Jewish to a considerable extent, as we find that Vespasian was obliged to place a garrison there (Jos., *B.* Ἰ., iv., 3, 2); it is now a mere village of no importance, and still bearing the name *Esdūd*. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., pp. 62, 67 ff., E.T.; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, pp. 192, 193; *Hamburger Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 1, 124, "Ashdod," B.D.<sup>1</sup>, "Azotus," and also Col. Conder *sub v.*, Hastings' B.D.—διερχόμενος εὐηγγελ., see above on ver. 4 and also xiii. 6, and cf. Luke ix. 6 for a similar combination of the two verbs.—τὰς πόλεις πάσας: from their position between Azotus and Cæsarea, Lydda and Joppa may well have been included, cf. ix. 32, 36, in which we may see something of the effects of St. Philip's preaching, "hic quoque, uti in urbe Samaritæ, Apostolis auditores præparavit," Bengel.—Καισαρείαν (mentioned no less than fifteen

times in Acts): its full name was Καισαρεία Σεβαστή, so named by Herod the Great in honour of Augustus (Jos., *Ant.*, xvi., 5, 1); sometimes also Παράλιος or ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ (Jos., *B.* Ἰ., iii., 9, 1; vii., 1, 3); it was also called "Straton's Tower" (cf. Κ. ἡ Στράτωνος, *Apost. Const.*, vi., 12), although it was virtually a fresh site. Schürer derives this latter name from Straton, the name of one or more of the last kings of Sidon, who towards the end of the Persian period were probably in possession of the strip of coast upon which the tower was built (Schürer, *u. s.*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 84 ff.). Herod's lavish expenditure and enlargement gave it such importance that it came to be called *Caput Judææ*, Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii., 79, i.e., of the Roman Province, for it never could be called truly Judæan. For its magnificence, see Jos., *Ant.*, xv., 9; *B.* Ἰ., i., 21, cf. *Ant.*, xvi., 5. It was a seaport suited to his taste, which Herod wanted, and in Cæsarea he found it—"Joppa, Jerusalem's port, was Jewish, national, patriotic; Cæsarea, Herodian, Roman in obedience, Greek in culture". The buildings were magnificent—a temple with its two statues of Augustus and of Rome, a theatre, an amphitheatre; but above all, the haven was the chief work of art, Sebastos Limen, so large and important that the name of the city was even dwarfed beside it (see especially Dr. G. A. Smith, *u. s.*, p. 140). Here the Roman procurators had their abode, both before and after Agrippa's reign; here, too, was the chief garrison of the troops of the province. The population was chiefly heathen, but with a considerable mixture of Jews, and so both Gentile and Jew had equal rights, while each claimed exclusive powers. In the time of Felix things came to such a pass that bloodshed ensued, and Felix exasperated the Jews by leaving the sole direction of the town in the hands of the heathen party. It was this which in the first place provoked the great rising of the Jews, A.D. 66 (Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 8, 7, 9; *B.* Ἰ., ii., 13, 7; 14, 4, 5). The war broke out, and, according to Josephus, all the Jewish in-

IX. 1. Ὁ ΔΕ Σαῦλος ἔτι ἐμπνέων ἀπειλῆς καὶ φόνου εἰς τοὺς μαθητὰς τοῦ Κυρίου, προσελθὼν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, 2. ἤτήσατο παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιστολὰς εἰς Δαμασκὸν πρὸς τὰς συναγωγάς, ὅπως ἐάν τινες εὕρῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδεμένους ἀγάγῃ εἰς

habitants, twenty thousand in number, were massacred in an hour. Here the famous Rabbi Akiba met a martyr's death, here Eusebius of Cæsarea and Procopius were born, and hither Origen fled. See Schürer, *u. s.*; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 1, 123; G. A. Smith, *u. s.*, pp. 138, 143 ff., B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Ederseheim, *History of the Jewish Nation*, pp. 21, 23, 156, 199, 251, 265, etc. Among the Jews Cæsarea was called by the same name by which we know it, but sometimes from its fortifications, Migdal Shur, or after its harbour, Migdal Shina, or after both, and once by its ancient name, "Straton's Tower" (*cf.* also *Strabo*, xvi., p. 758), but as the seat of the Roman power, and for its preponderating heathen population, it was specially hated; and so it was designated "the daughter of Edom," although the district, so rich and fertile, was still called "the land of life". Ederseheim, *Jewish Social Life*, pp. 24, 72, 202, and Hamburger, *u. s.* Cæsarea is mentioned in the verse before us not because of its political and commercial importance, but because it became the after home of Philip, xxi. 8. But it also might be named here as marking a further and interesting stage in the progress of the Gospel (see also below on chap. x.). We cannot say whether at the time of the narrative in chap. x. Philip had already settled and worked in Cæsarea.

CHAPTER IX.—Ver. 1. Ὁ δὲ Σαῦλος: takes up and continues the narrative from viii. 3; the resumptive use of δέ.—ἔτι: "Sic in summo fervore peccandi ereptus et conversus est" Bengel.—ἐμπνέων: only here in N.T., not "breathing out," A.V., but rather "breathing of," lit., "in" (R.V. simply "breathing"), *cf.* LXX, Josh. x. 40; πᾶν ἐμπνέον ζωῆς (*cf.* Ps. xvii. 15)—threatening and murdering were as it were the atmosphere which he breathed, and in and by which he lived, *cf.* Stobæus, *Flor.*, 85, 19, ὁδμῆς ἐμπνέοντα, L. and S. and Blass, *in loco* (*cf.* also Aristoph., *Eq.*, 437, οὗτος ἤδη κακίας καὶ συκοφαντίας πνέει, and Winer-Moulton, xxx., 9).—τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ: probably Joseph Caiaphas, who continues thus to persecute the Church, see on iv. 6 (v. 17); he held office until 36 A.D., see Zöckler's note, *in loco*, and

"Caiaphas," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Hastings' B.D. "Saul as a Pharisee makes request of a Sadducee!" says Felten.

Ver. 2. ἤτήσατο, see on iii. 2, with παρά, in iii. 3, we have the imperfect, but "inest in aoristo quod etiam accepit," Blass; on the use of the verb in N.T., see also Blass, *Gram.*, p. 182, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*—ἐπιστολὰς, *cf.* xxii. 5, xxvi. 12; on the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim, see above on iv. 5; Weber, *Jüdische Theol.*, p. 141 (1897); O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 174, 175; and Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 185, E.T.: only within the limits of Judæa had the Sanhedrim any direct authority, although its orders were regarded as binding over every Jewish community. But the extent to which this obligation prevailed depended on the disposition of the Jewish communities towards the Sanhedrim.—Δαμασκὸν: "In the history of religion," writes Dr. G. A. Smith, "Damascus was the stage of two great crises. She was the scene of the conversion of the first Apostle of Christianity to the Gentiles; she was the first Christian city to be taken by Islam. It was fit that Paul's conversion, with his first sense of a mission to the Gentiles, should not take place till his journey had brought him to Jewish soil." If Damascus was not the oldest, it may at all events be called the most enduring city in the world. According to Josephus, *Ant.*, i., 6, 4, it was founded by Uz, the grandson of Shem, whilst a Moslem tradition makes Eliezer its founder, and Abraham its king (see also Jos., *Ant.*, i., 7, 2). Here, too, was the traditional scene of the murder of Abel (Shakespeare, 1 *King Henry VI.*, i., 3). Damascus was situated some seventy miles from the seaboard (about six or eight days' journey from Jerusalem), to the east of Anti-Lebanon in a great plain, watered by the river Abana with her seven streams, to which the city owes her beauty and her charm. Travellers of every age and of every nationality have celebrated the gardens and orchards, the running waters and the fountains of Damascus, and as the Arab passes from the burning desert to its cooling streams and rich verdure, it is not surprising that he hails it as an earthly paradise. From



Ἱερουσαλήμ. 3. ἐν δὲ τῷ πορεύεσθαι, ἐγένετο αὐτὸν ἐγγίξιν τῇ Δαμασκῷ, καὶ ἐξαίφνης<sup>1</sup> περιήστραψεν αὐτὸν φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> ἐξαίφνης—in *N<sup>B</sup>CE* 13 ἐξεφνης, so W.H., but see *xxii. 6.*; see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 47.

a commercial point of view Damascus has been called the meeting-place and mart of the nations, and whilst the armies of the ancient world passed through her streets, she was also the great avenue of communication for the wealth of north and south, east and west (*cf.* the significant passage, Ezek. xxvii. 16, 18, and Amos iii. 12, R.V., from which it seems that the city was known at an early date for her own manufactures, although the passing trade of the caravans would be its chief source of income). For its political position at the period of Acts, see below on ver. 24, and for its history in the O.T., its after struggles, and its present position as still the chief city of Syria, see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 641 ff.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 2, p. 220, B.D.<sup>2</sup>; and Hastings' B.D., Conybeare and Howson (smaller edition, p. 67 ff.); Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 96, E.T.—*πρὸς τὰς συναγωγάς*, *cf.* vi. 9, as at Jerusalem—the number of Jews dwelling in Damascus was so numerous that in a tumult under Nero ten thousand were put to death, Jos., *B. J.*, vii., 8, 7; ii., 20, 2; as at Jerusalem, the Christians of Damascus may not as yet have formally separated from their Jewish brethren; *cf.* the description of Ananias in xxii. 12; but as communication between Damascus and the capital was very frequent, refugees from Jerusalem would no doubt have fled to Damascus, and it is difficult to believe that the views advocated by Stephen had in him their sole representative. There is no reason to question with Overbeck the existence in Damascus of a community of believers in the claims of Jesus at this early date; but whilst those Christians who devoutly observed the law would not have aroused hostility hitherto, Saul came armed with a commission against all who called on the name of Christ, and so probably his object was not only to bring back the refugees to Jerusalem, but also to stir up the synagogue at Damascus against their own fellow-workshippers who acknowledged that Jesus was the Christ.—*ἐάν τις εὐρῇ*: the phrase does not mean that the exist-

ence of Christians was doubtful, but whether Saul would succeed in finding them out (Weiss).—*ὄντες τῆς ὁδοῦ*: the genitive with *εἶναι* or *γίγνεσθαι*, very common in N.T. (as in classical Greek); may be explained as the genitive of the *class* to which a man belongs, or as the genitive of the property in which any one participates, expressed by the genitive singular of an abstract noun, and also, as here, of a concrete noun, Winer-Moulton, xxx., 5, c. (and Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 269, 270). "The Way," R.V., all E.V., "this way," except Wycliff, who has "of this life," apparently reading *vita* instead of *via* in the Vulgate; see Humphry on the R.V., *in loco*. (In xviii. 25 we have *τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κ.* of the instruction given to Apollos, *cf.* the common metaphorical use of the word in LXX.) In the text (as in xix. 9, xxii. 4, xxiv. 14, 22) the noun is used absolutely, and this use is peculiar to St. Luke (*cf.* ὁ λόγος, *sc.*, τοῦ θ., x. 44, xiv. 25, etc., and τὸ ὄνομα, v. 41). The term may have originated amongst the Jews who saw in the Christians those who adopted a special way or mode of life, or a special form of their own national belief, but if so, the Christians would see in it *nomen et omen*—in Christ they had found the Way, the Truth, the Life, John xiv. 6 (so Holtzmann points out the parallel in St. John, and thus accounts for the article *τῆς ὁδοῦ*—there is only one way of salvation, *viz.*, Christ). Chrysostom (so Theophylact) thinks that the believers were probably so called because of their taking the direct way that leads to heaven (*Hom.*, xix.): see also Dean Plumptre's interesting note. The expression seems to point to the early date of Acts. As it is used thus, absolutely, and with no explanation in the context, Hilgenfeld sees in chap. ix. the commencement of a third source C (see *Introd.*, p. 29).—*γυναῖκας*, see above on viii. 3. Although no doubt the women referred to were Jewesses, yet it is of interest to note the remark of Josephus, *B. J.*, ii., 20, 2, *viz.*, that the women of Damascus were addicted to the Jewish religion. Their mention also indicates the violence of Saul. "quod nullum sexus respectum habuit,

4. καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν,<sup>1</sup> ἤκουσε φωνὴν λέγουσαν αὐτῷ, Σαούλ, Σαούλ, τί με διώκεις; 5. εἶπε δέ, Τίς εἰ, Κύριε<sup>2</sup>; ὁ δὲ Κύριος εἶπεν,

<sup>1</sup> After γην Par. (Flor.) add "cum magna mentis alienatione"; μετα μεγάλης εκστασεως, so Blass; cf. rendering of εκστασις in x. 10. Hilg. adds the words αληθως και after γην. After διωκεις E. Syr. Harcl. mg. add σκληρον σοι κ.τ.λ., but cf. xxvi. 14—Blass rejects.

<sup>2</sup> Κύριος εἶπεν HLP, Syrr. (P. and H.), Sah.; om. ABC, Vulg., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss; om. K., reading ο δε εἶπεν, Bz, Boh., Arm.

cui etiam armati hostes in medio belli ardore parcere solent" Calvin.

Ver. 3. ἐν δὲ τῷ πορεύεσθαι, ἐγένετο: on the frequency of the infinitive as here, and of ἐγένετο in St. Luke, see Friedrich, *Das Lucasevangelium*, p. 13, but whilst St. Luke, even more than the other Evangelists, connects his narratives by more or less Hebraistic formulæ, so he often tones down the Hebraism by changes of order or other modifications, cf. Luke i. 8, 9, v. 17, vi. 1, Acts iv. 5, and ix. 3, etc., see especially Simcox, *Writers of the N. T.*, p. 19, cf. also Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 232, 234.—ἐγγίλειν τῇ Δ.: for a recent description of the three roads which lead from Jerusalem to Damascus, see Luckock, *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by St. Luke*, i., pp. 223, 224. We may well believe that Saul in his haste and passion would choose the quickest and best frequented route which ran straight to Shechem, and after inclining to the east, by the shores of the lake of Galilee, leads straight to Damascus, with an entrance on the south; possibly he may have been stirred to "exceeding madness" by seeing in the Samaritan villages indications of the spread of the faith which it was his purpose to destroy (Plumptre, *Expositor*, p. 28 (1878)). Ramsay, *Expositor*, p. 199, note (1898), follows the old tradition as to the locality (following Sir C. Wilson). But, as he points out, this locality fixed at Kaukab (so Luckock, also *u. s.*), some ten or twelve miles from Damascus, was changed in modern times for a site nearer the city (so the Romanist commentator Felten, p. 185, laying stress on ἐγγίλειν); but the spot so chosen seems an impossible one from the fact that it is on the east side of the city, not on the south; see also "Damascus" Hastings' B.D., i., 548. Moreover the tradition for this site (one out of four selected at different times) does not appear to have existed for more than some two hundred years, and although we can well understand the action of the Christians in Damascus who, on St.

Paul's Day, walk in procession to this traditional site, and read the narrative of the Apostle's wonderful conversion, it seems that there is no adequate evidence in support of the spot selected. "It was a true instinct that led the Church to take the Conversion as the day of St. Paul. For other saints and martyrs their day of celebration was their *dies natalis*, the day on which they entered their real life, their day of martyrdom. But the *dies natalis* of St. Paul, the day on which his true life began, was the day of his Conversion," Ramsay, *Expositor*, p. 28 (1898).—ἐξαίφνης: the word is used by St. Luke twice in his Gospel and twice in the Acts—only once elsewhere, Mark xiii. 36. Hobart and Zahn claim it as a medical term, and it was no doubt frequent amongst medical writers, as in Hippocrates and Galen (Hobart, *Medical Language of St. Luke*, pp. 19, 20), but the word is also used in LXX several times in same sense as here.—περιήσ-τραπεν: only twice in N.T.—not found at all in classical Greek, but see 4 Macc. iv. 10. The simple verb occurs in Luke xvii. 24, xxiv. 4. The word is used in St. Paul's own account of the event (xxii. 6), (and περιλάμπαν in his second account xxvi. 13); noun in classical Greek of flashing like lightning. In xxii. 6 the time is fixed "about noon," and in xxvi. 13 it is said that the light was "above the brightness of the sun," and shone round about those who journeyed with Paul. But St. Luke states the general fact, and St. Paul, as was natural, is more explicit in his own account. But St. Paul's mention of the time of day, when an Eastern sun was at its brightest, and of the exceeding glory of the light, evidently indicates that no natural phenomenon was implied.

Ver. 4. καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, cf. xxii. 7, both expressions show the overwhelming impression made by the sudden bright light. In xxvi. 14 all fall to the ground, but there is no contradiction with ix. 7, see below on verse 7. Lewin, Farrar (so Hackett, and some early interpreters)



Ἐγὼ εἶμι Ἰησοῦς<sup>1</sup> ὃν σὺ διώκεις<sup>2</sup>· σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν.  
6. τρέμων τε καὶ θαμβῶν εἶπε, Κύριε, τί με θέλεις ποιῆσαι; καὶ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦς NABLP, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syr. Harcl. text, Arm., Orig., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss; I. ο Ναζ. ACE 25, Par., Flor. (Vulg. demid.), Syr. (Pesh. and Harcl.), Aeth., Hil., but cf. xx. 8—Blass rejects; Hilg. retains.

<sup>2</sup> After διώκεις Flor., Gig., Par., Wern., Vulg. (fu. demid.), Syr. Harcl. mg. read σκληρόν σοι I. κ.τ.λ. So, too, the same authorities (— Gig., Wer. + Hil.) read also ο δε τρεμων τε και θαμβων ειπε, Κυριε . . . αυτον—Blass receives, so too Hilg. For all this between διωκ. and αναστηθι the true reading appears to be αλλα (all else omitted), NABCEHLP, Vulg. (am.), Syr. P. and H. text, Sah., Boh., Arm., Tisch., Chrys.; evidence for insertions purely Western—inserted under influence of xxii. and xxvi. After θαμβων all these Western authorities except Vulg. add επι τω γεγονοτι αυτω; this is a clear case of assimilation to iii. 10. There seems no Greek authority for the whole insertion; apparently a retranslation by Erasmus from the Latin.

have held that Saul and some at least of his companions were mounted, since Saul was the emissary of the high priest, and the journey would occupy some days. On the other hand Felten (following Corn. à Lapidé) holds that the text makes no suggestion of this, and that the expression "they led him by the hand" and the command "rise and enter into the city" are against it; but the near neighbourhood of Damascus might easily account for the fact that his companions led Saul by the hand for the remaining distance, which could not have been long, although the immediate proximity of the traditional site cannot be maintained (see above on ver. 3). As the strict Jews, like the Pharisees, seldom used horses, Felten may be right in conjecturing that Saul rode upon an ass or a mule (p. 186, note).—ἤκουσε φωνὴν λέγουσαν: in St. Paul's own account we have ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης, xxii. 7, and ἤκουσα φωνὴν λέγ., as here, in xxvi. 14. It would seem therefore that the distinction between ἀκούειν with (1) accusative, and (2) genitive; (1) to hear and understand, (2) to hear, merely, cannot be pressed (so Alford, *in loco*, and Simcox, *Language of N. T.*, p. 90, and Weiss on xxii. 7; but see on the other hand Rendall on ix., ver. 7). Thus in the passage before us it has been usual to explain ἀκούειν with φωνήν, ver. 4, as indicating that Saul not only heard but understood the voice, cf. xxii. 14, whilst ἀκούειν with φωνῆς, ver. 7, has been taken to show that his comrades heard, but did not understand (so Weiss, *in loco*, and also on xxii. 9). But there is (1) no contradiction with xxii. 9, for there it is said of Paul's companions: τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι—they heard the utterance, ix. 7, xxii.

7, but did not hear definitely, or understand who it was that spoke, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες. But (2) on comparing the passages together, it appears that in ix. 4 and 7 a distinction is drawn between the contents of the utterance and the mere sound of the voice, a distinction drawn by the accusative and genitive; in xxii. 7 the same distinction is really maintained, and by the same cases, since in xxii. 7 Paul, in speaking of himself, says that he heard a voice, i.e., was conscious of a voice speaking to him (genitive, φωνῆς), (Simcox, *u. s.*, p. 85), whilst in ver. 9 (accusative φωνήν) the contents of the utterance are referred to, cf. ver. 14 in the same chapter; in xxvi. 14 the accusative is rightly used for the contents of the utterance which are given there more fully than elsewhere.—Σαούλ, Σαούλ: in each of the three narratives of the Conversion it is significant that the Hebrew form is thus given, and it is also found in the address of Ananias, probably himself a Hebrew, ver. 17, to the new convert. On the emphatic and solemn repetition of the name cf. Gen. xxii. 11, and in the N.T., Luke x. 41, xxii. 31, Matt. xxiii. 37, and on the frequency of this repetition of a name as characteristic of Luke in Gospel and Acts see Friedrich, pp. 75, 76, cf. Luke viii. 24, x. 41, xxii. 31, cf. xxiii. 21 (see also Deissmann's note *Bibelstudien*, p. 184, on the introduction of the Hebrew name).—τί με διώκεις; cf. vii. 52, and 1 Cor. xv. 9, Gal. i. 13. "Saul's first lesson was the mystical union between Christ and His Church" cf. Matt. x. 40, xxv. 40, 45, John x. 16, etc. No wonder that Felten sees "an ineffable pathos" in the words; Wendt quotes St. Augustine: "caput pro membris clamabat," cf. also Corn. à Lapidé: "corpus enim mysti-

Κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἀνάστηθι καὶ εἰσελθε εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ λαληθή-  
σεται σοι τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν. 7. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ συνοδεύοντες αὐτῷ  
εἰστήκεισαν ἔννεοι,<sup>1</sup> ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδὲνα δὲ θεωροῦντες.  
8. ἡγέρθη δὲ ὁ Σαῦλος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· ἀνεωγμένων δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν  
αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲνα ἔβλεπε, χειραγωγούντες δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσάγαγον εἰς

<sup>1</sup> εννεοι L; but ενεοι NABCEHP 61, Syr. Harcl. mg., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Hilg.; see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 55. Blass reconstructs the conclusion of ver. 7 and the first half of ver. 8; Flor. (and partly Gig., Par., Wern.) μηδὲνα δε θεωρ. μεθ' ου ελαλει· εφη δε προς αυτους· εγειρατε με απο της γης και εγειραντων δε αυτον ουδεν εβλ. ανεωγμ. τ. οφθ. χειραγωγ. τε—probably these additions arose partly from the wish to explain the μηδὲνα standing absolutely in ver. 7 (cf. xxii. 9), partly to represent the blindness as coming on Saul at once (and not after he had risen), and thus making him need immediate help.

cum Christi est ecclesia, membra sunt fideles”.

Ver. 5. Τίς εἶ, Κύριε; the title is here used in reverent and awestruck response to the question of a speaker, in whose voice, accompanied as it was by the supernatural light, Saul recognised a divine utterance—it is therefore more than a mere word of respect, as in xvi. 30, xxv. 26; it indicates, as St. Chrysostom noted, a purpose to follow the voice, whether it was that of an angel or of God Himself (Felten), “Jam parat se ad obediendum, qui prius insaniebat ad persequendum,” Augustine.—Ἐγὼ . . . σὺ: both pronouns are emphatic, and contrasted: Ἰησοῦς, cf. xx. 8, and note. For rest of verse see critical notes.

Ver. 6. For this verse see critical notes and also xxii. 10. Ἀνάστηθι: verb characteristic of St. Luke, see on v. 7. Here, if we compare xxvi. 16 (xiv. 10), it is evidently used in a literal sense.—καὶ λαληθήσεται σοι, see note on xxvi. 15.

Ver. 7. οἱ συνοδεύοντες: probably riding in company with him; not found in classical Greek, but used in the same sense as here in Plutarch—not elsewhere in N. T.; but see Wisdom vi. 23, and Tobit v. 16 S (AB *al.*), so according to S<sup>1</sup> in Zech. viii. 21 (ABS<sup>2</sup> *al.*), cf. also Symm. in Gen. xxxiii. 12.—εἰστήκεισαν ἔννεοι. The form ἔννεοι is incorrect, see critical notes: in LXX, cf. Prov. xvii. 28, Isa. lvi. 10, Epist. of Jer. 41 (Symm. in Hos. ix. 7); see critical notes. It is frivolous to find a contradiction here with xxvi. 14. No stress is laid upon εἰστήκ., which may be used like εἶναι, and even if there is, it does not preclude a previous falling. We have merely to suppose that the sight and sound had affected Saul's companions in a less degree than Saul, and that they rose from the ground before

him, to make the narratives quite consistent (see Felten, p. 193, Hackett, *in loco*; B.D.<sup>1</sup>, iv., “Paul” p. 733). Or it is quite possible, as Weiss points out on xxvi. 14, that here the narrative emphasises the impression made by the hearing of the voice, and in xxvi. 14 the immediate result produced by the light, and that the narrator is quite unconscious of any contradiction in his recital (see notes below on xxii., xxvi.).—μηδὲνα δὲ θεωροῦντες: there is no contradiction between this statement and xxii. 9, where it is said that they saw the light—here it is not denied that they saw a light, but only that they saw no person. Holtzmann apparently forgets this, and says that whilst in xxix. 9 they see the light, in ix. 7 they see nothing; but the pronoun is not neuter, but masculine; μηδὲνα (see critical notes and reading in β). The inference is that Saul saw Jesus, but although this is not stated in so many words here, it is also to be inferred from the words of Ananias in ver. 17, and xxii. 14, and from St. Paul's own statement in 1 Cor. xv. 8, and ix. 1. St. Chrysostom refers ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φ. to the words of Saul, but this is certainly not natural, for τῆς φ. evidently refers back to ἤκουσα φωνήν in ver. 4.

Ver. 8. ἀνεωγμένων; see critical notes.—οὐδὲνα ἔβλεπε: his eyes, which he had closed mechanically, as he fell overwhelmed with the dazzling brightness of the light, and of the appearance of Jesus, he now opens, but only to find that he saw nothing (οὐδέν) (see critical note)—he had become blind (so Weiss and Wendt, cf. xxii. 11). This blindness was the clearest proof that the appearances vouchsafed to him had been a reality (Felten), see also ver. 18.—χειραγωγούντες: the necessary result of



Δαμασκόν. 9. καὶ ἦν ἡμέρας τρεῖς μὴ βλέπων, καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲ ἔπιεν. 10. Ἦν δέ τις μαθητὴς ἐν Δαμασκῷ ὀνόματι Ἀνανίας, καὶ εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος ἐν ὁράματι, Ἀνανία. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἴδού

his blindness, *cf.* Judg. xvi. 26 and Tob. xi. 16, but in each case the reading is varied (see H. and R.); in N.T. only in Acts, *cf.* xxii. 11 (and see xiii. 11); it is also found in the Apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*, x. (ver. 40 in Harnack's edition). "He who would strike others was himself struck, and the proud Pharisee became a deeply humbled penitent—a guide of the blind" he was himself to be guided by others (Felten).

Ver. 9. ἦν . . . μὴ βλέπων: on ἦν with participle, characteristic, see above on chap. i. 10. Wendt (in seventh edition, not in eighth), and so Felten, Alford, Hackett, distinguish between μὴ and οὐ with ἔφαγεν and ἔπιεν, and see especially Winer-Moulton, *lv.*, 5. οὐ β. would have simply meant *blind*; μὴ β. is *not seeing (not able to see)*—said of one who had been, and might appear to be again, possessed of sight; the not eating and not drinking are related simply as matters of fact; see the whole section. Blass regards μὴ with participle as simply = οὐ, so in ver. 7 μὴδὲνα with participle = οὐδὲνα, *ut alias* (see also Lumby's note).—οὐκ ἔφαγ. κ.τ.λ.: there is no reason why the words should not be taken literally, in spite of Wendt's objection as against Meyer *in loco*, as an expression of penitential sorrow and contrition for his perversity (so Weiss and Holtzmann, no less than Felten): "with what fervour must he then have prayed for 'more light'" (Felten). On Saul's blindness and its possibly lasting effects, see Plumptre, *in loco*, Felten, p. 196, and on the other hand Lightfoot on Gal. vi. 11, and Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc., pp. 38, 39.

Ver. 10. Ἀνανίας: *nomen et omen*, "Jehovah is gracious" (*cf.* xxii. 12). No doubt a Jewish Christian (he is supposed by some, as by St. Augustine, to have been the presbyter to whose care the Church at Damascus was committed). For more details and traditions concerning him, see Dr. James, "Ananias," Hastings' B.D., and Felten, *in loco*. The objections raised against the historical character of the meeting between Ananias and Saul, by Baur, Zeller, Overbeck, are considered by Wendt as quite insufficient. Weizsäcker regards the narrative of the blindness and its cure by Ananias as transparently symbolical,

and adds that in any case it is suggestive that Paul, Gal. iv. 15, seems, at least in later days, to have had a severe ailment in his eyes (see however on this point ver. 9 above). But the weakness, if it existed, might have been caused by the previous blindness at Damascus, and this suggestion, if it is needed, has at all events more probability than the supposition that the narrative in the text was due to the fact that in after years Saul's eyes were affected! (so Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i., 72). Zeller indeed admits, *Acts*, i., 289, E.T., that the connection of Saul with Ananias, "irrespective of the visions and miracles," may have been historical, and he falls back upon Schneckenburger's theory that the author of Acts had a special aim in view in introducing a man so avowedly pious in the law (xxii. 12) to introduce Paul to Christianity. But Schneckenburger does not seem to deny the main fact of the meeting between the two men (*Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 168, 169), and St. Paul would scarcely have spoken as he did later (xxii. 12) before a Jewish crowd, in a speech delivered when the capital was full of pilgrims from all parts, and at a time when the constant communication between Damascus and Jerusalem would have exposed him to instant refutation, had his statements with regard to Ananias been incorrect. It is evident that the supernatural element in the narrative is what really lay at the root of Zeller's objections.

—ὁ Κύριος, *i.e.*, Jesus, as is evident from a comparison of vv. 13, 14, 17.—ἐν ὁράματι: critical objections have been raised by Baur and others against the double vision narrated here of Saul and Ananias, as against the double vision of Cornelius and St. Peter in x. 3 and xi., but see Lumby's note, *in loco*, and reference to Conybeare and Howson, quoted also by Felten. The idea of the older rationalists that Saul and Ananias had previously been friends, and that thus the coincidence of their visions may be accounted for, is justly regarded by Wendt as entirely arbitrary. The vision, as narrated by Luke, is evidently regarded as something objective, *cf.* vv. 10, 13.

Ver. 11. ἀναστās: the word as has been previously remarked is characteristic of Luke (*cf.* its use in O.T.), and does

ἐγώ, Κύριε. 11. ὁ δὲ Κύριος πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἀναστὰς<sup>1</sup> πορεύθητι ἐπὶ τὴν ῥύμην τὴν καλουμένην Εὐθείαν, καὶ ζήτησον ἐν οἰκίᾳ Ἰοῦδα Σαῦλον ὀνόματι,<sup>2</sup> Ταρσέα. ἰδοὺ γὰρ προσεύχεται, 12.<sup>3</sup> καὶ εἶδεν ἐν ὁράματι ἄνδρα ὀνόματι Ἀνανίαν εἰσελθόντα καὶ ἐπιθέντα αὐτῷ χεῖρα,

<sup>1</sup> Αναστὰς NACEHLP, Vulg. (am. demid. tol.), so Tisch., W.H. marg., Weiss, Hilg. (cf. x. 13, 20); but ἀναστα in B and most verss., so Lach., W.H. text, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> Before Ταρσέα Flor. and Par. have γενεῖ, not an unusual word with adjectives of nationality.

<sup>3</sup> Blass in β, following Flor., omits the whole verse, Hilg. brackets; but there seems no reason for its insertion if not genuine, as it is not influenced by any parallel passage (cf. long discussion in Corssen, *Der Cyprianische Text*, p. 21 ff.). Wendt (edit. 1899) decides for its retention, but another and a further question arises as to the original reading if the verse is retained. ἐν ὁράματι om. N A 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Aeth., so Tisch. R.V., Wendt. The words may be an explanatory gloss. In BC 163, so Blass [W.H.] Weiss ἐν ὁράμ. follow ἄνδρα. Instead of χεῖρα the plural χεῖρας is found in NABCE, Vulg., Boh., Arm., so W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, but the art. τας is doubtful, probably to be omitted (Wendt) with N\*AC 61, so Tisch., Weiss; but retained by NcBE, R.V. [W.H.].

not in the least support the idea that the vision was a dream of the night, cf. viii. 26.—ἐπὶ τὴν ῥύμην τ. κ. Εὐθείαν: ῥύμη, cf. xii. 10, Matt. vi. 2. In Luke xiv. 21 it seems to be used in contrast to πλατεῖα, but in LXX at least in one passage it is used as its equivalent, Isa. xv. 3, cf. R.V., "broad places," חֲבֵרָה. It is found also in Ecclus. ix. 7 (perhaps twice) and in Tobit xiii. 18, where in the previous ver., 17, we have πλατεῖαι, although it is very doubtful whether we can press a contrast here, and ῥύμη, ver. 18, might perhaps be taken as meaning a city-quarter, Latin vicus, see *Speaker's Commentary*, in loco. On the stages in the history of the word, and its occurrence in Attic Greek, e.g., in the comic writers Antiphanes (380 B.C.) and Philippides (323 B.C.), see Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, pp. 15, 16; Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 488.—Εὐθείαν: "the street called Straight" may be traced from the eastern to the western gate, and it still bears the name, *Derb el-Mustakim*, Schneller, *Apostelfahrt*, pp. 254, 255, "Damascus," Hastings' B.D. The "house of Judas," also that of Ananias, are still pointed out, but considerable uncertainty attaches to the attempts at identification, see "Damascus," u.s., also Felten, in loco.—Ταρσέα: Tarsus was the capital of the Roman Province of Cilicia. Curtius has called it the Athens of Asia Minor, and Strabo emphasises its celebrity for the production of men famous in all branches of science and

art. As a celebrated university town it may have ranked amongst its students not only St. Paul but his companion St. Luke, attracted it may be by the renown of its medical school; and if this be so, the acquaintance of the two men may date from their student days. To Tarsus, moreover, and to a country where Stoicism was cradled, St. Paul may have been indebted for his evident familiarity with the ideas and tenets of the Stoic philosophy. From Cyprus came Zeno and Persæus, from Soli, Chrysippus and Aratus, whilst Anazarba in Cilicia was the birthplace of the physician Dioscorides, contemporary of St. Luke as of St. Paul. It is indeed possible to enumerate at least six Stoic teachers whose home was Tarsus. See notes on St. Paul at Athens and at Ephesus, and see J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, on Acts vi. 9; Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii., p. 538 ff.; Zahn, *Einleitung* i., pp. 37, 50; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 303 ff.; Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 317.—ἰδοὺ γὰρ προσεύχεται: "orantes videt Jesus" Bengel; present tense, continuous prayer, 1 Thess. v. 17.

Ver. 12. ἐν ὁράματι, see critical notes.—ἄνδρα Ἀ. ὀνόμ.: the words would certainly indicate, as Wendt points out (seventh edition, not eighth), that Saul was previously unacquainted with Ananias. Jesus communicates the contents of the vision, and speaks as it were from the standpoint of Saul (see Felten's note, p. 190).—ἐπιθέντα κ.τ.λ., see above on viii. 17.



ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃ. 13. ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ Ἀνανίας, Κύριε, ἀκήκοα<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ πολλῶν περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου, ὅσα κακὰ ἐποίησε τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. 14. καὶ ὧδε ἔχει ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, δησαι πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου. 15. Εἶπε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ Κύριος, Πορεύου, ὅτι σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς μοι ἐστὶν οὗτος, τοῦ βαστάσαι τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐνώπιον<sup>2</sup> ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλέων, υἱὸν τε Ἰσραήλ.

<sup>1</sup> ἀκηκοα HLP, Chrys.; ηκουσα NABCE, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> ἐθνῶν, but art. τῶν prefixed in BC\*, so Lach., R.V. (W.H.), Weiss, Wendt (probably); but τῶν apparently does not suit the context.

Ver. 13. Ananias naturally hesitates to go to a man who had undoubtedly inflicted harm upon the Christians, and had come to Damascus with the same intent. But there is nothing inconsistent in the fact that Ananias should not be acquainted with Saul personally, whilst he knew of his persecuting zeal.—τοῖς ἁγίοις σου: used here for the first time as a name for the Christians; cf. vv. 32, 41, xxvi. 10. Every Israelite was ἅγιος by the mere fact of his membership in the holy Ecclesia of Israel, and Ananias, himself a Jew, does not hesitate to employ the same term of the members of the Christian Ecclesia (see Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 56, 57, and Grimm, *sub v.*, 2). Its use has therefore a deep significance: "Christus habet sanctos, ut suos: ergo est Deus," says Bengel. The force of the words can be more fully appreciated in connection with the significance of the phrase in ver. 14, τοῖς ἐπικ. τὸ ὄνομά σου. In xxvi. 10 it is noticeable that the word occurs on St. Paul's own lips as he stood before Agrippa "in the bitterness of his self-accusation for his acts of persecution, probably in intentional repetition of Ananias's language respecting those same acts of his. It was a phrase that was likely to burn itself into his memory on that occasion." And so we find St. Paul addressing at least six of his Epistles to those who were "called to be Saints," indicating that every Christian as such had this high calling. If Christians individually had realised it, the prophetic vision of the *Psalms of Solomon* (xvii. 36) would have been fulfilled in the early Church of Christ: ὅτι πάντες ἅγιοι, καὶ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν Χριστὸς Κύριος (see Ryle and James' edition, p. 141).—ἐν Ἱερ. belongs to ἐποίησε, and so points back to viii. 3, and to Saul as the soul of the persecution which broke out in Jerusalem, cf.

Paul's own language before Agrippa, xxvi. 10.

Ver. 14. ὧδε hic et huc (Blass), ver. 21.—τοῖς ἐπικ. τὸ ὄνομά σου—note the repeated pronoun and compare 1 Cor. i. 28 where ἐπικ. is closely joined with ἅγιοι. and on the whole phrase see above ii. 21

Ver. 15. σκευὸς ἐκλογῆς, cf. St. Paul's own language in Gal. i. 15, genitive of quality; common Hebraistic mode of expression (cf. viii. 23) = ἐκλεκτόν, see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 96; cf. Luke xvi. 8, xviii. 6, etc. For σκευὸς similarly used see Jer. xxii. 28, Hosea vii. 8, and Schöttgen, *Horæ Hebraicæ, in loco*; and in N.T. Rom. ix. 22, 23, 1 Thess. iv. 4. Grimm and Blass both compare σκ. de homine in Polyb., xiii., 5, 7; xv., 25, 1. *Vas electionis*: the words are written over what is said to be St. Paul's tomb in the church dedicated to him near the city of Rome.—τοῦ βαστάσαι, genitive of purpose; verb as used here continues the metaphor of σκευὸς; may mean simply to bear, to carry, or it may denote to bear as a burden; cf. 2 Kings xviii. 14, Eccclus. vi. 25; cf. Luke xiv. 27, Acts xv. 10, Rom. xv. 1, etc.—ἐθνῶν καὶ βασιλέων—ἐθν., placed first because Saul's special mission is thus indicated.—βασιλ., cf. xxvi. 12, 2 Tim. i. 16; also before the governors of Cyprus, Achaia, Judæa.—υἱὸν τε Ἱ., see critical notes above, again the closely connecting τε, all three nouns being comprehended under the one article τῶν—the Apostle's work was to include, not to exclude, his brethren according to the flesh, whilst mission to the Gentiles is always emphasised; cf. xxii. 15 and 21, xxvi. 17; cf. Rom. i. 13, 14.

Ver. 16. ἐγὼ γὰρ: he is a chosen vessel unto me, and therefore ὑποδ. Wendt disagrees with Meyer, who finds the showing in the experiences of the sufferings (so Hackett and Felten), and

16. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑποδείξω αὐτῷ, ὅσα δεῖ αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματός μου παθεῖν.

17.<sup>1</sup> Ἀπῆλθε δὲ Ἀνανίας καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐπιθείς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας εἶπε, Σαοὺλ ἀδελφέ, ὁ Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με, Ἰησοῦς ὁ ὀφθαλμοὶ σοι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ᾗ ἦρχου, ὅπως ἀναβλέψῃς καὶ πλησθῇς Πνεύματος Ἁγίου. 18. καὶ εὐθέως ἀπέπεσον ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ ὥσεί λεπίδες, ἀνέβλεψέ τε παραχρῆμα,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐβαπτίσθη, καὶ λαβὼν τροφήν ἐνίσχυσεν.<sup>3</sup> 19. Ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ Σαῦλος μετὰ τῶν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Blass, following Flor., reconstructs (so very simil. Hilg.) τότε ἐγερθεῖς (as if the vision came in sleep; cf. Corssen, *G. G. A.*, p. 437 (1896), who thinks that the expression is an interpolation and compares β text in xvi. 9 ff., p. 436, u. s.) Ἀν. ἀπῆλθεν καὶ εἰσ. εἰς τὴν οἰκ.; so again Flor. has ἐπεθεῖκε αὐτῷ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ ὀνομ. l. X. λεγών.

<sup>2</sup> παραχρῆμα om. NABCHP, Vulg., Boh., Syr. Pesh., Arm., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. N<sup>2</sup> 40, Boh. read δε instead of τε.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνίσχυσεν, so Tisch., Blass, Weiss, Hilg.; ἐνίσχυθη BC\*, so W.H., Wendt (probably). ὁ Σαῦλος om. NABCE 13, 61, Vulg., many vers., so Tisch., W.H., R.V.; beginning, perhaps, of a Church lectionary. Flor. reads "dies autem plurimos et in civitate. D cum discipulis transegit," perhaps some influence of xvi. 12, xiv. 28, xxv. 14. Blass suspects Δαμασκῶ and brackets in β. Blass places St. Paul's visit to Arabia before this period, a visit which St. Luke omits.

refers the word with De Wette, Overbeck, to a revelation or to some directing counsel of Christ, cf. xiii. 2, xvi. 6, 9, xx. 20, so too Blass—cf. 2 Cor. xi. 25-28. Either interpretation seems better than that of Weiss, who refers the γάρ back to πορεύου, as if Christ were assuring Ananias that Saul would not inflict suffering upon others, but I will show him how much *he* (αὐτόν, with emphasis) must suffer, etc., cf. also Bengel's comment.

Ver. 17. ἐπιθείς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χ.: not as bestowing the Holy Ghost (for see context), but as recovering from his blindness, cf. Mark xvi. 18. Σαοὺλ, see on ver. 4, perhaps too the word used by Jesus would reassure Saul.—ἀδελφέ: as a Christian brother, and not merely as a brother in nationality, ii. 29, xxii. 1, xxviii. 17—for the word see further, Kennedy, p. 95, and see on i. 15.—ὁ Κ. . . . Ἰησοῦς: the words must have further reassured Saul—the title by which he had himself addressed Jesus is more than justified.

Ver. 18. καὶ εὐθέως: as the immediate result of the laying on of hands the recovery of sight is given, but the baptism follows for the reception of the Holy Ghost, cf. xxii. 13 ff.—ἀπέπεσον . . . ὥσεί λ.: the words cannot be taken as merely figurative with Weiss or Zöckler, or with Blass as merely indicating the speediness of the cure—some scaly

substance had formed over the eyes, probably as the result of the dazzling brightness which had struck upon them, cf. Tobit iii. 17, xi. 13, and ii. 10 (cf. vi. 8), λευκώματα = white films (see H. and R., *sub v.*, λεύκωμα). St. Chrysostom's comment is also to be noted: καὶ ἵνα μὴ νομίσῃ φαντασίαν τις εἶναι τὴν πῆρσιν, διὰ τοῦτο αἱ λεπίδες. Here, as elsewhere, we may see traces of St. Luke's accuracy as a physician. Both ἀποπίπτειν and λεπίς are used only by St. Luke in N.T. (λεπίς, although found six times in LXX, does not occur in the sense before us), and both words are found conjoined in medical writers, the former for the falling off of scales from the cuticle and particles from the diseased parts of the body or bones, etc., and λεπίς as the regular medical term for the particles or scaly substances thrown off from the body (see instances in Hobart, p. 39, and Felten, *in loco*), and cf. also Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., p. 436 (1899).—ἀναστὰς, see above on viii. 26; the word may here be taken literally (although not necessarily so), as of Saul rising from a sitting or reclining position (so Weiss).—ἐβαπτίσθη: no doubt by Ananias—there was no reception into the Church without this.—λαβὼν τροφήν, see on ver. 9.—ἐνίσχυσεν: here used intransitively (1 Macc. vii. 25, 3 Macc. ii. 32), if we adopt reading of T.R. which is



Δαμασκῷ μαθητῶν ἡμέρας τινάς· 20.<sup>1</sup> καὶ εὐθέως ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς ἐκήρυσσε τὸν Χριστόν,<sup>2</sup> ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. 21. ἐξίσταντο δὲ πάντες οἱ ἀκούοντες καὶ ἔλεγον, Οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πορθήσας ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, καὶ ὧδε εἰς τοῦτο ἐληλύθει ἵνα δεδεμένους αὐτοὺς ἀγάγῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς; 22. Σαῦλος δὲ μᾶλλον ἐνεδυναμοῦτο, καὶ συνέχυνε<sup>3</sup> τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν Δαμασκῷ, συμβιβάζων ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός.

<sup>1</sup> Flor., Par., Wern. read καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῶν Ι., cf. xiii. 5, xiv. 1, xix. 8, so Hilg. The phrase "synagogue of the Jews" usually implies contrast between Jews and Gentiles, which is hardly the case here, but the writer might wish to emphasize the boldness of Saul: Flor., Iren. read μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας, so Hilg. ο Χριστος after ἐστι 68, Flor., Irenlat. (Irenk. after Θεου), retained by Blass and by Hilg., perhaps from ver. 22 (cf. John xx. 31).

<sup>2</sup> Χριστόν HLP, Chrys.; Ἰησοῦν ΞABCE 61, Iren., Vulg., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt; Hilg. has τὸν κυρίον Ἰησοῦν with Flor.; οὗτος in ver. 22 seems to demand a preceding Ἰησοῦν.

<sup>3</sup> συνέχυνε AB<sup>3</sup>HLP, so Blass; συνεχύνε ΞB<sup>3</sup>C, Tisch., W.H., App., p. 172, and see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 111; Hilg. has συνεχεῖν. τοὺς Ιουδ., but τοὺς om. by Ξ<sup>3</sup>B, so W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass. At end of verse Flor., Gig., Par. add εἰς ὃν εὐδοκῆσεν ὁ Θεός—retained by Blass and Hilg.

retained by Weiss. We have the verb, in the N.T. peculiar to St. Luke, used in the transitive sense (cf. Luke xxii. 43 and 44, W. H., *Abb.*, 67, and Plummer, *in loco*), and in *this sense* its use outside the LXX is confined to Hippocrates and St. Luke, Hobart, p. 80 (cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 40, Eccclus. i. 4); but cf. *Psalms of Solomon*, xvi. 12. The reading here to which Wendt apparently inclines is ἐνισχύθη (see critical notes), as this would be in accordance with the transitive use of the verb in Luke xxii. 43, and other instances.

Ver. 19. ἡμέρας τινάς: used here apparently, as in x. 48, xvi. 12, xxiv. 24, etc., of a short period; see note on ver. 23, and cf. critical notes, Blass in β, and see ver. 23.

Ver. 20. ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς—publicly in the Jewish Assemblies: οὐκ ἤσχύετο (Chrys.).—ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ: only here in Acts. As the preaching was in the synagogue the term would be used in its Messianic sense (cf. John i. 49), according to the early Messianic interpretation of Psalm ii. 7; cf. xiii. 33 and St. Paul's reference to the Psalm in another address to Jews, in the Pisidian Antioch. For the use of the term as applied to the Messiah by the Jews see further *Book of Enoch*, cv., 2, and Dr. Charles' note.

Ver. 21. περθίσας: same word used by St. Paul of himself in Gal. i. 13, 23; nowhere else in N.T., but see 4 Macc. iv. 23, xi. 4; used often in classical Greek.

Blass draws attention to the coincidence between this passage and the use of the word in Gal., and adds: "ut a Paulo hoc ipsum verbum scriptorem accepisse dicas". Wendt (1899) dismisses the point of connection in the use of the word by the two authors Luke and Paul as accidental. He bases his objection, p. 35, upon the view that St. Paul's Epistles and Acts are independent of each other; but this would not prevent St. Luke from receiving the narrative of the events at Damascus from the lips of Paul himself.—τοὺς ἐπικ., see above on ver. 14.—ἐληλύθει, pluperfect: "inest indicatio voluntatis mulctæ," Blass, cf. also Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 44, and Blass, *Gramm.*, p. 197. On the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim and their commissions to their officers see iv. 5, and Lewin, *St. Paul*, i., 52 (smaller edition). For ἵνα followed by the conjunctive after a past tense in preference to the optative cf. v. 26, xxv. 26, in Winer-Moulton, xli. b. 1 a.

Ver. 22. ἐνεδυναμοῦτο: only used here by St. Luke, and elsewhere only by St. Paul (five or six times), and always of religious and spiritual strength; used also three times in the LXX; twice with reference to the power of the Spirit, Judg. vi. 34, 1 Chron. xii. 18; in Psalm li. 7, perhaps the simple verb δυναμῶ.—συνέχυνε: "confounded," so A. and R.V., or rather, "continued to confound," imperfect active, cf. ii. 6, "were con-

23. ὥς δὲ ἐπληροῦντο ἡμέραι ἱκαναί, συνεβουλευσάντο οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν· 24. ἐγνώσθη δὲ τῷ Σαύλ ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ αὐτῶν. παρε-

founded," passive, see also xix. 32, xxi. 31 (critical notes above): from *συνχύνω* (*συνχύνω*), nowhere used except in Acts, as above (see Moulton and Geden). *συνχύνω*: not found in classical Greek nor in LXX, a later form of *συγχέω*, *συνχέω* T. W. H. (*cf.* *ἐκχύνομαι* from *ἐκχέω*, three times in Acts, also two or three times in Luke's Gospel; in Matthew twice, in Mark once, also Rom. v. 5, Jude ver. 11; not found in LXX, but see Theod., 2 Sam. xiv. 14); in Acts, xxi. 27. *συνέχεον* from *συνχέω* (but see *in loco*), Moulton and Geden. According to the best MS., Tisch., W. H., read the double *ν*, but elsewhere we have only one *ν*, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 132, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 41.—*συμβιβάζων*: only used by St. Luke and St. Paul, *cf.* xvi. 10, xix. 33, see especially for this last passage, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, *cf.* 1 Cor. ii. 16. In the LXX the word is used in the sense of teaching, instructing, Exod. iv. 12, 15, xviii. 16, Isa. xl. 13, etc., this usage is purely Biblical (in Attic Greek rather *προσβ.* in this sense): lit., (1) to bring together; (2) then like *συμβάλλω*, to put together, to compare, to examine closely; (3) so to deduce, to prove; thus here the word may well imply that Saul compared Messianic passages of the O.T. with the events of the life of Jesus of Nazareth, and hence deduced the proof that He was the Christ, *cf.* *παραιθέμενος* in xvii. 3. So Theophylact explains *διδάσκων καὶ ἐρμηνεύων* out of the Scriptures which the Jews themselves knew.

Ver. 23. *ἡμέρας ἱκανάς*: whether the period thus described was meant to cover the definite period in Gal. i. 16, *i.e.*, as including St. Paul's visit to Arabia, it is difficult to decide. Lightfoot holds that *ἱκανός* in St. Luke's language is connected rather with largeness than with smallness, Luke vii. 12, Acts xx. 37, and that the Hebrew phrase *דַּיִם* which St. Luke is copying admits of almost any extension of time (*Galatians*, p. 89, note). Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, v., 2, pointed out in the Hebrew of 1 Kings ii. 38, 39, an instance of the use of the phrase "many days" = a period of three years (so Lewin, Felten). It is therefore possible that St. Luke might employ an indefinite, vague expression, an expression which at all events is characteristic of him. On the other hand, Wendt (1899), whilst seeing here a longer period than in ver.

19, compares ver. 43, xviii. 18, xxvii. 7, and decides that the phrase cannot denote time measured by years (so Blass). A reason for St. Luke's indefiniteness may perhaps be that St. Paul's visit to Arabia was not within the scope and purpose of his narrative; or Belser, *Beiträge* (p. 55), and others may be right in maintaining that the visit may lie between vv. 22 and 23, and that, as such intervals are not wanting in Luke's Gospel, it is not strange that they should occur in Acts, but that it does not at all follow that the historian was unacquainted with St. Luke's Arabian journey, as Wendt maintains: "sed aliquid omittere non est idem atque illud negare" Knabenbauer, *in loco*. But if we take the expression, ver. 19, *certain* days to indicate the first visit to Damascus, and the expression, ver. 23, *many* days to indicate a second visit, the visit to Arabia, Gal. i. 19, may lie between these two (Knabenbauer), and if we accept the reading *ἡσούν* in ver. 20, it may be that Saul first preached that Jesus was the Son of God, and then after his first retirement in Arabia he was prepared to *prove* on his return to Damascus that He was also the Christ, ver. 22 (see Mr. Barnard's article, *Expositor*, April, 1899).

Ver. 24. *ἐπιβουλὴ*: "plot"; N.T. only used in Acts; in three other passages, xx. 3, 19, xxiii. 30. It is used in the same sense in LXX, Esth. ii. 22 (for other instances of the word see H. and R.), and frequently in classical Greek.—*παρετήρουν*: if we follow R.V., see critical notes, we have the middle for the active, *cf.* Luke xiv. 1, vi. 7, Gal. iv. 10. There is no contradiction involved with 2 Cor. xi. 32. The ethnarch acted as the instrument of the Jews, at their instigation, or they acted by his permission, or possibly as the Jews were the actual originators of the persecution of Saul, St. Luke for brevity speaks of them as carrying it out, *cf.* ii. 23, xxviii. 27. See to this effect, Blass, Zöckler, Felten, Wendt.—*τε*: if we add *καὶ* R.V., see critical notes, the two words *τε καὶ* signify that they not only laid wait for him, but also watched the city gates day and night, to secure the success of their design; "and they watched the gates also," R.V. In 2 Cor. xi. 32, according to Paul's own statement, the ethnarch under Aretas the king guarded the walls to prevent his escape. But this seems



τήρουν<sup>1</sup> τε τὰς πόλεις ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτός, ὅπως αὐτὸν ἀνέλωσιν·  
25. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ<sup>2</sup> νυκτός, καθήκαν διὰ τοῦ τείχους,

<sup>1</sup> παρρηρουν HLP, Chrys.; παρρηρουντο  $\Sigma$ ABCF<sup>a</sup> 61, Vulg., Or., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. Instead of τε,  $\Sigma$ ABCF<sup>a</sup> 61, Vulg., Or., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Hilg. read δε και—Alford supposes that το in παρρηρουντο became mistaken for τε, and then δε και was struck out, no other copula being wanted.

<sup>2</sup> οἱ μαθηται, after these words  $\Sigma$ ABCF<sup>a</sup> 61, Vulg. (am. fu. demid. tol.), Or. read αὐτον, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Zöckler, Holtzmann; perhaps omitted because in vv. 19 and 26 μαθηται is used absolutely. σπυριδι—but in  $\Sigma$ C σφρ., so W.H. (but not Weiss, who follows AB, etc.), although with σπ. as alternative, App., pp. 155, 156, and Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 59, 60; see also Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 157, and *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 13.

strange, as Damascus was part of the Roman province of Syria. The difficulty is met by a large number of modern writers by the assumption that Caligula, whose reign began in 37 A.D., gave Damascus to Aretas, to whose predecessors it had belonged (Jos., *Ant.*, xiii., 5, 2). On the accession of Caligula a great change of policy occurred—Antipas, the old foe of Aretas, who was indignant with him for the divorce of his daughter, was shortly after deposed, and his kingdom was added to that of Herod Agrippa, who had already received from the emperor the tetrarchy of Philip and Lysanias (Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 6, 10). But this latter grant was one of the first acts of Caligula's reign, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the new ruler should also bestow some gift of territory on the great foe of the Herodian house, who apparently reigned until 40 A.D. Added to this there is the fact that we have no coins of Damascus with the imperial superscription from 34-62 A.D. In 62-63 the image of Nero begins, but there are no coins marked with that of Caligula or Claudius. The latter emperor died in 54 A.D., and in a few years Damascus must have passed again into Roman hands, if the above theory is correct. Certainly this theory is more feasible than that which supposes that Aretas had actually seized Damascus himself in 37 A.D., when upon the death of Tiberius (who had supported Antipas), Vitellius, the governor of Syria, had withdrawn his troops and the expedition which the emperor had despatched against Aretas. But whether this forcible taking possession of the city is placed before, during, or after the expedition of Vitellius, we should expect that it would have met with energetic punishment at the hands of the governor of Syria, but of this there is no mention or trace (P. Ewald). McGiffert,

who favours an earlier chronology, and dates Paul's conversion in 31 or 32 A.D., contends that the flight from Damascus may have occurred as well in the year 35, i.e., in the reign of Tiberius, as in 38, when no change had taken place in the status of Damascus; the city was subject to Rome, but Aretas may have had control over it, just as Herod had control over Jerusalem. There is at all events no ground for supposing that the term ethnarch denotes that Aretas was only head of the Arabian colony in Damascus (so O. Holtzmann, following Keim, Nösgen, etc.), or that he was only a chance visitor who exercised his authority to the detriment of Paul (Anger); any such suggestion utterly fails to account for the fact that he is represented as guarding Damascus. It has been suggested that the wife of Aretas may well have been a proselyte, but the fact that the Jews of Damascus were both numerous and powerful is quite sufficient to explain the attitude of the governor, Jos., *B. J.*, ii., 20, 2; vii., 8, 7. See "Aretas" in Hastings' B.D., and B.D.<sup>2</sup> McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 164, 165; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 619, 620; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 97; Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 356, and div. ii., vol. i., p. 98, E.T.; *Real-Encyclopädie für protestant. Theol.* (Hauck), i., pp. 795-797, by P. Ewald. See further on the title ἰθναρχης Schürer, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1899 (1), which he explains by the conditions of the Nabatean kingdom, in which tribes not cities were concerned—the head of such a tribe being actually so called in more than one inscription.

Ver. 25. οἱ μαθηται—if we add αὐτοῦ, see critical notes, the words would apparently refer to Jews converted by Saul, so Chrysostom: "but his disciples" R.V. Alford, who reads αὐτοῦ, supposes that we have here an unusual government of

χαλάσαντες ἐν σπυρίδι. 26. Παραγενόμενος δὲ ὁ Σαῦλος εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐπειρώτο<sup>1</sup> κολλᾶσθαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς· καὶ πάντες ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτόν, μὴ πιστεύοντες ὅτι ἐστὶ μαθητῆς. 27. Βαρνάβας δὲ ἐπιλαβόμενος αὐτόν, ἤγαγε πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους, καὶ διηγῆσατο αὐτοῖς πῶς ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶδε τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ὅτι ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπειράτο—but **ABC** 61, 81 read *ἐπειραζεν*, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (against Meyer); latter verb much more common in N.T., but elsewhere is used in a different sense from this passage, and so *ἐπειράτο* introduced. Hilg. has this latter verb here.

the genitive by λαβόντες, and compares Luke viii. 54 and classical instances, see *in loco*.—*διὰ τοῦ τείχους*: "through the wall," R.V., cf. 2 Cor. xi. 33, where we read *διὰ θυρίδος . . . διὰ τοῦ τείχους*, perhaps a window in the external face of the wall opening into the house on the inside, rather than simply a window of a house overhanging the wall; cf. Josh. ii. 16, 1 Sam. xix. 12. Blass takes it of a window made "in ipso muro scil. ad tormenta mittenda," but there is no need for this explanation; see Hackett's note on his own observations at Damascus of two or three windows built in the wall as above.—*χαλάσαντες ἐν σπυρίδι*: "lowering him," R.V., not expressed in A.V.; on spelling of *σπυρ.* see critical note. In 2 Cor. xi. 33 Paul uses the word *σαργάνη*, a basket of wickerwork, *σπυρ.* a basket larger than the *κόφινος*, the small hand-basket of the Jew, *Ἰου.*, iii., 14; vi., 541, probably a provision basket of considerable size, used as by the Paeonians for fishing, *Herod.*, v., 16. *σαργάνη* too is used of a fish basket by Timokles, *Ληθ.*, i., see further, "Basket," Hastings' B.D., and Plummer on Luke ix. 17. Neither word is met with in the LXX or Apocrypha. For the naturalness of the incident according to the present customs of the country see Hackett, *in loco*. The traditional spot of its occurrence is still shown, but we can only say of it as of the "house of Judas," see above on ver. ii. Wendt, p. 35 (1899), thinks that here we have a coincidence with the account in 2 Cor., which cannot be accounted for except by the acquaintance of the author of Acts with the Epistle.

Ver. 26. *παραγενόμενος*: on its frequency in St. Luke's Gospel and Acts see v. 21; apparently presupposes that Saul betook himself immediately to Jerusalem, so that the stay in Arabia cannot be inserted here (Weiss. *in loco*),

a stay which Weiss holds was unknown to the author of Acts, see his note on ver. 19. *παραγ.* is found four times in Acts with *εἰς*, c. acc. loci, elsewhere only in Matt. ii. 1 (cf. John viii. 2).—*ἐπειρώτο*: the verb *πειράσμαι* only found once in N.T., viz., xxvi. 21, and the true reading here is *ἐπείραζε*, which is used in a similar sense in xvi. 7, xxiv. 6, only in the active in this sense = Attic *πειρώμαι*, according to Blass, *in loco*, and *Gram.*, 56, 221; "he assayed," R.V. = to essay, attempt, try, Deut. iv. 34, 2 Macc. ii. 23.—*κολλᾶσθαι*, cf. v. 13, x. 28, and also Matt. xix. 5, Luke xv. 5, 1 Cor. vi. 16—evidently means that he sought to join himself to them intimately.—*καὶ πάντες ἐφοβ.* αὐτόν—*καὶ* "and," R.V., not "but," A.V.; it is not adversative, but simply introduces the unfavourable result of Saul's endeavour. This does not necessarily require that the conversion should have been recent, as Weiss maintains. If three years had elapsed, Gal. i. 16, during a portion of which at all events Saul had been in retirement, the Christians in Jerusalem might very naturally still feel apprehensive when their former persecutor was thus for the first time since his conversion actually present amongst them, and the memory of his former fierce hatred could not have been effaced. If it seems unlikely that this should have been their attitude had they known of Saul's profession of faith at Damascus, there are critics who would have expressed great surprise if the Apostle had been received with open arms, and without any credentials: "*credo si contrarium exstaret, hoc rursus mirarentur*" (Blass).

Ver. 27. *Βαρνάβας*, cf. iv. 36. Saul and Barnabas may have been previously acquainted, see J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, and note on iv. 36. St. Chrysostom, *Hom.*, xxi. (so Theophylact and Oecumenius), sees here a proof of the kindly



πῶς ἐν Δαμασκῷ ἐπαβήσινάσατο ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. 28. καὶ ἦν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰσπορευόμενος καὶ ἐκπορευόμενος ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ· καὶ παβήσινάζομενος<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, 29. ἐλάλει τε

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ι. καὶ π.—but εἰς ι. παρρησ. H<sup>4</sup>ABCELP 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt; εἰς perhaps not understood. Blass takes εἰς = ἐν ut *alias*.

nature of Barnabas, so truly called "Son of Consolation". For an appreciative notice of the goodness and generosity of Barnabas, from a very different standpoint, see Renan, *Apostles*, p. 191 E.T.—ἐπιλ., cf. xxiii. 19; so as to disarm fear: on the force of this characteristic word of St. Luke see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 245, Friedrich, p. 27, and below xvii. 19; generally constructed with genitive, but here αὐτὸν is probably governed by ἡγάγε; cf. xvi. 19, and xviii. 17, where also the accusative is found in cases of a finite transitive verb following the participle, ἐπιλ. Blass, *Gram.*, p. 100, note 2, refers αὐτὸν to ἡγάγε, and understands αὐτοῦ with ἐπιλ.—πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους, cf. Gal. i. 19; there is no contradiction, although St. Paul's own narrative confines Saul's introduction to Peter and James: "though most of the Apostles were absent, yet the two real leaders were present" (Ramsay), and this was the point which St. Luke would emphasise. Wendt (1899) rejects the narrative of Acts as indistinct when compared with Gal. i., but see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 91, and Drummond, *Galatians*, p. 67; see below on ver. 30 also.—διηγίστατο, *exposuit*, i.e., Barnabas (but Beza and Meyer make Saul the subject, although unlikely from construction and context); verb twice in Luke's Gospel, viii. 39, ix. 10, and three times in Acts, viii. 33 (quotation), xii. 17; cf. Heb. xi. 32, and Mark v. 16, ix. 9; and nowhere else in N.T.; frequent in LXX to recount, narrate, declare, cf. 1 Macc. v. 25, viii. 2, x. 15, xi. 5, and several times in Ecclesiasticus. Similarly used in classical Greek; Grimm compares figurative use of German *durchführen*.—πῶς εἶδε K.: while it is not said in any part of the three accounts of the Conversion that Saul *saw* Jesus, it is distinctly asserted here in a statement which Barnabas may well have received from Saul himself, and also in the two expressions of Ananias, cf. ver. 17, xxii. 14; cf. also the Apostle's own words, 1 Cor. ix. 1, xv. 8.—ἐπαβήσινάσατο, cf. the verb with the expression μετὰ παρρησίας λαλεῖν, see above on iv. 13, and of

the preaching of the other Apostles and of the Church, cf. xxviii. 31 (of Paul). Verb only used by Luke and Paul, and always of speaking boldly the truths of the Gospel; so seven times in Acts, and also in 1 Thess. ii. 2, Ephes. vi. 20.

Ver. 28. ἦν . . . εἰσπ.: for characteristic construction see i. 10, etc. εἰς καὶ ἐκπ., cf. i. 21. Hebraistic formula to express the daily confidential intercourse with the Apostles; cf. 1 Sam. xviii. 13, 2 Chron. xxiii. 7 (1 Macc. xiii. 49, xv. 14, 25, for somewhat similar expressions, but see H. and R.). —ἐν: if we read εἰς, see critical note. Weiss connects closely with ἐκπ. and takes it to signify that Saul was not only associated with the Apostles privately, but openly in the town, so Wendt and Holtzmann, *privatim* and *publice*. Page connects ἦν εἰς together, and thinks εἰς probably due to the intervention of the verbs expressing motion. Zöckler compares xxvi. 20, and takes εἰς as referring to Jerusalem and its neighbourhood (but see critical notes).

Ver. 29. συνεζήτει, cf. vi. 9.—πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, of whom Saul himself was one; see critical notes. Saul's visit was a short one (Gal. i. 18), and although we must not limit his opportunities of disputation to the two Sabbaths with Blass (note the two imperfects), yet it is evident that the Hellenists were at once enraged against the deserter from their ranks. There is no contradiction with xxii. 17, as Zeller and Overbeck maintained—it is rather a mark of truth that Luke gives the outward impulse, and Paul the inner ground (Hackett, Lightfoot, Lumby); but see on the other hand Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 62, against the identification of xxii. 17 with Paul's first visit; according to Ramsay, xxii. 17, 18 refer to the close of the Apostle's second visit. Wendt (1899) still identifies xxii. 18 with the passage before us, ix. 29; in seventh edition he speaks more fully of the fulfilment of the negative prophecy in xxii. 18, by the positive fact here narrated.—ἐπιχειροῦν: only used by St. Luke; St. Luke i. 1, Acts xix. 13; it is used in same sense in

καὶ συνεζήτει πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς<sup>1</sup>. οἱ δὲ ἐπεχείρουν αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν.  
30. ἐπιγνόντες δὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ κατήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Καισάρειαν, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Ἑλληνιστάς *ΣΑΒCΕΗLP*; but *A* has Ἑλληνας, and *Vulg.* (not *am. demid.*) has “loquebatur quoque gentibus et disputabat cum Græcis,” see *Felten's* note, *in loco*.

classical Greek; and it also occurs in *Esther* ix. 25, i *Esd.* i. 28, 2 *Macc.* ii. 29, vii. 19, ix. 2, etc., and 3 *Macc.* vii. 5, where it occurs as here with ἀνελεῖν (see also below), and for other instances *cf.* *Hatch* and *Redpath*. The word was frequently employed in medical language, sometimes in its literal sense “to apply the hand to,” but generally as in *N.T.* Both *Hippocrates* and *Galen* use the verb as *St. Luke* does, with γράφειν—ἐπιχειρήσαν γράφειν. *Hobart*, pp. 87 and 210, points out that *Galen* also employs the verb with ἀνελεῖν, as here. It is true that the word is also used in the same sense by *Josephus*, *c. Apion*, ii., with συγγράφειν, but the medical use of the term is so striking in *Hippocrates* that its use here is noted by *J. Weiss*, *Evangelium des Lukas*, p. i., as a probable reminiscence by the writer, and still more positively so by *Zahn*, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., p. 384 (1899).

*Ver.* 30. ἐπιγνόντες: the preposition may signify here as elsewhere accurate and certain knowledge or information—a favourite word with *St. Luke*, in the *Gospel* seven times, in *Acts* thirteen times; it was also a favourite word with *St. Paul*, *cf.*, *e.g.*, i *Cor.* xiii. 12, 2 *Cor.* vi. 9; frequent in *LXX*, or it may simply mean to find out, to ascertain (*Grimm*); see *Blass in loco* on its force in *LXX*. 5.—οἱ ἀδελφοί: the expression seems expressly used to imply that the disciples at *Jerusalem* recognised *Saul* as a brother. *Wendt* (1899) rejects all the narrative in *Acts* as unhistorical, and compares with the statement here *Gal.* i. 22; but there mention is only made of the “Churches of *Judæa*,” whilst the inference that *Paul* could scarcely fail to have been known to the members of the Church in *Jerusalem* seems quite justifiable, *Lightfoot*, *Galatians*, p. 86.—κατήγαγον, *i.e.*, brought him down to the sea coast, *ad mare deduxerunt*, word used only by *Luke* and *Paul*; but by *St. Luke* only as a nautical expression, *cf.* *xxvii.* 3, *xxviii.* 12 (*xxi.* 3), and *Luke* v. 11; so in classical writers.—εἰς *K.* as in *viii.* 40 (not *Cæsarea Philippi* which is always so called); if he found *Philip* there (*xxi.* 8), the friend and the accuser of the proto-martyr would meet

face to face as brethren (*Plumptre*).—ἐξαπέστειλαν: the word might mean by sea or by land, but the former is supported amongst recent commentators by *Blass*, so too *Page* (*cf.* *Lightfoot* on *Gal.* i. 21, p. 85), *Knabenbauer*, p. 174. But if so, there is no contradiction with *Gal.* i. 21, where *Paul* speaks of coming into the regions of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, as if he went to the latter through the former. The expressions in *Galatians* have sometimes been explained on the supposition that the two countries, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, are named there as elsewhere in that order, *Acts* xv. 23, 41, as a kind of general geographical expression (*Felten*), the most important country being mentioned first, so *Lightfoot*, *Nösgen*, *Conybeare* and *Howson*; or that as *Paul* would remain at *Syrian* ports on the way to *Cilicia*, he might fairly speak as he does, or that he went first to *Tarsus*, and thence made missionary excursions into *Syria*. If neither of these or similar explanations are satisfactory, we can scarcely conclude with *Blass* that *Gal.* i. 21 is accounted for “*inverso per incuriam ordine*”. *Ramsay* has lately argued with much force that here as elsewhere *Paul* thinks and speaks of the *Roman* divisions of the empire (*cf.* *Zahn*, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, i., p. 124 (1897)), and that here the two great divisions, *Syria* and *Cilicia*, of the *Roman* province are spoken of; and he accordingly reads, with the original text of *Σ*, τὰ κλίματα τῆς *Σ.* καὶ *Κ.*, the article used once, and thus embracing the two parts of the one province (sometimes three parts are enumerated, *Phœnicia* being distinguished from *Syria*). There is apparently no example of the expression *Prov. Syria et Cilicia*, but *Ramsay* points to the analogy of *Bithynia-Pontus*; see *Expositor*, p. 29 ff., 1898, and “*Cilicia*” and “*Bithynia*” (*Ramsay*) in *Hastings' B.D.* *Ramsay* therefore concludes that *Gal.* i. 21 simply implies that *Paul* spent the following period of his life in various parts of the province *Syria-Cilicia*.—Ταρσόν, see above, *ver.* 11; on the years of quiet work at *Tarsus* and in its neighbourhood, see *Ramsay*, *St. Paul*, pp. 46, 47, and below on xi. 25.



ἐξαπέστειλαν αὐτὸν εἰς Ταρσόν. 31. Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι <sup>1</sup> καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας <sup>2</sup> καὶ Σαμαρείας εἶχον εἰρήνην, οἰκοδομοῦμεναι καὶ πορευόμεναι τῷ φόβῳ τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τῇ παρακλήσει τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος ἐπληθύνοντο.

<sup>1</sup> αἱ ἐκκλησίαι; but sing. ἡ ἐκκλη.  $\aleph$  ABC, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Boh., Arm., Aeth., 30 Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.; see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Γαλιλαίας, Blass brackets in  $\beta$  because om. by Chrys., Cassiod., perhaps because nothing has been said of the Church in Galilee, but it obviously must have existed there, though never actually mentioned in Acts (see Plumptre's note, *in loco*), see also below.

Ver. 31. αἱ ἐκκλησίαι—if we read the singular ἡ ἐκκλ. with the great MS. the word shows us that the Church, though manifestly assuming a wider range, is still one: Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 55, thinks that here the term in the singular corresponds by the three modern representative districts named, *viz.*, Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, to the ancient Ecclesia, which had its home in the whole land of Israel; but however this may be, the term is used here markedly of the unified Church, and in accordance with St. Paul's own later usage of the word; see especially Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 126, 127, and also p. 124.—καθ' ὅλης: the genitive in this sense is peculiar to St. Luke, and always with the adjective ὅλος; Luke iv. 14, xxiii. 5, Acts ix. 42, x. 37, the phrase, although not the best classically, seeming to "sound right," because καθόλου, only in Acts iv. 18 in N.T., had come into common use since Aristotle (*Simcox, Language of the N. T.*, p. 148; Vogel, p. 45).—οὖν connects with the preceding narrative; so Bengel, Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Zöckler; the Church had rest because the persecutors had become converted; but see also Rendall, Appendix, on μὲν οὖν, p. 164, and Hackett, Felten.—οἰκοδομοῦμεναι: "being edified," R.V. (see critical notes) (not "and were edified," A.V.)—as an accompaniment of the peace from persecutors. The term may refer primarily to the organisation of the Church as a visible institution, but would also indicate the spiritual edification which is so often expressed by the word in St. Paul's Epistles, where both the verb and its cognate noun are so frequent; cf. xx. 32, and note. The fact that the verb is employed only once in the Gospels, Matt. xvi. 18, of the Church, as here in a non-literal sense, as compared with its constant use by St. Paul as above, is a striking indication of the early date of the Synoptic Gospels or

their source (see Page, *in loco*). For the metaphorical use of the word in the O.T. of good fortune and prosperity, cf. LXX, Ps. xxvii. (xxviii.) 5, Jer. xii. 16, xl. (xxxiii.) 7, xxxviii. (xxxi.) 4, xlix. (xlii.) 10. (Hilgenfeld refers the whole section ix. 32-42 to the same source A from which his "author to Theophilus" derived the founding, and the first incidents in the history, of the early Church, i. 15-iv. 42, although the "author to Theophilus" may have added the words καὶ τῇ παρακ. . . . ἐπληθύνοντο. But if we desire a good illustration of the labyrinth (as Hilgenfeld calls it) through which we have to tread, if we would see our way to any coherent meaning in ix. 31-xii. 25, it is sufficient to note the analysis of the sources of the modern critics given us by Hilgenfeld himself, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, pp. 481, 482; 1895.)—οἰκοδ.: may refer to the inward spiritual growth, ἐπληθ. to the outward growth in numbers; a growth attributed not to human agency but to the power of the Holy Ghost. παρακλήσις only here in Acts of the Holy Ghost. Hort renders "and walking by the fear of the Lord and by the invocation [παρακ.] of the Holy Spirit [probably invoking His guidance as Paraclete to the Ecclesia] was multiplied" (*Ecclesia*, p. 55), and it is not strange that the working of the Παράκλητος should be so described; while others connect the word with the divine counsel or exhortation of the prophets in opening hearts and minds; others again attach παρακ. to ἐπληθ. as expressing increase of spiritual strength and comfort (see Blass, Rendall, Felten, and cf. Col. i. 11, 1 Pet. i. 2). On the verb and its frequency in Acts see p. 73.

Vv. 32-35. *Healing of Aeneas*.—Ver. 32. ἐγένετο δὲ Π. διερχ.: on the formula and its frequency in Luke see Friedrich, p. 13, and above on p. 124. We have here a note of what may fairly be

32. ἜΓΕΝΕΤΟ δὲ Πέτρον διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων,<sup>1</sup> κατελθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Λύδδαν. 33. εὗρε δὲ ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωπὸν τινα Αἰνέαν ὀνόματι, ἐξ ἐτῶν ὀκτὼ κατακειμένον ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> δια παντων, instead of this Par. and Wern. read "per omnes civitates et regiones," accepted by Blass; no doubt to explain δια παντων, which is difficult, see below.

taken as a specimen of many similar missionary journeys, or rather journeys of progress and inspection, mentioned here perhaps more in detail because of the development which followed upon it, cf. with chap. x. New congregations had been formed, and just as Peter and John had gone down to Samaria to the Christians converted by Philip, so it became necessary that the congregations which had grown up in many towns (viii. 14, 25, 40) should be visited and kept in touch with the centre at Jerusalem (see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 41, 42; Felten and Plumptre, *in loco*).—διερχ. διὰ πάντων, see note on xiii. 6, and for the construction Luke ix. 6, xi. 24.—κατελθεῖν, i.e., probably from Jerusalem, cf. viii. 5, Luke iv. 31 *devenire*, cf. Plummer's note on Luke iv. 31. On the frequent use of διέρχομαι and κατέρχομαι in Luke, see Friedrich, p. 7.—διὰ πάντων, sc., ἁγίων, so Meyer-Wendt, Weiss, Bengel, Alford, Hackett, De Wette, Holtzmann; cf. for similar construction 2 Cor. i. 16, and cf. Acts xx. 25, Rom. xv. 28, or it may mean "through all parts," R.V., so Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 58 (see critical notes). Hort seems to take it of the whole land (*Ecclesia*, p. 56).—ἁγίους, see on ver. 13.—Λύδδαν, Hebrew לוד, Lod, perpetuated in the modern Ludd; on the word see critical notes, cf. 1 Chron. viii. 2, Ezra ii. 23, Neh. vii. 37, xi. 35, 1 Macc. xi. 34; "a village not less than a city" Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 6, 2; three hours from Joppa in the plain of Sharon: its frontier position often involved it in battle, and rendered it a subject of treaty between Jews and Syrians, and Jews and Romans. At this period not only Jerusalem but Joppa and Lydda were centres of Jewish national feeling, and were singled out by Cestius Gallus as the centres of the national revolt. On its importance as a place of refuge and a seat of learning after the destruction of Jerusalem, see Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 5, p. 721; Edersheim, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 155, 215, 479, 512, and also *Jewish Social Life*, pp. 75-78; G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, pp. 141, 160 (and his interesting remarks on

the connection of St. George of England with Lydda); Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 159, E.T. As the place lay on the route from Azotus to Caesarea the planting or at any rate the strengthening of its Christianity may be referred to Philip the Evangelist, viii. 40. But on the other hand the close proximity to Jerusalem, within an easy day's journey, may induce us to believe that Lydda had its congregation of "saints" almost from the first, Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 75. On the curious Talmudical notices with reference to our Lord and the Virgin Mother, e.g., that He was condemned at Lydda, see Edersheim, *u. s.*, p. 76. Such passages perhaps indicate a close connection between Lydda and the founding of Christianity.

Ver. 33. Αἰνέαν: the name in this form is found in Thuc., Xen., Pindar. and is not to be identified with that of the Trojan Αἰνείας, although in a fragment of Sophocles we have for the sake of the verse Αἰνέας instead of Αἰνείας; see Wendt, seventh edition, and Wetstein, *in loco*. The name is also used of a Jew, Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 10, 22. Probably a Hellenistic Jew; but although he is not expressly named a disciple (as in the case of Tabitha), yet as Peter visited him, and he knew the name of Jesus Christ, he may have become a Christian (so Blass); the fact that Peter went to the "saints" may imply this; but see Alford's note, and so too Hilgenfeld.—ἐξ ἐτῶν ὀκτὼ: characteristic of Luke as a medical man; in the cases of disease which he alone mentions, St. Luke frequently gives their duration, e.g., xiii. 11, Acts iii. 2, iv. 22, xiv. 8, see Hobart, p. 40, Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., p. 427.—κραββάτω, see above on v. 15, and spelling.—παρὰλελυμένος, see above on viii. 7, and cf. also Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., p. 436 (1899).

Ver. 34. ἰάται σε ἰ. l.: perhaps a *paronomasia*, iv. 30 (see Page, *in loco*); present tense, indicating that the healing was immediately effected, Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 9; Blass, *Gram.*, p. 183; verb much more frequent in St. Luke than in the other N.T. writers; in Gospel eleven times, in Acts three times,



κραββάτω, ὃς ἦν παραλελυμένος. 34. καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος, Αἰνέα, ἰάταί σε Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστός· ἀνάστηθι καὶ στρώσον σεαυτῷ. καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέστη. 35. καὶ εἶδον αὐτὸν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες Λύδδαν καὶ τὸν Σάρωνα,<sup>1</sup> οἵτινες ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον.

36. Ἐν Ἰόππῃ δέ τις ἦν μαθήτρια ὀνόματι Ταβιθά,<sup>2</sup> ἥ διερμηνευομένη λέγεται Δορκάς· αὕτη ἦν πλήρης ἀγαθῶν ἔργων καὶ ἐλεημοσυῶν

<sup>1</sup> Λύδδαν: but in **Λ**AB, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Λυδδα; see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 93, Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 25, 31 (so for ver. 25). Σαρωνα **Λ**ABCE, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Blass, Hilg., but with varying accent; Blass, *Gram.*, p. 31. **Λ** has Σαρρωνα.

<sup>2</sup> Ταβιθα; but BC Ταβειθα, so W.H., Weiss, but in W.H., alt., see App., p. 162.

and one quotation; in St. Matthew three times, and same quotation; in St. John twice, and same quotation; in St. Mark only once; in Epistles three times, but perhaps only figuratively; so in Deut. xxx. 3, of the diseases of the soul. The term is used by St. Luke in a passage where a similar statement is made by St. Matthew and St. Mark, in which they employ another verb, less precise, σώζειν, διασώζειν, and not so strictly medical, cf. Matt. xiv. 36, Mark vi. 56, Luke vi. 19, Hobart, p. 9. ἱασις: the cognate noun, only in St. Luke, Luke xiii. 32, Acts iv. 32, and see further also Hobart, pp. 23, 24. Both noun and verb are also frequent in LXX, and cf. Plummer on Luke v. 19, who points out that ἰασθαι in its active significance is peculiar to St. Luke, except in the quotations from LXX (Matt. xiii. 15, John xii. 40, both figurative), and in John iv. 47.—στρώσον σεαυτῷ, cf. xxii. 12, where, as here, the context must be supplied. The aorist denotes performance without delay—now and at once make thy bed for thyself—an act which hitherto others have done for thee.—καὶ εὐθ. ἀνέστη corresponds to ἀνάστηθι and indicates the completeness of the healing.

Ver. 35. τὸν Σάρωνα, on accentuation see critical notes: “at Lydda and in Sharon,” R.V. In Sharon, because it was not a town as Lydda, but rather a level tract, the maritime plain between Carmel and Joppa, so called in Hebrew (with article), meaning “the Level”; in Greek, the Forest, δρυμός, LXX, because it was once covered by a great oak forest; full of quiet but rich beauty; cf. 1 Chron. xxvii. 29, Isa. xxxiii. 9, xxxv. 2, xxxvii. 24, lxx. 10, celebrated for its pasturage, Cant. ii. 1. “The masculine article doth show that it is not named of a city, and so doth the

LXX article in Isa. 33, 9,” J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* There is no ground for supposing that it meant a village in the neighbourhood, as no place bearing the name Saron can be satisfactorily cited, but cf. Nösgen, *in loco*; see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, pp. 52, 147, 148; Eidersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 74; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 6, p. 897.—πάντες: the expression may be taken to mean that a general conversion of the inhabitants followed. Rendall renders “and all that dwelt, etc., who had turned to the Lord, saw Him,” i.e., attested the reality of the miracle, Acts, pp. 72 and 232. But it might fairly be urged that many would see the man besides those who had become Christians. It helps us to understand the passage if we remember with Nösgen (so Bengel) that the expression ἐπὶ τὸν K. applies not to God the Father, but to Jesus Christ, so that we learn that a conversion of the Jewish population at Lydda to the claims of Jesus as the Messiah was the result of the miracle (see also Hackett’s useful note). On the use of οἵτινες see Alford’s note on vii. 53, quoted by Page (Winer-Schmiedel, p. 235). For the phrase ἐπιστ. ἐπὶ τὸν K. cf. xiv. 15.

Vv. 36-43. *Tabitha raised from the dead.*—Ver. 36. Ἰόππη, on the spelling, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 56; and below on ver. 43.—μαθήτρια: only here in N.T.: the word occurs in the Apocryphal *Gospel of Peter*: Mary Magdalene is described as μ. τοῦ Κυρίου: it is also used by Diod., ii., 52; Diog. Laert., iv., 2; viii., 2. The form μαθητρίς is found in Philo.—Ταβιθά, see critical notes. תַּבִּי־תָא, Aramaic,

= צְבִי, Hebrew: (1) splendour, beauty;

(2) Greek Δορκάς, specially prized by

ὧν ἐποίει· 37. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ἀσθενήσασαν αὐτὴν ἀποθανεῖν· λούσαντες δὲ αὐτὴν ἔθηκαν ἐν ὑπερώῳ. 38. ἐγγὺς δὲ οὔσης Λύδης<sup>1</sup> τῇ Ἰόππῃ, οἱ μαθηταὶ ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Πέτρος ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἀπέστειλαν δύο ἄνδρας πρὸς αὐτόν, παρακαλοῦντες μὴ ὀκνῆσαι<sup>2</sup> διελθεῖν ἕως αὐτῶν. 39. ἀναστὰς δὲ Πέτρος συνήλθεν αὐτοῖς· ὃν παραγενόμενον ἀνήγαγον εἰς τὸ ὑπερῶον, καὶ παρέστησαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ χῆραι κλαίουσαι καὶ ἐπιδεικνύμεναι χιτῶνας καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Λυδης; but Tisch., Blass, W.H. -as, see on ver. 35, and W.H., App., p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> δυο ανδρας NABCE; om. HLP, Chrys. οκνησαι; but οκνησης NABC<sup>1</sup>E 40, 61, 81, Vulg., Sah., Boh., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

the Orientals for its elegance, Cant. ii. 9,—so called from the large bright eyes of the animal (δέρκομαι). The name was found as a feminine name amongst both Greek and Jews, see instances in Wetstein (*e.g.*, Jos., B. J., iv., 3, 5), Plumptre, Wendt, seventh edition, *sub v.*, and more recently Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 17. This Greek equivalent (found several times in LXX) may not have been actually borne by Tabitha as a name, for St. Luke may only mean to interpret the Aramaic word for his Gentile readers; but she may have been known by both names. Like Æneas, she may have been an Hellenist. There is nothing to indicate that she should be called a deaconess, nor can we tell from the narrative what was the state of this true Sister of Charity, whether she was a widow, whether married or unmarried (Weiss); see further, "Dorcas," Hastings' B.D., and Eder-sheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 78. On the phrase here see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 232.—ἐλεημοσυνῶν in singular, iii. 2; in plural x. 2, as here; "species post genus ut, 41," Blass, but by the former term also ἀγαθ. ἔργων works of charity may be more especially intended; see Weber, *Jüdische Theol.*, p. 284 (1897); cf. Ecclus. xx. 16, τὰ ἀγαθὰ μου (and xviii. 15; Tobit xii. 13); "Dorcas" and "Alms-giving," Hastings' B.D.—ὧν, see on i. 1.

Ver. 37. ἐγέν. δέ: on the frequency of the formula in Luke see above p. 124, and Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 45, on the use of ἐγένετο.—ἀσθενήσασαν: aorist, marking the time when she fell sick (Weiss).—λούσαντες: after the manner of the Jews as well as of the Greeks, cf. instances in Wetstein and Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 2, 162, "Beerdigung".

Outside Jerusalem three days might elapse between the death and burial, but in Jerusalem no corpse lay over night, see Hamburger, *u. s.*, p. 161; in the case of Ananias and Sapphira we may note the accuracy of this distinction.—ἐθηκαν: burial did not take place until the danger of an apparent death was considered past; in uncertain cases a delay as above might be allowed, or for other special reasons, and children were forbidden to hasten the burial of their parents, Hamburger, *u. s.*, p. 161; and further for burial and mourning customs, Eder-sheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 168, and *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 311.—ἐν ὑπερώῳ: the body was usually laid in an upper chamber when burial was delayed; see Hackett's note and also on ver. 39, and Alford on the article.

Ver. 38. Λύδης, on the form see above on ver. 35; nine miles from Joppa.—παρακαλοῦντες; the only passage in which the *oratio recta* follows if we read μὴ ὀκνήσης, see critical notes; this also best represents the urgency of the message (cf. John xi. 3), as in R.V.—μὴ ὀκν.: "fides non tollit civilitatem verborum," Bengel. Verb only here in N.T., cf. LXX, Num. xxii. 16, of Balak to Balaam, a phrase almost identically similar.—διελθεῖν, cf. Luke ii. 15, and ver. 32 above, and below xi. 19. Like other compounds of ἐρχομαι very frequent in Luke, as compared with other writers (Friedrich, p. 7).—ἕως αὐτῶν: use of ἕως locally, common in St. Luke (Friedrich, p. 20); ἕως with genitive of the person as here, cf. Luke iv. 42, 1 Macc. iii. 26; not so used in classical writers (Plummer).

Ver. 39. It is not said that they sent for St. Peter to work a miracle, but his near presence at Lydda would naturally make them turn to him in a time of sorrow.



ἱμάτια <sup>1</sup> ὅσα ἐποίει μετ' αὐτῶν οὕσα ἡ Δορκάς. 40. ἐκβαλὼν δὲ ἔξω πάντας ὁ Πέτρος, θείς τὰ γόνατα προσηύξατο· καὶ ἐπιστρέψας πρὸς τὸ σῶμα, εἶπε, Ταβιθά,<sup>2</sup> ἀνάστηθι. ἡ δὲ ἤνοιξε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς

<sup>1</sup> After ἱμάτια Par., Ps.-Aug. add διηγουντο αὐτῷ, accepted by Blass. Belser supports, pp. 58, 59, as being clearer, and showing that the widows not only pointed to the garments with them in proof of the charity of Dorcas, but also showed how much good work she had down besides.

<sup>2</sup> After ἀναστηθι Syr. Harcl., Sah., Gig., Par., Cypr., Ps.-Aug., Cassiod. add "in nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi". Cypr. and Cassiod. omit "domini nostri". Blass accepts this latter form, Hilg. the former. Belser, *u. s.*, thinks that the words might easily be omitted on revision by an author who was not afraid of any obscurity arising after ver. 34

—παρεγενόμενον: a characteristic Lucan expression (Weiss), see above v. 21.—τὸ ὑπερ.: here the article would naturally be used on referring to the chamber, *cf.* ver. 37, in which the body lay.—αἱ χῆραι: they may have been the poor of the Church, vi. 1, whom Dorcas had befriended, or those who had been associated with her in good works (see also Plumptre's suggestive note). In connection with St. Luke's marked sympathy with women, we may note that the word χῆρα is used by him no less than nine times in his Gospel, three in Acts.—κλαίονσαι, *cf.* Luke vii. 13, viii. 52, Hamburger, *u. s.* (ver. 37).—ἐπιδεικ.: only here in middle voice, perhaps as pointing to the garments which they were themselves wearing (so Blass, Wendt, Felten, Grimm-Thayer), which Dorcas had given them.—χιτῶνας: "coats," close-fitting undergarments; the word was used in classical Greek of men and women, more perhaps like a dressing-gown or cassock; "Coat," "Dress," Hastings' B.D.—ἱμάτια, the long flowing outer robes.—ὅσα: "all which," *i. e.*, so many (Blass, Page, Hackett, Knabenbauer); see reading in β (Blass), critical notes.—ἐποίει: imperfect as denoting her customary mode of action.

Ver. 40. ἐκβαλὼν δὲ ἔξω πάντας: nothing could be more natural than this action of St. Peter as a reminiscence of his Master's action, when He was about to perform a similar miracle, *cf.* Matt. ix. 25, Mark v. 40 (*cf.* 2 Kings iv. 33, and vv. 4, 5 in same chapter), but in Luke viii. 54 it is noteworthy that the similar words are omitted by W.H. and the revisers, see above. In St. Matthew the multitude ὁ ὄχλος is put out, but in St. Mark (and St. Luke), whilst all are described as put out (the same verb), Peter, James and John, with the parents,

are allowed to be present at the miracle. Weiss points out the reminiscence of Mark v. 40, but this we might expect if St. Mark's Gospel comes to us through St. Peter. St. Chrysostom marks the action of St. Peter as showing how entirely free he was from any attempt at display.—θείς τὰ γόνατα, see note on vii. 60, "hoc Dominus ipse non fecerat" Blass. St. Peter had been present on each of the three occasions recorded in the Gospels when his Master had raised the dead, but he does not venture at once to speak the word of power, but like Elijah or Elisha kneels down in prayer (see Rendall's note).—Τ. ἀνάστηθι, *cf.* Mark v. 41. Here again we note the close agreement with St. Mark's narrative—the words to the damsel are not given at all by St. Matthew ix. 25, and by St. Luke in Greek, viii. 54, not in Aramaic as by Mark. On the absurdity of identifying the Ταβιθά here with the Ταλιθά of Mark v. 41 see Nösgen and Zöckler, *in loco*. It may suffice to note with Lumby that in each case an interpretation of the word used is given.—ἀνεκάθισε: not found in LXX, and used only by St. Luke in this passage and in his Gospel, vii. 15 (but B has ἐκάθισεν, which W.H. reads only in margin), in both cases of a person restored to life and sitting up. In this *intransitive* sense it is almost entirely confined to medical writers, to describe patients sitting up in bed. It occurs in Plato, *Phædo*, 60 B, but in the middle voice, and with the words ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην expressed; in Xen., *Cyr.*, v., 7, it is also used, but in a different sense (to sit down again), *cf.* Hobart, pp. 11, 40, 41, who also notices that the circumstantial details of the gradual recovery of Tabitha are quite in the style of medical description. τὸ σῶμα, Luke xvii. 37, the word is quite

αὐτῆς· καὶ ἰδοῦσα τὸν Πέτρον, ἀνεκάθισε. 41. δοὺς δὲ αὐτῇ χεῖρα, ἀνέστησεν αὐτήν· φωνήσας δὲ τοὺς ἁγίους καὶ τὰς χήρας, παρέστησεν αὐτὴν ζῶσαν. 42. γνωστὸν δὲ ἐγένετο καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰόππης,<sup>1</sup> 43. καὶ πολλοὶ ἐπίστευσαν ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον· ἐγένετο δὲ ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς μείναι αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἐν Ἰόππῃ παρὰ τινὶ Σίμωνι βυρσεῖ.

<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἰοππῆς, on spelling see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 56. Art. om. by W.H. after BC<sup>1</sup>, but retained here by Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτον om. B<sup>1</sup>B, so Tisch., W.H. (Weiss); and there are various other readings but none possessing such strong support.

classical for a dead body, so too in LXX, cf. Deut. xxi. 23, 1 Kings xiii. 24, 1 Macc. xi. 4, 2 Macc. ix. 29. Everything, as Wendt admits (1888), points to the fact that no apparent death, or a raising by natural means, is thought of by the narrator. Holtzmann and Pfeiderer can only find a parallel here with xx. 9-12, but none can read the two narratives without seeing their independence, except in the main fact that both narrate a similar miracle.—ἤνοιξε τοὺς ὀφθ.: to this there is nothing corresponding in the details given by the Gospel narratives, as Blass points out.

Ver. 41. δοὺς δὲ αὐτῇ χ.: here for help to her to rise, after she had been restored to life, but in the Gospels Christ takes the damsel by the hand *before* she is restored, Mark v. 41, Luke viii. 54. Thus, while retaining a close resemblance, as we might surely expect, to our Lord's action in St. Mark's narrative, there is yet sufficient independence of detail to show that one description is not a slavish imitation of the other.—τὰς χήρας: Rendall sees in the words reference to an organised body, 1 Tim. v. 11-16, engaged in the service of the Church, but the context only points to the widows who had been previously mentioned, *species post genus*, as in ver. 36 (Blass).

Ver. 42. καθ' ὅλης, see above on ver. 31.

Ver. 43. ἐγένετο δὲ, see on ver. 37, Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 45, on the use of ἐγένετο. The phrase also marks (as often in Luke) a transition to the following narrative (Nösgen).—ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς, see on viii. 11, and xxvii. 7. Kennedy speaks of the adjective as used in the vernacular sense of "long," "many," Aristoph., *Pax*, 354.—βυρσεῖ, in classics βυρσοδέψης: it is difficult to suppose that the common estimate of the work of a tanner amongst the Jews as unclean, on account of their constant contact with dead animals, has here no significance. At least the mention of the trade seems to show

that St. Peter was already in a state of mind which would fit him for the further revelation of the next chapter, and for the instructions to go and baptise the Gentile Cornelius. On the detestation in which this trade was held by the Jews, see Wetstein, *in loco*; Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 158; cf. Mishna, *Khethuboth*, vii., 10. It does not in any way militate against the historical character of the narrative, as Overbeck maintains, to admit that the description is meant to introduce the "universalism" of the following incident. Both Chrysostom and Theophylact (so too Erasmus) dwell upon this incident in St. Peter's life as illustrating his unassuming conduct.—Ἰόππῃ, see on ver. 36. Heb. יָפָה, "beauty," *Yaffa*;

see for references Josh. xix. 46, 2 Chron. ii. 16, Jonah i. 3, Ezra iii. 7; the port of Jerusalem from the days of Solomon (from which it was distant some thirty-five miles), situated on a hill so high that people affirmed, as Strabo mentions, that the capital was visible from its summit. It was *comparatively* (Schürer) the best harbour on the coast of Palestine (although Josephus, *B. J.*, iii., 9, correctly describes it as dangerous), and in this lay its chief importance. The Maccabees were well aware of this, and it is of Simon that the historian writes: "With all his glory he took Joppa for an haven, and made an entrance to the isles of the sea" 1 Macc. xiv. 5 (about 144 B.C.). The Judaising of the city was the natural result of the Maccabean occupation, although the Syrians twice retook Joppa, and twice Hyrcanus regained it for the Jews. Taken by Pompey B.C. 63, restored to the Jews by Cæsar 47, Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 4, 4; *B. J.*, i., 7, 7, and *Ant.*, xiv., 10, 6, and at length added to the kingdom of Herod the Great, *Ant.*, xv., 7, 3; *B. J.*, i., 20, 3, Joppa remained Jewish, imbued with all the fanatic patriotism of the mother-city, and in



X. 1. ἌΝΗΡ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ἦν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ὀνόματι Κορνήλιος,  
2. ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης<sup>1</sup> τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς, εὐσεβῆς καὶ  
φοβούμενος τὸν Θεὸν σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, ποιῶν τε ἐλεημοσύνας

<sup>1</sup> σπειρης NACEL, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Hilg.; but σπειρας in BP, Chrys., W.H., alt., App., p. 164.

the fierce revolt of 66 A.D. Joppa still remained alone in her undivided allegiance to Judaism, and against Joppa the first assault of Cestius Gallus was directed. On the Joppa which St. Peter entered, Acts x., and its contrast to the neighbouring Cæsarea, see viii. 40 and G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, p. 136 ff.; see also Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 79 ff. E.T.; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 4, 601; B.D.<sup>2</sup>, "Joppa".

CHAPTER X. *Baptism of Cornelius and his friends.*—Ver. 1. ἄνθρωπος: on the expression see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 202.—ἐν Κ., see viii. 40.

Ver. 2. ἑκατοντάρχης: form general in N.T., and so in later Greek, although χιλιάρχος is always retained in N.T., and ἑκατόνταρχος is also found, Matt. viii. 5, 8 (W.H.), Luke vii. 2, Acts xxii. 25 (W.H.); so πατριάρχης, πολιτάρχης, ἐθνάρχης, see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 82, and note on forms employed in Josephus and LXX; W.H., Appendix, p. 163; Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 28, 68; and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, for various authorities.—ἐκ σπείρης τῆς Ἰ.: the word σπείρα here = *cohors*, although used in the N.T. in a more general way as of the band which arrested Jesus, and so also of Jewish troops in Judith xiv. 11, 2 Macc. viii. 23, xii. 20, 22. Each legion was subdivided into ten cohorts, but besides the legionary cohorts there were auxiliary cohorts, and Josephus mentions that five of these cohorts were stationed at Cæsarea at the time of the death of Herod Agrippa, composed to a great extent at all events of the inhabitants of Cæsarea and Sebaste, *Ant.*, xix., 9, 2; xx., 8, 7. There were in the provinces Italic cohorts composed of volunteer Roman citizens born in Italy, and in answer to the strictures of Schürer, who contends that there was no Italic cohort in Cæsarea at this time, Blass, *in loco*, asks why one of the five cohorts mentioned by Josephus may not have been composed of Roman citizens who had made their home at Cæsarea or Sebaste, a cohort known by the name mentioned. But Ramsay has given great

interest to the subject by his account of a recently discovered inscription at Carnuntum—the epitaph of a young Roman soldier, a subordinate officer in the second Italic cohort, who died at Carnuntum while engaged on detached service from the Syrian army. He sees reason to infer that there was an Italic cohort stationed in Syria in A.D. 69, and although the new discovery does not prove anything with certainty for the period in Acts x., say 40-44 A.D., yet it becomes in every way probable that at that date, when Cornelius is described as in x. 1, an Italic cohort recruited from the east was stationed in the province Syria. But even if it could be shown that no Italic cohort was stationed at Cæsarea from A.D. 6-41, or again from 41-44 in the reign of Herod, it by no means follows that a centurion belonging to the cohort may not have been on duty there. He may have been so, even if his cohort was on duty elsewhere, and it would be a bold thing to deny such a possibility when the whole subject of detached service is so obscure; Ramsay, *Expositor*, September, 1896, also *Expositor*, December, 1896 (Schürer's reply), and January, 1897 (Ramsay); Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 53 ff. E.T.; Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* pp. 260-269; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 108; and Wendt, *in loco*, (1899).—εὐσεβῆς καὶ φ. τὸν Θεόν: the adjective is only used here and in ver. 7 (xxii. 12), and once again in 2 Peter ii. 9 in the N.T. In the LXX it is found four times in Isaiah, thrice as an equivalent of צַדִּיק, xxiv. 16, xxvi. 7 (2), righteous, upright, cf. also Prov. xii. 12, once as an equivalent of לְבָרִי, liberal, generous, see on viii. 2 above; frequent in Ecclus. and Macc., see also Trench, *N.T. Synonyms*, i., p. 196. Taken by itself the word might denote goodness such as might characterise a Gentile, cf. xvii. 23, and its classical use (like the Latin *pietas*); but construed with φ. τὸν Θεόν it certainly seems to indicate that Cornelius was "a God-fearing proselyte" (not to

πολλὰς τῷ λαῷ, καὶ δεόμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ παντός. 3. εἶδεν ἐν  
ὄραματι φανερώς,<sup>1</sup> ὥστε ὦραν ἐννάτην τῆς ἡμέρας, ἄγγελον τοῦ Θεοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὁραματι φαν. om. by Iren.; Blass brackets, and see Pref. to β text, p. xviii. ὡσεὶ add περι, so ῬABCE, many min., Syr. (P. and H.), Boh., Irint., Dam., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; Blass omits in β; evidence for the addition seems conclusive, and περι may have dropped out as superfluous after ὡσεὶ. ἐννάτην; ῬABCEP have ἐνάτην, and Tisch., W.H., Blass, Hilg., see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 55.

be identified it would seem with "proselytes of the gate," although the confusion is common (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 316 E.T.). In Acts this class of proselyte is always so described (or σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν) "they that fear God," i.e., the God of the Jews, cf. x. 22, 35, xiii. 16, 26, etc. All the incidents of the story seem to point to the fact that Cornelius had come into relations with the synagogue, and had learned the name and the fear of the God of Israel, cf. x. 2, 22, 25, without accepting circumcision, see especially Ramsay, *Expositor*, p. 200 (1896), where he corrects his former remarks in *St. Paul*, p. 43; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, "Fremder," i., 3, p. 382; Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 58; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 184, 185; Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i., 103 E.T.; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 101, note, and for a further explanation of the distinction between the σεβόμενοι and the "proselytes of the gate" cf. Muirhead *Times of Christ* (T. & T. Clark), pp. 105, 106.—σὺν παντὶ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ: the centurions of the N.T. are always favourably represented, cf. Matt. viii. 5, Luke vii. 9, xxiii. 47, Acts xxvii. 3. οἶκος here includes not only the family but the whole household, cf. vii. 10, xi. 14, xvi. 31, xviii. 8, etc.; Luke i. 27, x. 5, xix. 9, thus the soldier "who waited on him continually" is also called εὐσεβής. οἶκος (cf. πᾶς ὁ οἶκ. ὅλος ὁ οἶκ.), favourite word with St. Luke in the sense of "family" (Lekebusch, Friedrich) as compared with the other Evangelists, but often found in St. Paul (cf. Hebrews), so also LXX, Gen. vii. 1, xlvii. 12. St. Peter uses the word so in xi. 14, and in 1 Peter ii. 18 we have οἰκῆτος. St. Chrysostom well says: "Let us take heed as many of us as neglect those of our own house" (*Hom.*, xxii.). Cf. too Calvin, *in loco*.—ποιῶν ἑλεμν. τῷ λαῷ, see note on ix. 36; the word occurs frequently in Ecclus. and Tobit, and its occurrence here and elsewhere in Acts illustrates the Jewish use of the term; but although it is true to say that it

does not occur in Acts in any Christian precept, St. Paul applies the word to the collection made from the Christian Churches for his nation at Jerusalem, xxiv. 17, a collection to which he attached so much importance as the true outcome of Christian love and brotherhood, see *l.c.* How highly almsgiving was estimated amongst the Jews we may see from the passages referred to in Hastings' B.D. and B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Uhlhorn's *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, p. 52 ff. E.T.; but it should be remembered that both in Ecclus. and Tobit there are passages in which both almsgiving and fasting are also closely connected with prayer, Ecclus. vii. 10, Tob. xii. 8.—τῷ λ., i.e., Israel, as always in Luke, see above on iv. 25. Both this and his continuous prayer to God, ver. 30, characterise him as half a Jew (Weiss).—διὰ παντός: Luke xxiv. 53, and three times in Acts (once in a quotation, ii. 25), but only used once in Matthew and Mark, and not at all by St. John; on St. Luke's predilection for πᾶς and its compounds see Friedrich, pp. 5, 6. The description of the centurion no doubt reminds us of the description of another centurion in Luke vii. 5 (so Weiss), but we are not obliged to conclude that the centurion here is merely pictured after the prototype there; but the likeness may possibly point to the same source for both narratives, as in some respects the language in the two cases is verbally alike, see Feine.—δεόμενος: "*preces et liberalitas commendantur hic; accedit jejunium*, ver. 30"; so Bengel, and he adds, "Benefici faciunt, quod Deus vult; precantes iidem quod volunt, Deus facit".

Ver. 3. εἶδεν: there is no ground for explaining away the force of the words by assuming that Cornelius had formerly a longing to see Peter. —φανερώς: "openly," R.V.; *manifeste*, Vulgate. The words plainly are meant to exclude any illusion of the senses, not in a trance as in ver. 10, cf. xxii. 17; only here in Luke's writings, cf. 2 Macc. iii. 28.—ὥστε



εἰσελθόντα πρὸς αὐτόν, 4. καὶ εἰπόντα αὐτῷ, Κορνήλιε. ὁ δὲ ἀτενίσας αὐτῷ καὶ ἔμφοβος γενόμενος εἶπε, Τί ἐστι, Κύριε; εἶπε δὲ αὐτῷ, Αἱ προσευχαί σου καὶ αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἀνέβησαν εἰς μνημόσυνον ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ. 5. καὶ νῦν πέμψον εἰς Ἰόππην ἄνδρας, καὶ μετὰπεμψαι Σίμωνα<sup>1</sup> ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος. 6. οὗτος ξενίζεται παρὰ τινι Σίμωνι βυρσεῖ, ᾧ ἐστὶν οἰκία παρὰ θάλασσαν. οὗτος λαλήσει σοι τί σε δεῖ ποιεῖν.<sup>2</sup> 7. ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος ὁ λαλῶν τῷ Κορνήλιῳ, φωνήσας δύο τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ στρατιώτην εὐσεβῆ

<sup>1</sup> After Σίμωνα add τινι W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> οὗτος λαλήσει . . . δεῖ ποιεῖν, whole clause om. NABCELP 13, 61, Vulg. (am. fu. tol.), Syr., P. and H., etc., so W.H., R.V., Hilg., retained by Blass in β on the authority of Vulgcl., Par.<sup>2</sup>, and a few min., evidently case of insertion, cf. ix. 6, xi. 14.

(περὶ): the ὡσεὶ, as Blass points out, intimates the same as περὶ—the dative which is read here by Chrysostom (omit περὶ) is sometimes confused with the accusative in the sense of duration of time, see Blass on ver. 30, and viii. 11 (for the accusative see John iv. 52, Rev. iii. 3), and *Gram.*, p. 93. Cornelius observed without doubt the Jewish hours of prayer, and the vision is represented as following upon, or whilst he was engaged in, prayer, and in answer to it.

Ver. 4. Κορνήλιε, cf. ix. 10 (1 Sam. iii.). Of Cornelius the words of the Evangelical Prophet were true, xliii. 1, "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, I have called thee by thy name; thou art mine".—ἀτενίσας, see above on i. 10.—ἔμφοβος: four times in St. Luke, twice in Gospel, twice in Acts, and always with second aorist participle of γίγνομαι as here, only once elsewhere in N.T., Rev. xi. 13 (with ἐγένοντο); cf. Eccclus. xix. 24 (21), of the fear of God; and in 1 Macc. xiii. 2 both ἐντρομος and ἔμφοβος are apparently found together, cf. Acts vii. 32 and xvi. 29, but in classical Greek the word is used properly actively, *formidolous*.—τί ἐστι, Κύριε; the words, similar to those used by Paul at his conversion, reveal the humility and the attentive attitude and readiness of Cornelius.—αἱ προσ., cf. ii. 22, with article: of regular prayers.—ἀνέβησαν: *tanquam sacrificia*, cf. Ps. cxli. 2, Phil. iv. 18, Heb. xiii. 15, and for the word, 2 Kings iii. 20, Job xx. 6, Ezek. viii. 11, 1 Macc. v. 31.—εἰς μνημόσυνον: in Lev. ii. 2, 9, 16, vi. 12, vi. 15, Num. v. 26 (cf. Eccclus. xxxviii. 11, xlv. 16), the word is used as a translation of the Hebrew

הַזֶּה, "a name given to that portion of the vegetable oblation which was

burnt with frankincense upon the altar, the sweet savour of which ascending to heaven was supposed to commend the person sacrificing to the remembrance and favour of God," a *remembrance offering*. The words at all events express the thought that the prayers and alms of Cornelius had gained the favourable regard of God, and that they would be remembered, and are remembered accordingly (see notes by Wendt, Felten and Holtzmann), the alms being regarded by zeugma as ascending like the prayers. With this passage cf. Tob. xii. 12, 15, and Mr. Ball's note in *Speaker's Commentary*, i., p. 231. "O quam multa in terram cadunt, non ascendant" Bengel, and cf. *Hamlet*, Act iii., Sc. 3: "My words fly up," etc.: see *Book of Enoch*, xlix., 3, for a striking parallel to the thought of raising prayers as a memorial to God, Charles' edition, pp. 70, 284.

Ver. 5. μετὰπεμψαι: middle, his messengers were to perform his wishes; only in Acts in N.T., where it occurs nine times, but found twice in LXX and in Maccabees; so too mostly in the middle in classical writers, although the active is also found in same sense.—Σίμωνα (τινι), see critical notes; as unknown to Cornelius, marked out by his surname as the one of the many who were called Simon.

Ver. 6. ξενίζεται, see ver. 33.—παρὰ θάλασσαν: perhaps to secure water for the purpose of his trade, perhaps because it seems that a tanner was not allowed to carry on his business unless outside the walls of a town, see on ix. 43, at a distance of fifty cubits, see Wendt, *in loco*; Hackett, p. 135.

Ver. 7. οἰκετῶν: one related to the οἶκος, a milder and a narrower term than δοῦλος, which would simply de-

τῶν προσκαρτερούντων αὐτῷ, 8. καὶ ἐξηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα, ἀπέστειλεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἱόππην. 9. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ὁδοιπορούντων ἐκείνων καὶ τῇ πόλει ἐγγιζόντων, ἀνέβη Πέτρος ἐπὶ τὸ δῶμα προσεύξασθαι, περὶ ὧραν ἑκτῇ. 10. ἐγένετο δὲ πρόσπεινος, καὶ ἤθελε γεύσασθαι· παρασκευαζόντων δὲ ἐκείνων, ἐπέπεσεν<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἑκστασις, 11. καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεωγμένον, καὶ καταβαίνον ἐπ' αὐτὸν σκευὸς τι ὡς δόβην μεγάλην, τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς<sup>2</sup> δεδεμένον, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπέπεσεν, but ἐγενετο in  $\Sigma$ ABC 40, 61, Boh., Or., Did., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> δεδεμένον καὶ om.  $\Sigma$ ABC<sup>2</sup>E 40, Vulg., Boh., Aeth., Or., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Blass (but see crit. below), Wendt (as against Meyer). d, Gig., Par. (Syr. Harcl.), Apost. Const. (Hilg.) read τεσσ. ἀρχαῖς δεδ. σκευος τε ως οθονην λαμπραν καθ. ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, so Blass in  $\beta$ , "recte fort." (*cf.*, xi. 5).

note ownership; more closely associated with the family than other servants, οἰκέτας τε καὶ δούλους, *cf.* Rom. xiv. 4, 1 Pet. ii. 18.—εὐσεβῆ: not of itself showing that the soldier had entered into any relationship with the Jews, but in connection with ver. 2 it can scarcely imply less than in the case of Cornelius; of each it might be said, as of St. Paul in his service of Christ, δουλεύον τῷ Κ. μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης (xx. 19), and both master and servant were about to become οἰκέται of a nobler household: οἰκεῖν τοῦ Θεοῦ and συμπολιταὶ τῶν ἁγίων; see xi. 14.—προσκαρτερούντων, see above on chap. i. 14. A good reference is given by Wendt to Dem., 1386, 6, θεραπεῖας τὰς Νεαῖρα τότε προσκαρτερούσας (so too Polyb., xxiv., 5, 3); but see on the other hand Blass, *in loco*. Kuinoel supposes that they acted as house-sentries, but there is no need to limit the service to that; *cf.* viii. 13, and LXX, Susannah, ver. 6.

Ver. 8. ἐξηγησάμενος ἅπαντα: only in Luke in N.T., except once in John i. 18, *cf.* Luke xxiv. 35, Acts xv. 12, 14, xxi. 19, and in LXX, Judg. vii. 13, 1 Chron. xvi. 24, 2 Kings viii. 5, etc. The word plainly suggests the mutual confidence existing between Cornelius and his household (ἅπαντα, as if nothing were forgotten in the communication), Weiss.

Ver. 9. δδοι.: the distance was thirty miles; only here in N.T., not LXX; but ὁδοιπορία is found in N.T. and LXX; ὁδοιπόρος in LXX and Ecclus., but not in N.T.: all three words are found in classical Greek. It is perhaps to be noted that the word here used was also much employed in medical

language (Hobart).—δῶμα: sometimes taken here to mean a room on the roof, or an upper room, but the idea of prayer under the free canopy of heaven is better fitting to the vision; see Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 121; = flat roof in N.T. and LXX; in modern Greek = terrace.—περὶ ὧραν ἑκτῇ: about twelve o'clock, midday; see G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.*, pp. 138-142.

Ver. 10. πρόσπεινος: only here, not found in LXX or classical Greek, probably intensive force in πρὸς, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, although not in R.V.—ἤθελε γεύσασθαι: there is no mention of any long period of previous fasting, as if that would account for the vision; Peter was about to partake of his ordinary meal.—ἐπέπεσεν, see critical notes.—ἑκστασις: represented in such a way as to distinguish it from the δρᾶμα of Cornelius in ver. 3; a trance, an ecstasy in which a person passes out of himself, always in connection with "visions," in what may be called its technical use; sometimes it is used as expressing simple astonishment, *cf.* Acts iii. 10, etc.; for a good account of the word and its various significations in N.T. and LXX, see Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, pp. 121, 122; on the distinction between ἑκστ. and δρ. see Alford, note, *in loco*.

Ver. 11. θεωρεῖ: "beholdeth," historic present, giving vividness.—ὡς δόβν. μεγ. Both words, δόβνη and ἀρχή (in this sense), are peculiar to St. Luke in N.T.—the phrase ἀρχαὶ δόβνης is medical, so that the expression here rendered ends or corners of a sheet is really technical medical phraseology, see Hobart, p. 218, Plummer, *Introd. to St. Luke*, lxxv, Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 436. ἀρχαί is also used



καθιέμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς · 12. ἐν ᾧ ὑπῆρχε πάντα τὰ τετράποδα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ θηρία<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ ἔρπετα καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 13. καὶ ἐγένετο φωνὴ πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἀναστάς,<sup>2</sup> Πέτρε, θύσον καὶ φάγε. 14. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος εἶπε,<sup>3</sup> Μηδαμῶς, Κύριε · ὅτι οὐδέποτε ἔφαγον πᾶν κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον. 15. καὶ φωνὴ πάλιν ἐκ δευτέρου πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἄ<sup>4</sup> ὁ Θεὸς ἐκαθάρισε, σὺ μὴ κοίνου. 16. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρίς · καὶ πάλιν<sup>5</sup> ἀνελήφθη τὸ σκεῦος εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

<sup>1</sup> According to **ΣΑΒ** 61 the words **τα θηρια** and the articles before **ερπετα** and **πετεινα** are to be omitted, and **της γης** to be inserted after **ερπετα** according to **ΣΑΒCE**, etc.; see R.V., W.H., Wendt, Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> For **αναστας Π.**: Aug. has **Πετρε παν ὃ εν τῷ σκευει βλεπεις**, see **β** text (Blass).

<sup>3</sup> For **μηδαμῶς . . . ἀκαθαρτον** Aug. has **Κυριε κοινου και ἀκαθαρτου ουχ αψομαι** (see **β**).

<sup>4</sup> For **ἂ ὁ Θ.** . . . **κοινου** Aug. has **ὃ εγω ηγιασα ἀκαθαρτον μη λεγε** (see **β**). These three readings are preferred by Belser, p. 59, as clearer, and more characteristic in Peter's answer. **εκ δευτερου** om. Gig., Aug., Apost., Const. Blass brackets, and *cf.* xi. 9.

<sup>5</sup> **παλιν**, *cf.* xi. 10; but **ευθυς** is supported by **ΣΑΒCE** 61, Vulg., Boh., Syr. Harcl. mg., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. In **β** Blass omits, for which there is some authority, but evidence for **ευθυς** strongest; Hilg. reads **παλιν**.

in LXX, Exod. xxxvi. 24 (xxxix. 17), **δόδονη** not at all in LXX, but both words are found in classical writers in senses approaching their meaning here; but here as elsewhere in St. Luke it is the combination which arrests attention, for **ἀρχή** and **ἄρχαί** are found again and again in medical language with **δόδονη** or **δόδονιον**.—**τέσσαρσιν ἄρχαῖς**: "by four corners," R.V. No article; there might have been many ends or corners. It is doubtful how far we can therefore press the imagery as referring to the four regions of the world, or that men would come from the north, south, etc., to share the kingdom.

Ver. 12. **τετράποδα κ.τ.λ.**: fish are not mentioned, perhaps because the vessel was not represented as containing water (so Blass, Weiss, Wendt), although fish also were divided into clean and unclean, Lev. xi. 9, Deut. xiv. 9.

Ver. 13. **ἀναστάς**, see above on v. 17: he may have been, as St. Chrysostom says, on his knees.—**θύσον**: the beasts are represented as living—not here in a sacrificial sense, *cf.* Luke xv. 23.

Ver. 14. **Μηδαμῶς**: *absit* (LXX for **ἡλιή**), 1 Sam. xx. 2, xxii. 15 (Weiss).—**Κύριε**: Weiss refers to i. 24, and takes it as meaning Jehovah, but others refer the expression here to Christ; the next

verse shows us that there was still the same element of self-will in the Apostle which had misled the Peter of the Gospels.—**οὐδέποτε . . . πᾶν**: the words of strong negation, characteristic of the vehement and impulsive Peter—Hebraistic, *cf.* Exod. xx. 10, Judg. xiii. 4, and in N.T., Matt. xxiv. 22, Luke i. 37, Rom. iii. 12, 1 Cor. i. 29; Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, pp. 72, 73, and Blass, *Gram.*, p. 174.—**κοινὸν = βέβηλος**; 1 Macc. i. 62, opposed to **ἅγιος**, Lev. x. 10, *cf.* Ezek. xxii. 26, often used in N.T. for unclean, *cf.* Mark vii. 2.—**ἀκάθαρτος**, Lev. xx. 25, of clean and unclean animals; **κοινός** in 1 Macc. above is used, as ver. 63 shows, for defilement from meats.

Ver. 15. The last word of ver. 14 carries us back to the thought of the teaching of his Master, which St. Peter had evidently not yet realised, *cf.* Mark vii. 19. Mark alone draws the inference, "*this He said*, making all meats clean," which, compared with this verse, makes another link of interest between St. Mark and St. Peter.—**ἐκ δευρ. . . ἐπὶ τρίς** (only here and in xi. 10, in classics **εἰς τρίς**), to emphasise the command, *cf.* Gen. xli. 32, "ad confirmationem valuit" Calvin.—**ἐκαθάρισε**, declarative: "de coelo enim nil nisi purum demittitur" Bengel.—**κοίνου**: "make not thou common," R.V., "as though man by his harsh verdict actually created unclean-

17. Ὡς δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ<sup>1</sup> διηπόρει ὁ Πέτρος, τί ἂν εἶη τὸ ὄραμα ὃ εἶδε, καὶ ἰδοῦ, οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Κορνηλίου, διερωτήσαντες τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος, ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πυλῶνα · 18. καὶ φωνήσαντες ἐπυνθάνοντο, εἰ Σίμων ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Πέτρος ἐνθάδε ξενίζεται. 19. Τοῦ δὲ Πέτρου ἐνθυμουμένου<sup>2</sup> περὶ τοῦ ὁράματος, εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ Πνεῦμα, Ἰδοῦ, ἄνδρες τρεῖς<sup>3</sup> ζητοῦσί σε · 20. ἀλλὰ ἀναστὰς κατὰβηθι, καὶ πορεύου σὺν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲν διακρινόμενος · διότι ἐγὼ ἀπέσταλκα αὐτούς. 21. καταβὰς δὲ Πέτρος πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀπεσταλμένους ἀπὸ τοῦ Κορνηλίου πρὸς αὐτόν, εἶπεν, Ἰδοῦ, ἐγὼ εἰμι ὃν

<sup>1</sup> After εαυτῷ D, Par., Aug., add εγενετο, "when P. came to himself, he doubted . . .," so Hilg., cf. xii. 11.

<sup>2</sup> ἐνθυμουμένου, but ΞABCDELP have διενθ., so all edd. αὐτῷ το Πν. om. B, Boh., so W.H. text, Weiss, Wendt (probably). Par. prefixes ετι before διεν., and Par., Syr. Harcl. καὶ διαπορουντος before περι.

<sup>3</sup> τρεῖς ΞACE 13, 61, many verss.; Lach. [W.H. marg.], R.V., Hilg.; δυο B, W.H. text, Weiss; om. DHLP, Syr. H., Apost. Const., Cyr.-Jer., Chrys., Aug., Amb.; so Tisch., Blass, Wendt. Those who favour omission contend that τρεῖς comes from xi. 11, δυο from ver. 7. But Weiss maintains that δυο is quite correct, as in ver. 7, the soldier is regarded as a guard for the two servants who convey the message: this was overlooked, and δυο was either allowed to drop out, or was changed into τρεῖς, cf. xi. 11. It is possible that if τρεῖς was original it fell out after ἄνδρες (-ΔΡΕCΤΡΕΙC).

ness where God had already bestowed His cleansing mercy in Christ" (Rendall). We cannot limit the words, as has been attempted, to the single case of Cornelius, or refer them only to the removal of the distinction between clean and unclean meats.

Ver. 16. πάλιν: if we read εὐθύς, see critical notes, we have St. Mark's characteristic word (used by St. Luke only here in Acts, and once in Luke vi. 49), a suggestive fact in a section of the book in which the pen or the language of St. Peter may fairly be traced.

Ver. 17. διηπόρει: "was much perplexed," R.V., cf. ii. 12, v. 24; see Page's note, *Acts*, p. 145.—τί ἂν εἶη: on the optative in indirect questions used by St. Luke only, with or without ἂν, see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 112; Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, pp. 80, 133.—διερωτήσαντες: only here in N.T., but in LXX, but in classical Greek for asking constantly or continually; preposition intensifies. Here it may imply that they had asked through the town for the house of Cornelius (Weiss).—πυλῶνα, cf. xii. 13 (and Blass, *in loco*). R.V. renders not "porch," as in Matt. xxvi. 71, but "gate," as if it were θύρα. The πυλὼν was properly the passage which led from the street through the front part of the house to the inner court. This was closed next the street

by a heavy folding gate with a small wicket kept by a porter (see Alford on Matt., *u. s.*, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*).

Ver. 18. φωνήσαντες: "having called out some one of the servants" (Blass, Alford, Kuinoel), but = "called" simply, R.V.; "vocantes portæ curatorem," Wetstein.

Ver. 19. ἐνθυμουμένου: compound verb best, see critical notes: "pondered on the vision," Rendall; διενθ. verb = to weigh in the mind, only here, not found in LXX or elsewhere, except in ecclesiastical writers.—ἄνδρες τρεῖς, so A. and R.V., see critical notes.

Ver. 20. μηδὲν διακ.: "nothing doubting," *i.e.*, without hesitation as to its lawfulness, cf. Matt. xxi. 21, Rom. xiv. 23, Mark xi. 23, James i. 6; the verb is not so used in classical Greek. See Mayor's note on James i. 6, apparently confined in this sense to N.T. and later Christian writings. For the active voice see xi. 12, xv. 9. If we read a stop after διακ. and διότι or ὅτι immediately following, we may translate, "nothing doubting; for I have sent them," R.V.; but if no punctuation (so Rendall, Weiss) translate, "nothing doubting that I have sent them," *i.e.*, the fact that I have sent them. In either case ἐγὼ emphatic. Nothing had been spoken to him of his journey, but in the path of unhesitating obedience he was led to the meaning of the revelation (cf. John xiii. 7).



ζητεῖτε<sup>1</sup>. τίς ἡ αἰτία δι' ἣν πάρεστε; 22. οἱ δὲ εἶπον, Κορνήλιος ἑκατοντάρχης, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ φοβούμενος τὸν Θεόν, μαρτυρούμενός τε ὑπὸ ὅλου τοῦ ἔθνους τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐχρηματίσθη ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου ἁγίου, μεταπέμψασθαί σε εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι ῥήματα παρὰ σοῦ. 23. εἰσκαλεσάμενος<sup>2</sup> οὖν αὐτοὺς ἐξένισε. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ὁ Πέτρος ἐξῆλθε σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τινες τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς<sup>3</sup> Ἰόππης συνήλθον αὐτῷ. 24. καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον εἰσῆλθον<sup>4</sup> εἰς τὴν Καισάρειαν· ὁ δὲ Κορνήλιος ἦν προσδοκῶν αὐτοῦς, συγκαλεσάμενος

<sup>1</sup> After ζητεῖτε D, Syr. Harcl. add τι θελετε; (ῥ) κ.τ.λ. looks like an anticipatory gloss of τις ἡ αἰτία.

<sup>2</sup> For εἰσκαλεσαμενος D, Par. read εἰσαγαγων, a fairly common word (six times in Acts), but εἰσκ. "απ. λεγ." in N.T.

<sup>3</sup> The art. before I. should be omitted, on the evidence of ΞABCDEHLP; Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>4</sup> εἰσηλθον—but BD 47, 61, Vulg., Syr. Harcl. text, Aeth. εἰσηλθεν, so W.H., R.V., marg., Weiss, Hilg.—but plural AEHLP (εἰσηλθαν in ΞC), and several vers., Chrys., Tisch., Blass. Alford thinks sing. a corr. to suit ἐξῆλθεν above; but, on the other hand, as the sing. lies between several plurals, transcriptional prob. seems to favour it. Καισάρειαν, see on viii. 40. D, Syr. Harcl. Par.<sup>1</sup> add περιεμενεν at the end of verse retained by Blass and Hilg., see Weiss, Codex D, p. 68, on its possible force here.

Ver. 22. δίκαιος: "sensu Judaico" (Blass), cf. Luke i. 6, ii. 25, xxiii. 50.—μαρτ., see on vi. 3. τε closely joins it, as confirming the judgment. On construction with ὑπὸ in inscriptions, Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 95.—ἔθνους τῶν Ἰ.: ἔθνος in the mouth of Gentiles, cf. Luke vii. 5 and see above on iv. 25.—ἐχρηματίσθη: "was warned of God," R.V., Matt. ii. 12, 22, Luke ii. 26, cf. Heb. viii. 5, xi. 7, and Jos., *Ant.*, iii., 8, 8; see Westcott, *Hebrews*, p. 217. For use of the active in LXX, see Jer. xxxiii. (xxvi.) 2, cf. also xi. 26.—ἁγίου: only here with ἀγγέλου, expressing the reverence of these pious men (Weiss).

Ver. 23. εἰσκ.: only used here in N.T., so μετακ. in ver. 32; both verbs are also frequent in medical writers, as Hobart urges, but both are found in classical Greek, and the latter three times in LXX, although the former not at all.—ἐξένισε, *recepit hospitio*, Vulgate, cf. Heb. xiii. 2, and Westcott, *l.c.*; verb used six times in Acts in this sense, but nowhere else in N.T.; cf. *Ecclus.* xxix. 25. In this Christian hospitality to Gentile strangers Peter had taken another step towards understanding what the will of the Lord was.—τινες τῶν ἀδελφῶν = xi. 12.

Ver. 24. On the route see Edersheim,

*Jewish Social Life*, p. 27; and on this and the following verse in β text as specially supporting his theory, see Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 116 ff. and 127.—ἦν προσδοκῶν: characteristic Lucan construction, see above i. 10; cf. Luke i. 21. προσδ., favourite with St. Luke; six times in Gospel, five in Acts, elsewhere in Gospels only twice in Matthew.—συγκ., i.e., on the day on which he expected the advent of Peter and the returning messengers as to a feast; they were probably also fearers of the true God, and of a like mind with Cornelius.—ἀναγκαίους, *necessarios* cf. Jos., *Ant.*, vii., 14, 4; xi., 6, 4; xiii., 7, 2, etc., and instances in Wetstein.

Ver. 25. ὡς δὲ ἐγέν. (τοῦ) εἰσ.: for τοῦ see critical notes; "and when it came to pass that Peter entered," R.V., i.e., into the house, see Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 139. It may be regarded as an extension of τοῦ beyond its usual sphere, see Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, for instances in LXX, pp. 166, 170 (1893). Simcox regards the sense as much the same as in the common (and specially Lucan), ἐγένετο τὸν Π. εἰσελθεῖν.—προσεκύνησεν (cf. xiv. 15): expressive of lowliest humiliation, but not of necessity involving divine worship, cf. LXX, Gen. xxiii. 7, 12, etc. Weiss thinks that as the verb is used here absolutely, as in viii. 27, the act was

τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαίους φίλους. 25.<sup>1</sup> Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Πέτρον, συναντήσας αὐτῷ ὁ Κορινθίος, πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας προσεκύνησεν. 26. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος αὐτὸν ἤγειρε λέγων, Ἀνάσθηθι.<sup>2</sup> καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπός εἰμι. 27. καὶ συνομιλῶν αὐτῷ, εἰσῆλθε, καὶ εὗρίσκει συνεληλυθότας πολλούς, ἔφη τε πρὸς αὐτούς, 28. Ὑμεῖς<sup>3</sup> ἐπίστασθε ὡς ἀθέμιτόν ἐστιν ἀνδρὶ Ἰουδαίῳ κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἄλλοφύλῳ· καὶ ἔμοι ὁ Θεὸς ἔδειξε μηδένα κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον λέγειν ἄνθρωπον· 29. διὸ καὶ ἀναντιρρήτως<sup>4</sup> ἤλθον μετα-

<sup>1</sup> For the whole verse D, Syr. Harcl., Gig. read *προσεγγίζοντος δε του Π.* (εις την Κ.) *προδραμων εις των δουλων δισαφησεν παραγεγονεναι αυτον.* D, Syr. Harcl. read also ο δε Κ. *εκπηδησας και συναντησας αυτω.* Hilg. reads as above and Belser strongly supports β text, p. 60; so Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 63, who calls these details "as lifelike as anything we could wish," but see also Corssen, *G. G. A.*, p. 437, Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 68, and Wendt, *in loco*, edit. 1899, where he refers the expansion in Western text to a misunderstanding of *εἰσελθεῖν* in a text. After *εγεν.* ΞABCELP, Tisch, Weiss., W.H. read *του.*

<sup>2</sup> D, Syr. Harcl., Par., Wern. read *τι ποιεις*; (cf. Acts xiv. 15); whilst D omits *αναστηθι*, the others read it after *ποιεις*. Par.<sup>2</sup>, Wern. add *τον Θεον προσκυνει*, cf. Apoc. xix. 10, xxii. 9, so after *ειμι* DE, Gig., Par., Wern. add *ως και συ.*

<sup>3</sup> After *υμεις* D, Aug. insert *βελτιον*, so Hilg. (cf. compar. in iv. 16, β).

<sup>4</sup> *αναντιρρητως*, so Tisch., Blass, Weiss; but *αναντιρητως* BD, 61, W.H., Hilg.

one of worship towards one regarded after the vision as a divine being; but on the other hand the language of the vision by no means involved such a belief on the part of Cornelius (see ver. 5), and as a worshipper of the one true God he would not be likely to pay such divine worship.

Ver. 26. The conduct of Christ may be contrasted with that of His Apostles, so Blass: "illi (Petro) autem is honor recusandus erat, cf. Apoc., 19, 10; 22, 8; quem nunquam recusavit Jesus, Luc., 4, 8; 8, 41" (see Hackett's note and Knabenbauer *in loco*).

Ver. 27. *καὶ συνομιλῶν αὐτῷ*: "and as he talked with him," R.V.; only here in N.T., not in LXX (but *συνόμιλος*, Symm. Job xix. 19), cf. xx. 11 for similar use of the simple verb *ὁμιλέω*, which is also used in a similar sense in LXX and in Josephus (so too in Xen.), and also in modern Greek (Kennedy).—*εἰσῆλθε*, i.e., into the room, in distinction to ver. 25 of entrance into the house, or it may signify the completion of his entering in (so De Wette, Weiss).

Ver. 28. *ἀθέμιτον*: only once again in N.T., and significantly in 1 Pet. iv. 3, but cf. for a similar sense to its use here 2 Macc. vi. 5, vii. 1. On the extent to which this feeling was carried see Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, pp. 26-28; Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 15, 26, 137 (second edition); Weber, *Jüdische*

*Theologie*, p. 68; so too Jos., *c. Apion*, ii., 28, 29, 36; Juvenal, xiv., 103; Tacitus, *Hist.*, v., 5.—*κολλᾶσθαι*, see on v. 13 and Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, *in loco*.—*προσερχεσθαι*: objected to by Zeller and Overbeck, because we know of instances where Jews went without scruple into the houses of Gentiles (cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 2, 3); but here the whole context plainly shows what kind of intercourse was intended (see also Wetstein). Hilgenfeld too regards the notice as unhistorical, but an answer may be found to his objections in the references above and in Feine, pp. 202, 204, although his language seems inconsistent with that on p. 205.—*ἄλλοφύλῳ*: in the LXX and Apocrypha, so in Philo and Josephus as here; nowhere else in N.T. but here with a certain delicate touch, avoiding the use of the word "heathen"; in xi. 3 no such delicacy of feeling.—*καὶ*: not "but," A.V., but as in R.V., "and yet," i.e., in spite of all these prohibitions and usages.—*ὁ Θεός*: emphatic, preceding *ἔδειξε* (Weiss). How fully Peter afterwards lived and preached this truth his First Epistle shows, cf. 1 Pet. ii. 17.

Ver. 29. *ἀναντιρρήτως*: only here in N.T., but see xix. 36; on spelling see critical notes; used also by Polyb. "sanctum fidei silentium" (Calvin).—*μεταπεμφθεῖς*: only here in passive in N.T., see ver. 22.



πεμφθείς. πυνθάνομαι οὖν, τίνι λόγῳ μετεπέμψασθέ με; 30. Καὶ ὁ Κορινθίλος ἔφη, Ἄπο τετάρτης ἡμέρας<sup>1</sup> μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἤμην νηστεύων, καὶ τὴν ἐνάτην ὥραν προσευχόμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ μου· καὶ ἰδοὺ, ἀνὴρ ἔσθη ἐνώπιόν μου ἐν ἐσθῇτι λαμπρᾷ, 31. καὶ φησι, Κορινθίλιε, εἰσηκούσθη σου ἢ προσευχή, καὶ αἱ ἐλεημοσύναι σου ἐμνήσθησαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ· 32. πέμψον οὖν εἰς Ἰόππην, καὶ μετακάλεσαι Σίμωνα ὃς ἐπικαλεῖται Πέτρος· οὗτος ξενίζεται ἐν οἰκίᾳ Σίμωνος βυρσέως παρὰ θάλασσαν· ὃς<sup>2</sup> παραγενόμενος λαλήσει σοι. 33. ἐξαυτῆς οὖν ἔπεμψα πρὸς σέ· σύ τε καλῶς ἐποίησας παραγενόμενος.<sup>3</sup> νῦν οὖν πάντες ἡμεῖς ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ πάρεσμεν ἀκοῦσαι πάντα τὰ προστεταγμένα σοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἀπο τ. ἡμέρας; Blass emends: τετάρτην ἡμέραν ταυτην, a more usual construction, but β emendation has no support. τετάρτης—D reads της τριτης, due, perhaps, to diff. modes of calculation, so Hilg. For ταυτης της ωρας D reads της αρτι ωρας (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 11), so Hilg. νηστευων και om. NABC 61, Vulg., Boh., Arm., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt (against Meyer). ἐνατην, on spelling see above. ωραν om. NABCD 40, 61, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> ὃς παραγεν. . . . σοι om. NAB 3, 15, 18, 61, Vulg., Boh., Aethro, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; retained by Blass in β and by Hilg., following CDEHLP, Syr. P. and H., Sah., Gig. and Par.

<sup>3</sup> παραγενόμενος, D inserts εν ταχει before (ix. 38), and so Hilg. Instead of ἐνώπιον του Θ. Blass (so Hilg.) reads σου ("verum puto"), so D, d, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Aeth., Par.—here Western reading may be correct, as ἐνωπ. του Θ. is so common in N.T., and might easily creep in, but see also Weiss, Codex D, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> Θεου DHLP, Par., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Chrys., so Hilg.; but Κυριου NABCE, Vulg., Boh., Syr. Harcl., Arm., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, and so too Blass.

Ver. 30. For readings see critical notes. "Four days ago, until this hour, I was keeping the ninth hour of prayer," R.V., this hour, *i.e.*, the present hour, the hour of Peter's visit; four days ago reckoned from this present hour, *lit.*, "from the fourth day," "quarto abhinc die". The four days according to the Jewish mode of reckoning would include the day of the vision and departure of the messengers, the day they reached Joppa, the day of their return with Peter, and the day of their reaching Cæsarea. Cornelius wishes to signify two things: (1) that the vision occurred, even to the hour, four days before Peter's arrival; (2) that this period of time when it occurred was the ninth hour.—ἐν ἐσθῇτι λαμπρᾷ, see on i. 11, "cur illum contemneremus et fugeremus cui angeli ministrant?" Wetstein.

Ver. 31. εἰσηκούσθη: perhaps "was heard" or "has been heard" is best (see Rendall and Hackett). ἢ προσ. may refer to his present prayer, as it is in the singular, but the burden of all his past prayers had doubtless been the same, *cf.* ver. 33 for God's guidance into truth.—

ἐμνήσθησαν, *cf.* LXX, Ps. xix. 3, Ezek. xviii. 22, 24; Rev. xvi. 19.

Ver. 33. ἐξαυτῆς, *sc.*, ὥρας: four times in Acts, otherwise only once in Mark vi. 25 and once in Phil. ii. 23, not in LXX; for instances in Polyb., Jos., see Wetstein, *sub* Mark *l.c.*—καλῶς ἐποίησας, *cf.* Phil. iv. 14, 2 Pet. i. 19, 3 John ver. 6, 1 Macc. xii. 18, 22. In some instances it may be described as a formula of expressing thanks, see Page's note.—ἀκοῦσαι: as in iv. 20, *i.e.*, to obey.—ἐνώπ. τοῦ Θ.: this is the way we ought to attend to God's servants, Chrys., *Hom.*, xxii.

Ver. 34. ἀνοίξας κ.τ.λ.: a solemn formula, *cf.* viii. 35, xviii. 14, Matt. v. 2, xiii. 35; Hort, *Judaistic Christ.*, p. 57.—ἐπ' ἀληθ.: used in Luke's Gospel three times, iv. 25, xx. 21, xxii. 59, and in Acts twice, iv. 27, x. 34, elsewhere only twice in N.T., Mark xii. 14, 32; the customary ἐν ἀληθείᾳ is altogether wanting in Luke.—καταλαβ.: three times in Acts, not found in Luke's Gospel; here=*mente comprehendendo*, *cf.* Eph. iii. 15, similar sense; so in Plato, Polybius, and Philo.—προσωπολήπτης, see Mayor on James

34. Ἀνοίξας δὲ Πέτρος τὸ στόμα εἶπεν, Ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ Θεός, 35. ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁ φοβούμενος αὐτὸν καὶ ἐργαζόμενος δικαιοσύνην δεκτὸς αὐτῷ ἔστι. 36. τὸν λόγον ὃν<sup>1</sup> ἀπέστειλε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ, εὐαγγελιζόμενος εἰρήνην διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, (οὗτός ἐστι πάντων Κύριος,) 37. ὑμεῖς οἴδατε τὸ γεγόμενον ῥῆμα καθ' ὅλην τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἀρξάμενον<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ

<sup>1</sup> ὃν  $\Sigma^* \text{CDEHLP}$ , Syr. Chrys., Weiss; but wanting in  $\Sigma^a \text{AB}$  61, W.H., R.V. marg. Blass rejects  $\text{Κυριος}$ : the word which God sent, this (word) applies to, appertains to, all men. But it has been not unfairly said that almost as good result follows by omitting *ὃν* on good authority, as by omitting *K*. on no authority. Blass parallels for his explanation xxvii. 23, Luke iv. 7, but it may be questioned whether these are quite exact. See also below. Clemen (p. 108) regards the whole verse as marg. note of his R. Antijud., which crept into the text by mistake with 37<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> ἀρξάμενον LP 31, 61, and so Weiss, Wendt; ἀρξάμενος  $\Sigma \text{ABCDEH}$  40, so Lach., Tisch., W.H., R.V., see below. Blass regards  $\alpha\rho\varsigma$ . . . . Gal. as interpolated after Luke xxiii. 5, and brackets in  $\beta$ . See also Wendt, note edit. 1899. Clemen, p. 108, refers the whole of 37<sup>b</sup> to his R. Antijud.; cf. i. 22. After  $\alpha\rho\varsigma$ . DA, Par., Vulg., Iren. add  $\gamma\alpha\rho$ , so Hilg.; Blass rejects.

ii. 1,  $\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu\text{-}\lambda\alpha\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\nu$ . The actual word is not found in LXX (or in classical Greek), but for the thought of God as no respecter of persons see Deut. x. 17, Lev. xix. 15, Mal. ii. 9, etc., etc., and Luke xx. 21, Gal. ii. 16 (so too  $\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\lambda\eta\mu\psi\iota\alpha$  in N.T. three times). The expression  $\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\lambda\alpha\mu\beta$ . is Hebraistic, not necessarily in a bad sense, and in the O.T. more often in a good one, but in the N.T. always in a bad sense, since  $\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\omicron\nu$  acquired the meaning of what was simply external (through its secondary signification *a mask*) in contrast to a man's real intrinsic character, but the noun and adj. always imply favouritism: see Lightfoot on Gal. ii. 6 and Plummer on Luke xx. 21. Even the enemies acknowledged our Lord's God-likeness at least in this respect, Matt. xxii. 16, Mark xii. 14, Luke xx. 21.

Ver. 35. ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει κ.τ.λ. The words are taken by Ramsay to mean that Cornelius was regarded as a proselyte by Peter, and that only on that condition could he be admitted to the Christian Church, i.e., through Judaism; so apparently St. Paul, pp. 42, 43. On the other hand the general expression  $\epsilon\rho\gamma\alpha\zeta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota$ . inclines Weiss to refer all the words to the piety attainable by a heathen, who need not be a proselyte. Bengel's words should always be borne in mind: "non indifferentissimus religionum sed indifferentia nationum hic asseritur," see also below, and Knabenbauer, p. 193.—δεκτὸς: "acceptable to him," R.V., and this is best, because it better expresses the thought that fearing God and working righteousness place a

man in a state preparatory for the salvation received through Christ, a reception no longer conditioned by nationality, but by the disposition of the heart. St. Peter does not speak of each and every religion, but of each and every nation, and ver. 43 plainly shows that he by no means loses sight of the higher blessedness of the man whose sin is forgiven through conscious belief in Christ; cf. the language of St. Paul, Rom. x. 9-14. δεκτὸς only in Luke and Paul in N.T., in LXX frequently, and once in the recently discovered *Sayings of Jesus*, No. 6, which agrees remarkably with St. Luke iv. 24.

Ver. 36. For readings see critical notes; translate: "the word he sent unto" R.V., cf. Ps. cvii. 20.—λόγον, cf. for use of the word as a divine message iv. 31, viii. 14, 25, xiii. 26, xiv. 3, xvi. 32; here it may mean the Gospel message sent to Israel as distinct from the τὸ ῥῆμα, i.e., the previous teaching of John the Baptist (see Rendall); but R.V. like A.V. regards ῥῆμα and ἰ. τὸν ἀπὸ N. as in apposition to λόγον, but Rendall and Weiss place a full stop after  $\text{Κύριος}$ , and begin a new sentence with ὑμεῖς.—εὐαγγελ. εἰρήνην with the accusative as signifying the contents of the glad tidings, cf. v. 42.—οὗτός ἐστι πάντων K.: the parenthetical turn given to the words seem to express the way in which the speaker would guard against the thought that Jesus of Nazareth was simply on a level with those who were spoken of as ἀπόστολοι, as the ἀπέστειλε might perhaps suggest to his hearers (see Nösgen). The words are simply the natural ex-



τῆς Γαλιλαίας, μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα ὁ ἐκήρυξεν Ἰωάννης· 38. Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ, ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ Θεὸς Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει, ὃς διήλθεν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἰώμενος πάντας τοὺς καταδυναστευομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ· 39. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν μάρτυρες πάντων ὧν ἐποίησεν ἐν τε τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ· ὃν ἀνεῖλον<sup>1</sup> κρεμάσαντες ἐπὶ ξύλου. 40. τοῦτον ὁ Θεὸς ἤγειρε τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ἐμφανῇ

<sup>1</sup> ανεῖλον; in ΞABCDE καὶ ανεῖλαν, so Tisch., W. H., Blass, R. V., Weiss, Hilg., see Kennedy, p. 160, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 112. After on Blass inserts ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, but no Greek MS., quite insuff.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ΞCABD<sup>2</sup>EHL P, so W. H., Blass; with prep. ἐν prefixed Ξ<sup>2</sup>C 31, so Tisch., Weiss (Wendt doubtful). Hilg. follows D and reads the phrase in the acc.

pression of the divine power and authority already assigned by St. Peter to our Lord, cf. ii. 33, 36 (cf. Rom. x. 12); on their explanation by St. Athanasius and their place in the Arian controversy, see *Four Discourses against the Arians*, iv., 30, E. T. (Schaff and Wace edition). On Blass's "brilliant suggestion" to omit K., see Blass, *in loco* (he seems to think that κοινός is possible), and Page, *Classical Review*, p. 317, July, 1897.

Ver. 37. τὸ ῥῆμα: so far Peter has referred to a message which would be unknown to Cornelius, the message of peace through Christ, but he now turns to what Cornelius probably did know by report at all events; τὸ ῥ. not the λόγος of ver. 36, but only the "report".—καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰ., i. e., all Palestine including Galilee, cf. ii. 9, xi. 1, 29, St. Luke i. 5 (iv. 44), vii. 17, xxiii. 5, see on ix. 31, 42 above.—ἀρξάμενον, see critical notes; cf. i. 22 and Luke xxiii. 5. If we read the accusative it agrees with ῥῆμα (see above); if the nominative, cf. for a similar construction Luke xxiv. 47, and see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 81. The abruptness of the construction is quite in accordance with that elsewhere marked in St. Peter's speeches, cf. ii. 22-24, iii. 14 ff.

Ver. 38. Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἀπὸ N.: in apposition to ῥῆμα, the person in Whom all else was centred, and in Whom Peter had found and now preached "the Christ"; or may be treated as accusative after ἔχρισεν.—ὡς ἔχρ.: taken by St. Ambrose, St. Cyril of Jerusalem (so by Bede) to refer to the Incarnation, by St. Athanasius to the Baptism only. But the expression may also be connected with the entrance of our Lord upon His ministry at Nazareth, cf. Luke iv. 14; cf. in this passage the mention of Nazareth and Galilee.—εὐεργετῶν: our Lord

was really εὐεργέτης, cf. Luke xxii. 25 (only in St. Luke); "far more truly used of Christ than of Ptolemy the king of Egypt," Cornelius à Lapide.—καταδυναστευομένους: only elsewhere in James ii. 6 in N. T., but cf. Wisdom ii. 10, xv. 14, Eccclus. xlviii. 12, Jos., *Ant.*, xii., 2, 3. No doubt other diseases besides those of demoniacal possession are included, cf. especially Luke xiii. 11, 16; but a special emphasis on the former exactly corresponds to the prominence of a similar class of disease in Mark i. 23.—ὁ Θεὸς ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ, cf. vii. 9, John iii. 2, so also Luke i. 28, 66, and in LXX, Judg. vi. 16. We cannot see in the expression a "low" Christology; St. Peter had first to declare that Jesus was the Christ, and it is not likely that he would have entered upon a further exposition of His Person in his introductory discourse with a Gentile convert; but vv. 42 and 43 below, to say nothing of St. Peter's public addresses, certainly do not point to a humanitarian Christ.

Ver. 39. ἀνεῖλον, see above, p. 155.—κρεμάσαντες, p. 154.

Ver. 40. ἐν τῇ τ. ἡμ.: only alluded to here in Acts, but a positive testimony from St. Peter to the resurrection appearances on the third day, 1 Cor. xv. 4; the expression is specially emphasised by St. Luke in his Gospel, where it occurs some six times.—ἐμφανῇ γεν.: a phrase only found here and in Rom. x. 20, in a quotation from Isa. lvi. 1, "to be made manifest," R. V., *viz.*, that He was the same Person as before His Passion, not "openly showed," A. V., which gives an idea not in accordance with the present context.

Ver. 41. οὐ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, and therefore Cornelius could not have known the details fully. Theophylact well remarks,

γενέσθαι, 41. οὐ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, ἀλλὰ μάρτυσι τοῖς προκεχειροτονημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῖν, οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ, μετὰ τὸ ἀναστήναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. 42. καὶ παρήγγειλεν<sup>2</sup> ἡμῖν κηρύξαι τῷ λαῷ, καὶ διαμαρτύρασθαι, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ὀρισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κριτὴς ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. 43. τούτῳ πάντες οἱ προφῆται μαρτυροῦσιν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν λαβεῖν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα εἰς αὐτόν. 44. Ἔτι λαλοῦντος τοῦ Πέτρου τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, ἐπέπεσε<sup>3</sup> τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐπὶ πάντας

<sup>1</sup> After συνεπ. αὐτῷ D, Par., Syr. H. (cf. Wern.) add καὶ συναεστραφημεν; D<sup>1</sup> has συστραφημεν, cf. Matt. xvii. 22; συστρεφομενων, W.H.; αναστρεφομενων in CD, etc. St. Luke himself never uses συστρεφω in this sense, nor αναστρεφω at all; but Hilg. συναεστραφημεν, and compares D xi. 28, and xvi. 39; see, however, note on xi. 28. After νεκρων D, Sah. (Wern.), Apost. Const. (Syr. H. mg.) (cf. E also) add ημερας τεσσαρακοντα, so Hilg., see Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 44; Ephrem's commentary implies such a reading of the old Syriac. Par. also adds καὶ ανεβη εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, see Harris, u. s., for addition in Ephrem.

<sup>2</sup> παρηγγειλε, D has ενετειλατο; but παραγγελλω is also a favourite word with Luke; an instance where D seems to be a reminiscence of i. 2. τῷ λαῷ om. Par., Blass brackets, see below. αὐτος but οὗτος BCDE, Syrr. P. and H., Sah., Boh., Lach., W.H., Hilg., Wendt, Weiss, R.V.; Tisch. and Meyer follow ζΑHP 61, Vulg., Aeth., Iren., Chrys., and read αὐτος, see Wendt's note in 1899, and also former edit. in favour of οὗτος.

<sup>3</sup> επεπεσε ζΒEHL P; all edd. επεσε AD.

"If even the disciples were incredulous, and needed touch and talk, what would have happened in the case of the many?"—προκεχειροτονημένοις, i.e., by God; only here, not used in LXX or Apocrypha; in classical Greek in same sense as here, see xiv. 23 for the simple verb. The preposition points back to the choice of the disciples with a view to bearing their testimony, i. 18, so that their witness was no chance, haphazard assertion.—συνεφάγ., cf. Luke xxiv. 41, 43 (John xxi. 13), see also Ignat., *ad Smyrn.*, iii., 3 (*Apost. Const.*, vi., 30, 5).—συνεπίομεν: it is surely a false method of criticism which cavils at this statement, because in St. Luke's Gospel nothing is said of drinking, only of eating (see Plummer, *in loco*). Bede comments: "here Peter mentions what is not in the Gospel, unless intimated when He says 'until I drink it new'" etc.

Ver. 42. παρήγγειλεν: charged us, see on i. 4.—διαμαρτύρ., see above on ii. 40, viii. 25.—ὁ ὀρισμένος, see ii. 23, cf. xvii. 31, in a strikingly similar statement by St. Paul at Athens. St. Peter and St. Paul are both at one in their witness to the Resurrection of the Christ on the third day, and also in their witness to His appointment as the future Judge of mankind. This startling claim made

by St. Peter with reference to Jesus of Nazareth, with Whom he had lived on terms of closest human intimacy, and in Whose death he might well have seen the destruction of all his hopes, is a further evidence of the change which had passed over the Apostle, a change which could only be accounted for by the belief that this same Jesus was risen and declared to be the Son of God with power; cf. Enoch xli. 9, edition Charles; *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 403.—κριτὴς ζ. καὶ ν., cf. 1 Pet. iv. 5; the words point back to the universal lordship of Christ over Jew and Gentile alike, ver. 36, cf. Rom. xiv. 9.

Ver. 43. πάντα τὸν πιστεύοντα, cf. Rom. x. 11, whether Jew or Gentile; the phrase emphatic at the close of the verse, cf. Rom. iii. 22. There is no occasion to refer the words to a reviser in their Pauline meaning (Weiss); St. Peter in reality says nothing more than he had already said and implied, ii. 38, iii. 16, 26.

Ver. 44. ἔτι λ.: the Apostle is apparently interrupted (cf. xi. 15); but in this instance we can agree with Overbeck that the concluding phrase, in its relation to ver. 34 and its proof that God was no respecter of persons, gives to the whole speech a perfect completeness (so



τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸν λόγον. 45. καὶ ἐξέστησαν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς πιστοὶ ὅσοι <sup>1</sup> συῆλθον τῷ Πέτρῳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος ἐκκέχυται. 46. ἤκουον γὰρ αὐτῶν λαλούντων γλώσσαις,<sup>2</sup> καὶ μεγαλυνόντων τὸν Θεόν. 47. τότε ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Πέτρος, Μήτι τὸ ὕδωρ κωλύσαι δύναται τις τοῦ μὴ βαπτισθῆναι τούτους, οἵτινες τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἔλαβον καθὼς <sup>3</sup> καὶ ἡμεῖς; 48. προσέταξε τε αὐτοὺς <sup>4</sup> βαπτισθῆναι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου.<sup>5</sup> τότε ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν ἐπιμεῖναι ἡμέρας τινάς.

<sup>1</sup> ὅσοι retained by Tisch., W.H. marg., Blass, Hilg., and even Weiss with **NADEHLP**; but Lach., W.H. text, Wendt follow B, d, Vulg.

<sup>2</sup> γλώσσαις, D<sup>1</sup> prefixes *καιναις*, d *prævaricatis* (= *ποικιλαις*, so Hilg.), Sah., *aliis*, see below.

<sup>3</sup> καθὼς EHLP; *ὡς* **NA**B, Iren., Chrys., Epiph., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss. Hilg. has *ὡσπερ* with D.

<sup>4</sup> αὐτοὺς BDEHLP, Cyr.-Jer., Chrys., so W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; αὐτοῖς, Tisch. following **NA** 33.

<sup>5</sup> του K. **NA**BE verss. have instead *Ἰησὺν Χριστὸν*, so all edd., so also Blass in β; but D has *του κ. ι. Χ.*, so Hilg.; Meyer retains T.R.

Zöckler).—*ἐπέπεσε*, cf. x. 44, xi. 15, and for the frequency of the word in Acts and its use in Luke's Gospel, see Friedrich, p. 41. By this wonderful proof St. Peter and his Jewish brethren with him saw that, uncircumcised though they were, Cornelius and his household were no longer "common or unclean": "The Holy Ghost," said the Jews, "never fell upon a Gentile". Bengel comments, "Alias baptismus susceptus est ante adventum Spiritus Sancti . . . Liberum gratia habet ordinem".—*ἀκούοντας*, as in ver. 33.

Ver. 45. οἱ ἐκ π., see ver. 23, cf. Rom. iv. 12, and for the phrase as describing St. Paul's most bitter and narrow opponents, see Gal. ii. 12, Col. iv. 11, Tit. i. 10. The fact was thus fully testified, even by those who were not in sympathy with it.—*καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη*: "nam uno admissio jam nulli clausa est janua" Bengel. Cf. ii. 38, a gift which they thought did not appertain to the Gentiles; see on ver. 44, and Schöttgen, *Hor. Heb.*, in loco.

Ver. 46. λαλούντων γλώσσαις, see on ii. 13; here no speaking in different languages is meant, but none the less the gift which manifested itself in jubilant ecstatic praise was a gift of the Spirit, and the event may well be called "the Gentile Pentecost"; see on xi. 15 and Plumptre, in loco; Wendt, edition 1899. The words of ver. 47 need not mean that this gift of tongues

was manifested precisely as the Pentecostal gift.

Ver. 47. μήτι τὸ ὕ. . . τοῦ μὴ βαπτισθῆναι, cf. xiv. 18: on construction, Burton, p. 159; so also in LXX and classical Greek, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 230; Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 172 (1893).—*οἵτινες, quippe qui*, so Blass in this passage.—*τὸ ὕδωρ*: "the water" R.V., not simply "water" as A.V., as Bengel admirably says, "Non dicit: jam habent Spiritum, ergo aqua carere possunt". In baptism both the water and the Spirit were required, xi. 16. The greater had been bestowed; could the lesser be withheld? See the striking passage in Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 108, on the fact that Cornelius and his companions, even after they had first received the presence of the Holy Ghost, were nevertheless ordered to be baptised.

Ver. 48. προσέταξε, cf. St. Paul's rule, 1 Cor. i. 17. If Philip the Evangelist was at Cæsarea at the time, the baptism may have been intrusted to him.—*ἐπιμεῖναι*: *diutius commorari*, Blass, so *manere amplius*, Bengel, cf. xxi. 4, 10, xxviii. 12, 14, and xv. 34 β (Blass); only in Luke and Paul, frequent in Acts, not found in Luke's Gospel, cf. John viii. 7; only once in LXX, Exod. xii. 39, in classics as in text.—*ἡμέρας τινάς*, no doubt spent in further instruction in the faith: *aurei dies*, Bengel.

CHAPTER XI.—Ver. 1. For Western readings see critical notices.—*κατὰ τὴν*

XI. 1. ἮΚΟΥΣΑΝ δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ ὄντες κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, ὅτι καὶ τὰ ἔθνη ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. 2.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὅτε ἀνέβη Πέτρος εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, λέγοντες, 3. Ὅτι πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας εἰσῆλθες,<sup>2</sup> καὶ συνέφαγες αὐτοῖς. 4. Ἀρξάμενος δὲ ὁ Πέτρος ἐξετίθετο

<sup>1</sup> The Western text is here considerably expanded. Blass, following D, Syr. Harcl., Par., Wern. (with differences in particulars), reads in β: ο μὲν οὖν Π. δια ἱκανοῦ χρόνου ἠθελήσεν πορευθῆναι εἰς Ι. καὶ προσφώνησας τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ ἐπιστηριξας (αὐτοὺς) ἐξηλθεν, πολὺν τε χρόνον ποιούμενος (ἐπορευετο) δια τῶν χωρῶν διδασκῶν αὐτοὺς. ὅτε δὲ κατήγγισεν εἰς Ι. καὶ ἀπηγγεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς ἀδελφοὶ διεκρίνοντο πρὸς αὐτὸν, λέγοντες. This, according to Belser, is an irrefutable proof that β gives us the original text of Luke, p. 63, and see also Blass, *Phil. of the Gospels*, p. 129, and cf. xxi. 16. It is true that in the first part of the addition all the words and clauses are Lucan (although if we read with D ος καὶ κατήγγισεν αὐτοῖς instead of ὅτε δὲ κατήν. εἰς Ι. we have no instance in Luke of καταντάω in construction with a dative). But Weiss, Codex D, takes a very opposite view from Belser (see also Wendt (1899)), p. 206, and it is, of course, quite possible that the additions were made on account of the apparent abrupt ending of the passage about Cornelius, and to show that Peter, too, did not break off his missionary work hurriedly, etc.

<sup>2</sup> εἰσῆλθες καὶ συνεφαγες; W.H., following BL, Syrr., Arm., has the 3rd person sing., but Weiss has the 2nd person sing., as in TR (so Tisch.).

1.: not simply *in* but *throughout* Judæa, "all about Judæa," Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 57, cf. viii. 1.

Ver. 2. διεκρίνοντο, cf. Jude, ver. 9, with dative of the person (Polyb., ii., 22, 11). For similar construction as here see LXX, Ezek. xx. 35, 36, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* Otherwise in x. 20.—οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, cf. Gal. ii. 12; we can scarcely confine the term here to those mentioned in x. 45 (although Dr. Hort takes this view as most probable), but how far there was a section of the Church at Jerusalem who could thus be described at this time it is difficult to say, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 44.

Ver. 3. ἀκροβυστίαν ἔχοντας: the expression intimates the bitterness of the opposition. Bengel curiously comments "benigne loquuntur". On ἀκροβ. see especially Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 111.—καὶ συνέφαγες αὐτοῖς: this was the real charge, the violation of the ceremonial law, cf. x. 28; see on the intolerant division between Pharisaical Jews and Gentiles, Weber, *Jüdische Theol.*, pp. 59, 60; Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, pp. 26-28. There is therefore nothing in the statement to justify the objection raised by Zeller and others against the whole narrative of the baptism of Cornelius (so Wendt, edition 1888 and 1899). But if the complaint against Peter was based not upon the fact that he had baptised Cornelius but

had eaten with him, then we can see a great difference between the narrative here and that of the Ethiopian eunuch in chap. viii. In the latter case there was no question of the obligations of the ceremonial law—the baptism was administered and Philip and the eunuch separated, but here the whole stress of the narrative lies in the fact referred to in ver. 3, so that if the eunuch and Cornelius both belonged to the class of "half-proselytes" their cases are not parallel. But even if they were, in other respects there would still remain a distinction between them. It was one thing for the Ethiopian to be received into the Church of Christ by the Hellenist Philip, but it was another thing—and a marked advance—when the principle asserted by Philip was ratified by the Apostles of the circumcision in the case of Cornelius. Wendt, edition 1899, pp. 181, 198, and Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 300.

Ver. 4. ἀρξ. δὲ ὁ Π. "But Peter began, and expounded the matter": ἀρξ. may be pleonastic, i. 4, cf. καθέξης, or may be used graphically, or because the reproaches of οἱ ἐκ περιτ. gave the first incentive to St. Peter's recital.—καθ. only in Luke, Gospel and Acts, see iii. 24.—ἐξετίθετο, xviii. 26, xxviii. 23, Jos., *Ant.*, i., 12, 2, so also in Polyb., x., 9, 3. Perhaps used here by St. Luke from its use by Dioscorides; familiar word to him also as a physician, see Vogel, p. 17.



αὐτοῖς καθεξῆς λέγων, 5. Ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν πόλει ἰόππῃ προσευχόμενος, καὶ εἶδον ἐν ἐκστάσει δράμα, καταβαῖνον σκευὸς τι ὡς θόνην μεγάλην<sup>1</sup> τέσσαρσιν ἀρχαῖς καθιεμένην ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἦλθεν ἄχρις ἐμοῦ. 6. εἰς ἣν ἀτενίσας κατενόουν, καὶ εἶδον τὰ τετράποδα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ θηρία καὶ τὰ ἔρπετά καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. 7. ἤκουσα δὲ φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι, Ἀναστάς, Πέτρε, θύσον καὶ φάγε. 8. εἶπον δέ, Μηδαμῶς, Κύριε<sup>2</sup>. ὅτι πᾶν κοινὸν ἢ ἀκάθαρτον οὐδέποτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ στόμα μου. 9. ἀπεκρίθη δέ μοι φωνὴ ἐκ δευτέρου<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, Ἄ ὁ Θεὸς ἐκαθάρισε, σὺ μὴ κοίνου. 10. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρίς, καὶ πάλιν ἀνеспάσθη ἅπαντα εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν. 11. καὶ ἰδοῦ, ἐξαυτῆς τρεῖς ἄνδρες ἐπέστησαν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ᾗ ἤμην,<sup>4</sup> ἀπεσταλμένοι ἀπὸ Καισαρείας πρὸς με. 12. εἶπε δέ μοι τὸ Πνεῦμα συνελθεῖν αὐτοῖς, μηδὲν διακρινόμενον<sup>5</sup>. ἦλθον δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ καὶ οἱ ἕξ

<sup>1</sup> μεγάλην, but λαμπράν in Syr. Harcl., Par.<sup>1</sup> has μεγάλην λαμπράν. Blass rejects (cf. x. 11).

<sup>2</sup> Orig. has κυριε συ οισθα οτι, Blass rejects.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκ δευτέρου D omits, as also some Western authorities in x. 15, and Blass in β.

<sup>4</sup> ἤμην EHLP, Vulg., Syrr. (P. and H.), Boh., Sah., Aeth., Chrys., so Blass, W.H. marg.—assim. apparently to ver. 5. ἤμεν ΞABD 40, Tisch., W.H. text, R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.

<sup>5</sup> διακρινόμενον HLP, Chrys. (cf. x. 20, Meyer, who suspects it here). διακριναντα ΞAB 13, 40, 61, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V.; διακρινοντα Ξ\*E 15, 18\*, 36. Blass rejects altogether, so Hilg., with D, Syr. H. (text and margin), Par.<sup>1</sup>. But cf. Acts xv. 9, where act. occurs in similar context.

Evidently St. Luke by the two accounts attaches great significance to this first reception, exceptional case as it was, of a Gentile proselyte like Cornelius into the Christian Church, but it was an isolated case, and moreover a case within Palestine, not beyond its borders, so that the great questions of a mission to the Gentiles of the heathen world, and of the conditions for their reception as Christians, were not matter for consideration as afterwards in chap. xv., see Wendt, edition 1899, p. 211; Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 58, 59; and see below on ver. 12.

Ver. 6. κατενόουν, cf. vii. 31, 32, Matt. vii. 3, Luke vi. 41, R.V., etc., the seeing is the result of the considering—"contemplabar singula, effectus comprehenditur aoristo" εἶδον.—θηρία: not specially mentioned in x. 12 (see critical notes), but there πάντα precedes τετράποδα.

Ver. 8. εἰσῆλθεν, cf. Matt. xv. 11, 17. Blass sees in the phrase "locutio hebraismum redolens," cf. viii. 35; on the other hand the Hebraistic πᾶν of x. 14 is omitted (Weiss).

Ver. 10. ἀνеспάσθη: only found in

Luke xiv. 5 in N.T., another touch of vividness as in vv. 5, 6. In LXX three times, and possibly once in Bel and the Dragon, ver. 42, of drawing up Daniel from the den (but reading may be the simple verb, see H. and R.).

Ver. 12. μηδὲν διακρινόμενον, cf. x. 20, but if we read (see critical notes) μ. διακριναντα, "making no distinction," R.V.—οἱ ἕξ ἀδελφοὶ οὗτοι: who had been with Peter at Cæsarea, and had returned with him to Jerusalem, see x. 45. Hilgenfeld would regard them as constant companions of St. Peter on his Apostolic journeys. Differences such as these between the narrative here and that in x. 23 where the brethren are mentioned without their number constrain Feine to regard xi. 1-18 as derived like the earlier narrative in x. from one and the same source, not as added by a reviser (although he excludes vv. 1 and 18 in xi. from the original narrative). Spitta agrees with Feine in this view of xi. 2-17; a forger writing with a "tendency" would have smoothed away any apparent discrepancies, as Zöckler well points out. With regard to the whole Cornelius

ἀδελφοὶ οὗτοι, καὶ εἰσῆλθομεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀνδρός, 13. ἀπήγγειλέ τε ἡμῖν πῶς εἶδε τὸν ἄγγελον ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ σταθέντα καὶ εἰπόντα αὐτῷ Ἀπόστειλον εἰς Ἰόππην ἄνδρας, καὶ μετάπεμψαι Σίμωνα τὸν ἐπικαλούμενον Πέτρον, 14. ὃς λαλήσει ῥήματα πρὸς σέ, ἐν οἷς σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκός σου. 15. ἐν δὲ τῷ ἄρξασθαί με λαλεῖν, ἐπέπεσε <sup>1</sup> τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἁρχῇ. 16. ἐμνήσθη δὲ τοῦ ῥήματος Κυρίου, ὡς ἔλεγεν, "Ἰωάννης μὲν ἐβάπτισεν ὕδατι, ὑμεῖς δὲ βαπτισθήσεσθε ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ." 17. εἰ οὖν τὴν ἴσην δωρεὰν ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν, πιστεύσασιν ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐγὼ δὲ τίς ἡμῖν δυνατὸς κωλύσαι τὸν Θεόν;<sup>2</sup> 18. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα ἡσύχασαν, καὶ ἐδόξαζον<sup>3</sup> τὸν Θεόν, λέγοντες, Ἄραγε<sup>4</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν μετάνοιαν ἔδωκεν εἰς ζωὴν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπέπεσε, but D reads simple verb, which Blass rejects here, although he accepts it in x. 44 (AD). Hilg. has simple verb.

<sup>2</sup> ο Θεός om. D, Aug., so Hilg., but Blass retains. D, Syr. Harcl. mg., Par. Aug. (Hilg. follows D) add *τον μη δουναι αυτοις π. αγ.*, and D further adds *τοις πιστευσασιν επ' αυτω* and Syr. Harcl. *πιστ. εις τον Κ. Ι. Χ.* Blass omits these last two additions (with Aug.), but places *πιστευσασιν επ' αυτω* in brackets; additions apparently to explain of what the *κωλ. τον Θ.* consisted, described by Weiss as quite superfluous, see Codex D, p. 71, and note.

<sup>3</sup> ἐδοξαζον AEHL P, Arm., so Meyer; Blass (see force of imperf. in his comment.), Wendt, Weiss. *ἐδοξασαν* BBD b, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syr. P. and H., Aeth., so Gig., Par.; Tisch., W.H., Hilg. But aor. manifestly conformed to aor. *ησυχασαν* (so Weiss, Wendt).

<sup>4</sup> *αραγε*, but *αρα* only in NABD 40, 61, 65, 133; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Blass, Wendt (against Meyer). D omits *την* before *μετανοιαν*.

episode, Spitta and Feine (so Weiss and Wendt), inasmuch as they regard St. Luke's narrative as containing at least a genuine historical kernel, and as marking a special exceptional case, and not a general rule as existing at such an early time, are much less radical than Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, and Clemen. For a good review of the relation of modern criticism to the narrative see Wendt (1899) on x. 1 and Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 226, 227 (second edition).

Ver. 13. *σταθέντα—σταθεῖς*: used only by St. Luke, in Gospel and Acts: Luke xviii. 11, 40, xix. 8, Acts ii. 14, v. 20, xi. 13, xvii. 22, xxv. 18, xxvii. 21, found therefore in *all* parts of Acts (Friedrich, Vogel).

Ver. 14. *ἐν οἷς σωθ. σὺ καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκ. σου*: words not found in x., but may be fairly taken as implied; the prayers of Cornelius we can scarcely doubt had been that he might see the salvation of God, and his household were devout like himself, cf. x. 2-6.

Ver. 15. *ἄρξασθαι*: somewhat more precisely stated than in x. 44. The speech has there no abruptness, but St. Peter may well have intended to say much more; if this was so, the notice here is quite natural, Winer-Moulton, lxxv. 7 d.—*ἐν ἁρχῇ*, i.e., at the great Pentecost.

Ver. 16. Words not found in the Gospels, but in Acts i. 5, quoted here with the omission of *οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ταύτας ἡμέρας*, showing that St. Peter regarded the baptism of the Holy Ghost received by Cornelius as equally decisive of the Spirit's presence as the bestowal upon himself and others at Pentecost.—*ὡς ἔλεγεν*: not merely pleonastic, cf. Luke xxii. 61; Winer-Moulton, lxxv. 1 a, Wendt, Felten.

Ver. 17. *πιστεύσασιν*, see R.V., best to take participle as referring both to *αὐτοῖς* and to *ἡμῖν*; in each case the Holy Spirit was bestowed, and in each case as a result of the preceding belief, not as a result of circumcision, or of



19. Οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες ἀπὸ τῆς θλίψεως τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Στεφάνῳ,<sup>1</sup> διήλθον ἕως Φοινίκης καὶ Κύπρου καὶ Ἀντιοχείας, μηδεὶ λαλοῦντες τὸν λόγον εἰ μὴ μόνον Ἰουδαίοις. 20. ἦσαν δέ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες Κύπριοι καὶ Κυρηναῖοι, οἵτινες εἰσελθόντες εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ἐλάλουν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνιστάς,<sup>2</sup> εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ Στεφάνῳ B<sup>2</sup>BHLP 61, Bas., Chrys, Theophl., best supported; ἐπὶ Στεφάνου perhaps a gloss since ἐπὶ was taken temporally; ἀπο τοῦ Στεφάνου D, so Hilg. (but not Blass in β). Κυπρου, Par. reads Τυρου; Blass rejects.

<sup>2</sup> Ἑλληνιστάς BD<sup>2</sup>EHL P 61, W.H., R.V. marg., so Sanday (cf. Shirley, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 27, 28; Wordsworth, and Hastings' B.D., art. "Christian," p. 384); Ἑλληνας B<sup>2</sup>A (discounted by reading Ἑλληνας wrongly in ix. 27), D<sup>1</sup>, Arm., Eus., Chrys., Tisch., Weiss, Blass, R.V. text. B<sup>2</sup> εὐαγγελιστάς claimed as supporting Ἑλληνιστάς, but see Sanday, *u. infra*. Lightfoot and a large number of recent writers (Page, Ramsay, Zöckler, Holtzmann, Felten, Rendall, G. A. Smith, McGiffert) accept Ἑλληνας (although, in some cases, admitting that MS. authority is adverse), because demanded as antithetical to the preceding Ἰουδαίῳ. It is urged that Ἑλληνιστ. are included under Ἰουδ., but whilst in one sense this is so, it is also possible to draw a distinction between the two, Ἰουδ. may be used as = Εβραῖοι in vi. 1, or as in xiv. 1, xviii. 4 where evidently Jews and proselytes (not heathen) are distinguished, so that whilst as far as Antioch *Jews only* had been addressed, now the Cyprians and Cyrenians addressed Hellenists, God-fearers (like Cornelius), "Greeks who came into relations with the Jews," whilst not addressing as yet those who were entirely heathen. In view of the great importance and future position of the Church of Antioch, it is not unlikely that Luke should carefully note the elements of which it was originally composed. The real turning-point in the sphere of Peter and Paul is not yet, but in xiii. 46. See W.H., *Select Readings*, p. 94; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 59, 60; *Ecclesia*, p. 61; Sanday, *Expositor*, pp. 60-62, and Ramsay, p. 47 (1896).

uncircumcision; sometimes referred to ἡμῶν, so Bengel, Nösgen, Wendt, sometimes to αὐτοῖς, so Weiss, Blass.—τίς ἡμῶν δ., cf. Exod. iii. 11, 2 Kings viii. 13, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 173; in reality two questions: Who was I? Was I able to withstand God? Winer-Moulton, lxi., 5.—ἐγὼ, emphatic, "merum organon," Bengel.

Ver. 18. ἡσύχασαν, cf. xxi. 14 and Luke xiv. 3, so in LXX, Neh. v. 8 (Job xxxii. 6, Hebrew different); also in a different sense in Luke xxiii. 56, 1 Thess. iv. 11, only in Luke and Paul in N.T.—ἐδίδασκον, see critical notes, imperfect of continuous action—the writer about to pass to other things thus depicts the state of things which he leaves, cf. viii. 3 (Blass).—Ἀραγε, see critical notes.

Vv. 19-26. Further spread of the Gospel to Antioch.

Ver. 19. οἱ μὲν οὖν, cf. viii. 4. μὲν οὖν introduces a general statement, whilst δέ (ver. 20) marks a particular instance.—ἐπὶ Σ.: "about Stephen" A. and R. V. (best); some render "against Stephen," and others "post Stephanum". See also critical note.

Ver. 20. ἄνδρες Κύπ. καὶ Κυρ., cf. iv. 36, xxi. 16; ii. 10, vi. 9.—Ἑλληνιστάς,

see critical notes.—εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν K. 1.: on construction with accusative of the message, Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 79. We can scarcely take the phrase given here, instead of "preaching that Jesus was the Christ," as a proof that the word was preached not to Jews but to Gentiles.—Ἀντιόχειαν: on the Orontes, distinguished as Ἀ. ἡ πρὸς, or ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ, and bearing the title μητρό-πολις. There appear to have been at least five places in Syria so called under the Seleucids. For the Arabs Damascus was the capital, but the Greeks wanted to be nearer the Mediterranean and Asia Minor. The city built in 500 B.C. by Seleucus Nicator I. became more and more beautiful, whilst all the trade of the Mediterranean was connected with it through its harbour Seleucia. All the varied elements of the life of the ancient world found a home there. From the first there were Jews amongst its inhabitants. But in such a mixed population, whilst art and literature could gain the praise of Cicero, vice as well as luxury made the city infamous as well as famous. Josephus calls it the third city of the empire, next to Rome and Alex-

Κύριον Ἰησοῦν. 21. καὶ ἦν χεὶρ Κυρίου μετ' αὐτῶν· πολὺς τε ἄριθμὸς πιστεύσας ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον. 22. Ἠκούσθη δὲ ὁ λόγος εἰς τὰ ὦτα τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις περὶ αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐξαπέστειλαν Βαρνάβαν διελθεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἕως Ἀντιοχείας. 23. ὃς παραγενόμενος καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν χάριν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐχάρη, καὶ παρεκάλει πάντας τῇ προθέσει τῆς καρδίας προσμένειν τῷ Κυρίῳ· 24. ὅτι ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πλήρης Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ πίστεως. καὶ προσετέθη ὄχλος ἱκανὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ. 25.<sup>3</sup> Ἐξῆλθε δὲ εἰς Ταρσὸν ὁ Βαρνάβας ἀναζητῆσαι Σαῦλον, καὶ εὗρων αὐτὸν ἤγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.

<sup>1</sup> διελθεῖν om. ΞAB 61, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Boh., Arm., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (against Meyer); but retained by Blass and Hilg., so in D, Syr. Harcl., Chrys.—perhaps added from xi. 19.

<sup>2</sup> χάριν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ, so ΞAB, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt om. τὴν in T.R., so DEHLP, Chrys., Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> Blass (cf. Hilg.) reconstructs according to D, Gig., Par., Syr. Harcl. mg.: ακουσας δε οτι Σαυλος εστιν εις Ταρσον εξηλθεν αναζητων αυτον και συντυχων παρεκαλεσεν ελθειν εις Α. οιτινες παραγενομενοι ενιαυτον ολον συνηχθησαν τη εκκ. κ. εδιδξαν οχλον ικανον (D has ενι. ολ. συνεχυθησαν οχλ. ικ., omits και εδιδ.). It is difficult to see why this should have been shortened if original; perhaps added to definitely show why Barnabas went to Tarsus, and to mark that Saul was not brought to Tarsus but "besought to come". συνεχυθησαν, D (Par.), evident mistake, Blass emends; see Weiss, Codex D, pp. 71, 72. Hilg. has συνεχυσαν.

andria, but Ausonius hesitates between Antioch and Alexandria, as to the rank they occupied in eminence and *vice*. The famous words of Juvenal: "in Tiberim defluxit Orontes," *Sat.*, iii., 62, describe the influences which Antioch, with its worthless rabble of Greeks and parasites, with its quacks and impostors, its rivalries and debaucheries, exercised upon Rome. Gibbon speaks of the city in the days of Julian as a place where the lively licentiousness of the Greek was blended with the hereditary softness of the Syrian. Yet here was the μητρό-πολις, not merely of Syria, but of the Gentile Christian Churches, and next to Jerusalem no city is more closely associated with the early history and spread of the Christian faith. See "Antioch" (G. A. Smith) in Hastings' B.D.; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, chaps. xxiii., xxiv.; Renan, *Les Apôtres*, chaps. xii., xiii. — ἐλάλουν: "used to speak," so Ramsay.

Ver. 21. χεὶρ K., cf. iv. 28, 30, xiii. 11, Luke i. 66; frequent in O.T. τὴν closely connects the two clauses, showing that the result of "the hand of the Lord" was that a great number, etc. (Weiss).

Ver. 22. τῆς ἐκκ. τῆς ἐν Ἱ.: in contrast here to Antioch, in which the existence of an Ecclesia was not yet formally recognised; but cf. ver. 26, Hort, *Ecclesia*,

pp. 59-61. — περὶ αὐτῶν: "concerning them" R.V., i.e., the persons who had believed and turned to the Lord. Meyer takes it of the preachers, Felten of both preachers and converts.

Ver. 23. τὴν χάριν: if we add τὴν, see critical notes, "the grace that was of God" Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 60, so Alford. — παρεκάλει: a true son of encouragement, exhortation—see on iv. 36, imperfect because Barnabas remained at Antioch, and the result is indicated in ver. 24, προσετέθη. This mention of Barnabas and the part played by the primitive Church is referred by Clemens to his Redactor Antijudaicus, p. 109. If we read ἐν τῷ K. with R.V. margin we could render "to abide by the purpose of their heart in the Lord," so Hort, *u. s.*, p. 60; Rendall; cf. 2 Tim. iii. 10; and Symmachus, Ps. x. 17 (Weiss). τῷ K., i.e., Christ; with this verse cf. xv. 32, where St. Luke similarly insists upon the due qualification of divine gifts; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 45.

Ver. 25. Luke gives no reason why Barnabas goes to seek Saul, but Barnabas who had already vouched for Saul's sincerity before the Church of Jerusalem, ix. 27, could scarcely be ignorant that the sphere of his friend's future work was to be the Gentile world. In ix. 30 Saul was sent away to Tarsus, and now Bar-



26. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνιαυτὸν<sup>1</sup> ὅλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ διδάξαι ὅχλον ἱκανόν, χρηματίσαι τε πρῶτον<sup>2</sup> ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὺς, but αὐτοῖς NABE 13, 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt. ἐνιαυτον NAB 13, Syr. Harcl., Did., Ath.; Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt prefix καί, but see Blass's comment on β, *in loco*, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> πρῶτον NBD<sup>2</sup> 36, 163, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt; πρῶτος, see also Alford's note on its force; D, Gig., Par. read καὶ τότε πρῶτον, so Hilg. Harnack regards the τότε as secondary, and introduced by the Western reviser to mark that the disciples were then called Christians, which in Harnack's opinion was very improbable, see *Sitzungsberichte d. Königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, xvii., p. 4, 1899. Χριστιαν. N<sup>1</sup> has Χρηστῖανοι, "recte," Blass (so 61), but there is no reason to suppose that this was the original, although it may well have been a corrupted form, *cf.* the testimony of Tert., Just. Mar., Lactant.; D has Χρῆστ.

nabas goes to Tarsus to seek him; each statement is the complement of the other, and a long period intervenes not marked by any critical event in Saul's history. So also Paul's own statement, Gal. i. 21, 22, marks the same period, and the two writers complete each other. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 45, 46, on Luke's style and reading in D above.—ἀναζητῆσαι, *cf.* Luke ii. 44, 45, nowhere else in N.T., a word therefore not only common to, but peculiar to Luke's writings.—ἀνά: giving idea of thoroughness; it was not known at what precise spot Saul was prosecuting his work, so the word implies effort or thoroughness in the search; εὐρὼν implies the same uncertainty. In LXX, *cf.* Job iii. 4, x. 6, 2 Macc. xiii. 21. Calvin comments on the fresh proof of the "simplicitas" of Barnabas; he might have retained the chief place at Antioch, but he goes for Paul: "videmus ergo ut sui oblitus nihil aliud spectat, nisi ut emineat unus Christus".

Ver. 26. ἐγένετο δὲ αὐτοὺς, see critical notes, if dative αὐτοῖς = *accidit eis*, see Plummer, *St. Luke*, p. 45, on the use of ἐγένετο.—ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον: "even a whole year" R.V.—συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλ.: "they were gathered together in the Church," so R.V. margin. Rendall holds that ἐν is fatal to the A.V. and R.V. text, and renders "they [*i.e.*, Barnabas and Saul] were brought together in the Church," an intimate association of inestimable value. Hort adopts as "the least difficult explanation of this curious word" "were hospitably received in the Church," so Wendt, Weiss, Nösgen, *cf.* Matt. xxv. 35; Deut. xxii. 2, Josh. ii. 18, Judg. xix. 18, 2 Sam. xi. 27.—διδάξαι . . . χρηματίσαι: both infinitives depend upon ἐγένετο, "and that the disciples," etc., suggesting that the name "Christian" followed as result upon the widespread

teaching of the Apostles amongst the Gentiles. If St. Luke, as Eusebius states, was himself a native of Antioch, it has been well noted that he might well record such a distinction for his city as the origin of the name "Christian".—χρηματίσαι: prim. to transact business (χρῆμα), passes into the meaning of taking a name from one's public business, so to receive a name, to be called, *cf.* Rom. vii. 3, so in Josephus and Philo, and instances in Grimm-Thayer. See also x. 22 for another shade of meaning, and so elsewhere in N.T.; and for its use to express a reply or information by a king or those in authority to inquiry, see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 118.—πρῶτον, see critical notes.—Χριστιανούς: in the N.T. the Christians always named themselves μαθηταί, ἀδελφοί, ἄγιοι, πιστοί, etc., but on no occasion "Christians," whilst the Jews not only refused to recognise that Jesus had any claim to be the Christ, but also called His followers Ναζωραῖοι (xxiv. 5), or spake of them as ἡ αἵρεσις αὕτη (xxviii. 22, *cf.* xxiv. 14). On the probably contemptuous use of the word in 1 Peter iv. 16 and Acts xxvi. 28 as not inconsistent with the above statements, see Wendt, edition 1899, *in loco*, and "Christian" in Hastings' B.D. But whilst it is difficult to find an origin for the title amongst Christians or amongst Jews, there is no difficulty in attributing it to the keen-witted populace of Antioch, already famous for their bestowal of nick-names, although perhaps the possibility that the name may have originated amongst the Latin-speaking official retinue of the *legatus* at Antioch should not be excluded (though there is no evidence whatever that it became at this early date an official name). But there is no need to suppose that the name

μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς. 27. Ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κατήλθον ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων προφῆται εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν.<sup>1</sup> 28. ἀναστὰς δὲ εἰς ἔξ

<sup>1</sup> At end of verse and commencement of ver. 28 we have the remarkable reading in β: *ἦν δὲ πολλὰ ἀγαλλιασις. συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν ἐφῆ εἰς ἐξ αὐτῶν*, so D, Aug., Par., Wern., and also, a new witness, Fragment of the Old Latin translation of Acts in the *Miscellanea Cassinese*, 1897 (see Harnack's note in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, p. 172, 1898). *ἀγαλλιασις* is quite Lucan, cf. ii. 46, and the solutions of Weiss and Corssen are not sufficient to weaken the view that here, at least, we may have an original draft. If it is said that the words are introduced to show the impression made by the visit of the prophets (so Weiss), we must remember that they stand in strange contrast to the announcement of the coming famine, and that it would have been a bold thing for an emendator to introduce them here. The circumstances in viii. 8 are quite different. Blass sees in the following words, p. 137, "luculentissimum testimonium, quo auctor sese Antiochenum fuisse monstrat," see also *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 131; we get by these three words, *συνεσ. δὲ ἡμῶν*, a fresh *we*-section; to the same effect Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 137; Salmon, *Introd.*, pp. 597, 602; Belser, p. 64; see also Harnack, *u. s.*, and Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., pp. 341, 350. Wendt (1898), p. 216, note, inclines to accept the reading as original, and even Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 111, thinks it not impossible; so too Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, p. 505 (1895); and cf. Jülicher, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 271. Harnack, *u. s.*, admits, p. 6, that the language is not un-Lucan, but he regards the other passages in which *συστρεφ.* occurs as Western interpolations, and *ἦν δὲ πολλὰ ἀγαλλ.* as a mere amplification, as in viii. 24, xiii. 8.

was of Roman origin, although we may readily concede that the Latin termination *-ianus* was common enough at this period. There is ample proof of the use of the same termination not only in Latin but in Greek, even if we do not regard *-ιανός* with Wendt as a termination of a native "Asiatic type". The notice in Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv., 44 (cf. Suetonius, *Nero*, 16), who was probably in Rome during Nero's persecution, A.D. 64, is very significant, for he not only intimates that the word was commonly and popularly known, but also that the title had been in vogue for some time: "quos vulgus Christianos appellabat," note the imperfect tense. Against the recent strictures of Weizsäcker and Schmiedel we may place the opinion of Spitta, and also of Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 158. How soon the title given in mockery became a name of honour we may gather from the Ignatian Epistles, cf. *Rom.*, iii., 3; *Magn.*, iv.; *Ephes.*, xi., 2, and cf. *Mart. Polyc.*, x. and xii., 1, 2. See further Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 16; Lechler, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, p. 129 ff.; Smith, B.D.<sup>2</sup> "Christian," Conybeare and Howson, p. 100 (smaller edition), and *Expositor*, June, 1898.

Ver. 27. Antioch sends relief to Jerusalem.—*ἐν ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡ.*, cf. i. 15, vi. 1. *ταύταις* emphatic, by its position and also by its significance, days full of importance for Barnabas and Saul, who were still at Antioch (Weiss). —*προφῆται*: the coming of the prophets gave an additional sanction to the work

at Antioch. There is no reason in the uncertainty of the dates to suppose that they had been driven from Jerusalem by persecution. For the position of the Christian prophets in the N.T. cf. Acts xiii. 1, where Barnabas and Saul are spoken of as prophets and teachers; afterwards as Apostles, xiv. 4; xv. 32, where Judas and Silas are described as prophets, having been previously spoken of, ver. 22, as *ἡγούμενοι* amongst the brethren at Jerusalem (while Silas later bears the name of Apostle); cf., further, 1 Cor. xii. 28, xiv. 29-33, 39, Ephes. iv. 11, where in each case the Prophet is placed next to Apostles (although in 1 Cor. he may have been merely a member of a local community), perhaps because "he belonged to the same family as the great prophets of the Old Testament," for whilst foreknowledge of events was not necessarily implied by the word either in the O.T. or in the N.T., the case of Agabus, both here and in xxi. 10, 11, shows that predictiveness was by no means excluded. The Christian prophets, moreover, as we see them in Acts, combine the duty of "ministering to the Lord" with that of preaching the word; they are not only foretellers, but forth-tellers of God's will, as in the case of a Samuel or an Elijah, Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, pp. 240, 261, 393, etc.; Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 160 ff.; and for *Sub-Apostolic Age*, p. 179 ff.; Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, p.



αὐτῶν, ὀνόματι Ἄγαθος, ἐσήμανε<sup>1</sup> διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, λιμὸν μέγαν<sup>2</sup> μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην· ὅστις καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου<sup>3</sup> Καίσαρος. 29. τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν<sup>4</sup> καθὼς ἡμπορεῖτό τις,

<sup>1</sup> ἐσημανε ὩAEHLP, most verss., so Tisch., W.H. marg.; but B, d, Vulg., Chron., Aug., so Lach., W.H., Weiss read imperf. ἐσημαίνε—Wendt undecided.

<sup>2</sup> μέγαν D<sup>1</sup>EHLF, Chrys., Chron.; but ὩABD<sup>3</sup> 61, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. have μεγάλην (ἤτις).

<sup>3</sup> Καίσαρος om. ὩABD 13, 61, Vulg., several verss., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, so Hilg.

<sup>4</sup> τῶν δὲ μαθητῶν, D, Par., Vulg. (Gig.) read οἱ δὲ μαθηταί, and so D καθὼς ἐνπυρουντο instead of ἐνπ. τις.

28 (1898); Harnack, "Apostellehre" in *Real-Encyclopädie für Protestant. Theol.* (Hauck), p. 716, and see, further, on xiii. 1.

Ver. 28. Ἄγαθος: on derivation see W.H., ii., 313, from אָגַד "to love"; or from אָגַח "a locust," Ezra ii. 45, Neh. vii. 48, with rough breathing Ἄγ. W.H. follow Syriac and read the former as in T.R., so Weiss; Blass doubtful; Klostermann would connect it with Ἀγαυός, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, p. 10. As a Jewish prophet he would naturally use the symbolic methods of a Jeremiah or an Ezekiel, see on xxi. 10, 11. On insertion in D see critical notes.—μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι: future infinitive only used in N.T. with μέλλειν in this one phrase, and only so in Acts, cf. xxiv. 15, xxvii. 10. In xxiii. 30 μέλλειν omitted (although in T.R.), and in xxiv. 25 ἔσεσθαι omitted (although in T.R.). Klostermann, *Vindiciae Lucanae*, p. 51, Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 120, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 158 (1893).—λιμὸν: masculine in Luke iv. 25, and so in common usage, but in Doric usage, as it is called, feminine, and so also in later Greek; feminine in Luke xv. 14 and here; see critical notes; Blass, *Gram.*, p. 26.—ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκ.—the civilised world, i.e., the Roman Empire. Cf. xxiv. 5, and Luke ii. 1, see Plummer's note on Luke iv. 5 (and Hackett's attempt, *in loco*, to limit the expression), and Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* p. 118. We have ample evidence as to a widespread dearth over various parts of the Roman Empire, to which Suetonius, Dion Cassius, Tacitus, and Eusebius all bear witness, in the reign of Claudius; and in no other reign do we find such varied allusions to periodical famines, "assiduae sterilitates,"

Suetonius, *Claudius*, xviii., cf. Dion Cassius, lx., 11; Tac., *Ann.*, xii., 43, etc. These and other references are given by Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 170, E.T. (so also by O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 124), but instead of drawing from these varied references the inference that the author of Acts had ample justification for his statement as to the prevalence of famine over the Roman Empire, he takes him to task for speaking of a famine "over the whole world". See Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 48, 49, and also *Was Christ Born at Bethlehem?* pp. 251, 252, cf. vv. 29 and 30. At least there is no ground to suppose, with Clemen and others, that the writer of Acts was here dependent on Josephus for the mention of the famine which that historian confined to Judæa, but which the writer of Acts, or rather Clemen's Redactor Antijudaicus, magnified according to his usual custom.

Ver. 29. καθὼς ἡμπορεῖτό τις: only here in N.T., and the cognate noun in xix. 25, but in same sense in classical Greek; cf. Lev. xxv. 26, 28, 49, and Wisdom x. 10 (but see Hatch and Redpath on passages in Lev.). "According to his ability," so A. and R.V., i.e., as each man prospered, in proportion to his means. The expression intimates that the community of goods, at least in a communistic sense, could not have been the rule, cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 2, but a right view of "the community of goods" at Jerusalem invokes no contradiction with this statement, as Hilgenfeld apparently maintains, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, p. 506, 1895. On the good effect of this work of brotherly charity and fellowship, this practical exhibition of Christian union between Church and Church, between the Christians of the mother-city and those of the Jewish dispersion, see Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 62; Ram-

ὤρισαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰς διακονίαν πέμψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ  
Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς· 30. ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν, ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τοὺς  
πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβα καὶ Σαύλου.

say, *u. s.*, p. 52; Baumgarten (Alford, *in loco*).—εἰς διακονίαν: "for a ministry," R.V. margin, *cf.* Rom. xv. 31, 2 Cor. ix. 1, etc., *Acta Thomæ*, 56; "contributions for relief" Ramsay, see further below; on the construction and complexity of the sentence see especially Page's note, and Wendt.—ἀδελφοῖς: not merely as fellow-disciples, but as brethren in the One Lord.

Ver. 30. ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν κ.τ.λ.: a question arises as to whether this took place during, or at a later date than, Herod's persecution in 44 A.D.—the year of his death. Bishop Lightfoot (with whom Dr. Sanday and Dr. Hort substantially agree) maintains that Barnabas and Saul went up to Jerusalem in the early months of 44, during Herod's persecution, deposited their διακονία with the elders, and returned without delay. If we ask why "elders" are mentioned, and not Apostles, the probability is suggested that the Apostles had fled from Jerusalem and were in hiding. Against this view Ramsay strongly protests, not only on account of the part assigned to the leading Apostles, but also because of the meaning which he attaches to the διακονία of Barnabas and Saul (see on xii. 25). The elders, not Apostles, are mentioned because the embassy was of a purely business kind, and it was not fit that the Apostles should serve tables. Moreover, Ramsay places the visit of Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem in 45, or preferably in 46, at the commencement of the great famine in Judæa—not in 44, but in 45. Still, as Dr. Sanday urges, the entire omission of any reference to the Apostles is strange (*cf.* Blass on xi. 30, xii. 17, who holds that the Apostles had fled), especially as elsewhere Apostles and elders are constantly bracketed together as a single body (xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23, xvi. 4, *cf.* xxi. 18). Nor does it follow that because James, presumably "the brother of the Lord," is mentioned as remaining in Jerusalem during the persecution (but see Lightfoot, *Gal.*, p. 127, note), which his reputation for sanctity amongst his countrymen might have enabled him to do, that the other Apostles could have done so with equal safety. But Ramsay at all events relieves us from the difficulty involved in the entrance of Paul into Jerusalem at a

time of persecution, and the more so in view of the previous plots against his life, a difficulty which is quite unsatisfactorily met by supposing that Paul did not enter the city at all for some unknown reasons, or more unsatisfactorily still by attributing to the author of Acts a mistake in asserting that any visit of Paul to Jerusalem was made at this time. On the chronological order involved in accordance with the two views mentioned, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 48 ff., 68, 69; Lightfoot, *Gal.*, p. 124, note; and, as space forbids more, for the whole question *Expositor* for February and March, 1896; Lightfoot, *Gal.*, p. 123 ff.; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 61, and *Ecclesia*, p. 62; Wendt, p. 265 (1888) and p. 218 (1899).—τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, see previous verse. It is also noticeable that St. Luke gives no account of the appointment of the elders; he takes it for granted. These Christian elders are therefore in all probability no new kind of officers, but a continuation in the Christian Church of the office of the

זְקֵנִי, πρεσβύτεροι, to whom probably the government of the Synagogue was assigned—hence we may account for St. Luke's silence (Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 141; Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 62; Lightfoot, *Phil.*, pp. 191-193; "Bishop" (Gwatkin), Hastings' B.D.). In the Christian συναγωγή (James ii. 2) there would naturally be elders occupying a position of trust and authority. There is certainly no reason to regard them as the Seven under another name (so Zeller, Ritschl), although it is quite conceivable that if the Seven represented the Hellenists, the elders may have been already in existence as representing the Hebrew part of the Church. But there is need to guard against the exaggeration of the Jewish nature of the office in question. In the N.T. we find mention of elders, not merely so on account of age, not merely as administrative and disciplinary officers (Hatch, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 58, 61), as in a Jewish synagogue, but as officers of the Christian Church with spiritual functions, *cf.* James v. 14, 1 Pet. v. 2, Acts xx. 17, Tit. i. 5, and also 1 Thess. v. 12-14, Heb. xiii. 7 (see Mayor, *St. James*, p. cxxviii; Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, pp. 253, 263, and note



XII. 1. ΚΑΤ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπέβαλεν Ἡρώδης ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰς χεῖρας κακῶσαι τινὰς τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.<sup>1</sup> 2. ἀνείλε δὲ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰωάννου μαχαίρα. 3. καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ἀρεστὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις,<sup>2</sup> προσέθετο συλλαβεῖν καὶ Πέτρον· (ἦσαν δὲ

<sup>1</sup> After ἐκκλησίας D, Syr. Harcl. mg., Par., Wern. add τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ—if the words were original it seems difficult to account for their omission; but see Belser's defence, p. 64, of this and β in vv. 3 and 5.

<sup>2</sup> After Ἰουδαίοις D, Syr. H. mg., Par., so Hilg., add ἡ ἐπιχειρήσις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστοὺς—this again may be an explanatory gloss, defining what pleased the Jews—but ἐπιχ. and πιστ. are used by Luke in his writings.

K). At the same time there is nothing to surprise us in the fact that the administration of alms should be connected *in loco* with the office of elders. If they were representing the Apostles at the time in Jerusalem, it is what we should expect, since the organisation of almsgiving remained part of the Apostolic office, Gal. ii. 10, 2 Cor. viii., etc.; and if in a passage from Polycarp (quoted by Dr. Hatch) we find the two connected—the presbyterate and what looks like the administration of alms, Polycarp, *Phil.*, vi., xi.—this again need not surprise us, since not only in the N.T., but from the passage referred to in Polycarp, it is evident that the elders, whilst they exercised judicial and administrative functions, exercised also spiritual gifts, and discharged the office of teachers, functions to which there was nothing analogous in the Jewish presbyters (see Gore, *u. s.*, note K, and Gwatkin, *u. s.*, p. 302). *To turn back the sheep that are gone astray* (ἐπιστρέφοντες τὰ ἀποπεπλανημένα) is one of the first commands laid by Polycarp in his Epistle upon the Christian Presbyters (vi., quoted by Hatch), and from this alone it would appear that a familiar title in the Jewish Church passed into the Church of Christ, gaining therein a new and spiritual power. See further on xx. 17, and for the use of the word in inscriptions, Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 153, and *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 160.

CHAPTER XII. *Persecution by Herod; St. Peter's deliverance.*—Ver. 1. κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν: "about that time," or more precisely "at that time," Rendall, *cf.* Rom. ix. 9, so in Gen. xviii. 10, 2 Macc. iii. 5: in the early part of 44 A.D.—Ἡρώδης ὁ β., Herod Agrippa I.: only in this chapter in the N.T.: on his character and death, see below xii. 3, 23. Born in B.C. 10 and educated in his early life in Rome, he rose from a rash adventurer to good fortune and high position first through

the friendship of Caligula and afterwards of Claudius. He united under his own sway the entire empire of his grandfather, Herod the Great, while his Pharisaic piety and also his attachment to the Roman supremacy found expression in the titles which he bore, βασιλεὺς μέγας φιλόκαισαρ εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλορώματος. On the pathetic story told of him in connection with the Feast of Tabernacles (A.D. 41) see Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 1, p. 28, and the whole article; Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 150 ff., E.T.; Farrar, *The Herods*, p. 179 ff. (1898).—ἐπέβαλεν τὰς χεῖρας, Luke xx. 19, xxi. 12, and *cf.* Acts iv. 3, v. 18, xxi. 27, once in Matthew and Mark, in John twice; Friedrich, p. 39, *cf.* LXX, Gen. xxii. 12, 2 Sam. xviii. 12 (so in Polyb.), *cf.* for similar construction of the infinitive of the purpose xviii. 10, not in the sense of ἐπεχειρήσε, *conatus est*, but to be rendered quite literally; *cf.* also the context, ver. 3.—κακῶσαι: five times in Acts, only once elsewhere in N.T., 1 Peter iii. 13, "to afflict," R.V., A.V. "vex," so Tyndale.—τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ., for the phrase *cf.* vi. 9, xv. 5, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, ἀπό, ii., but see also Blass, *Gram.*, p. 122 and *in loco*.

Ver. 2. ἀνείλε, characteristic word, see on v. 33.—Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀ. ἰ.: St. Chrysostom reminds us of our Lord's prophecy in Mark x. 38 ff. (Matt. xx. 23), distinguished thus from the James of i. 13. Possibly his prominent position, and his characteristic nature as a son of Thunder marked him out as an early victim.—μαχαίρα: so in the case of John the Baptist. This mode of death was regarded as very disgraceful among the Jews (J. Lightfoot, Wetstein), and as in the Baptist's case so here, the mode of execution shows that the punishment was not for blasphemy, but that James was apprehended and killed by the political power. For the touching account of his

ἡμέραι τῶν ἀζύμων·) 4. ὃν καὶ πιάσας ἔθετο εἰς φυλακὴν, παραδοὺς τέσσαρσι τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν αὐτὸν, βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ. 5. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πέτρος ἐτηρεῖτο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ<sup>1</sup>. προσευχὴ δὲ ἦν ἐκτενὴς<sup>2</sup> γινομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> After φυλακῇ Syr. H. mg., Par. add ὑπο τῆς σπειρῆς του βασιλεως—here, again the words may be a gloss to explain ἐτηρεῖτο, unnecessary after ver. 4.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκτενὴς A<sup>2</sup>EHLP 61, Bas., Chrys., so Meyer; ἐκτενῶς B<sup>4</sup>A<sup>1</sup>B 13, 40, 81, Vulg., Lucif., so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V.; D has ἐν ἐκτενείῳ (cf. xxvi. 7), so Hig.

martyrdom narrated by Clement of Alexandria, see Eus., *H. E.*, ii., 9. Whatever St. Luke's reason for the brevity of the account, whether he knew no more, or whether he intended to write a third book giving an account of the other Apostles besides Peter and Paul, and so only mentioned here what concerned the following history (so Meyer, but see Wendt, p. 267 (1888)), his brief notice is at least in striking contrast (ἀπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, Chrys.) with the details of later martyrologies.

Ver. 3. ἀρεστόν . . . τοῖς ἰ.: exactly what we should expect from the character and policy of Herod in his zeal for the law, and from the success with which during his short reign he retained the favour of Jews and Romans alike. Holtzmann, p. 370, seems inclined to doubt the truth of this description of Herod, and lays stress upon the mention of the king's mild disposition in Josephus, *Ant.*, xix., 7, 3. But Josephus also makes it quite plain how zealous Agrippa was, or pretended to be, for the laws and ordinances of Judaism, *u. s.* and xx., 7, 1, and see Schürer, *u. s.*, and Feine, p. 226. Nor is it at all certain that Agrippa's reputed mildness and gentleness would have kept him from rejoicing in the persecution of the Christians, cf. the description of his delight in the bloody gladiatorial games, Jos., *Ant.*, xix., 9, 5.—προσέβητο συλλ.: a Hebraism, cf. Luke xix. 11, xx. 11: LXX, Gen. iv. 2, viii. 12, xxv. 1, Exod. xiv. 13, etc., peculiar to St. Luke in N.T., Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 209 (1893).—αἱ ἡ. τῶν ἀζύμων, and therefore a large number of Jews would be in Jerusalem, and Herod would thus have a good opportunity of gaining wide popularity by his zeal for the law.

Ver. 4. ὃν καὶ πιάσας, iii. 7, really Doric form of πιέζω (cf. Luke vi. 38, nowhere else in N.T.), used in this sense also in LXX, and elsewhere in N.T., cf. Cant. ii. 15, Eccclus. xxiii. 21 (not A).

Modern Greek πιάνω = seize, apprehend.—καί: "when he had taken him, indeed," so Rendall, as if a delay had taken place, before the arrest was actually made.—τέσσαρσι τετραδ.: the night was divided by the Romans—a practice here imitated by Herod—into four watches, and each watch of three hours was kept by four soldiers, *quaternio*, two probably guarding the prisoner within the cell, chained to him, and two outside. τετραδ., cf. Philo, in *Flaccum*, 13; Polyb., xv., 33, 7, and see for other instances, Wetstein.—μετὰ τὸ πάσχα, "after the Passover," R.V., i.e., after the whole festival was over: Herod either did not wish, or affected not to wish, to profane the Feast: "non judicant die festo" (*Moed Katon.*, v., 2).—ἀναγαγεῖν: only here in this sense (in Luke xxii. 66, ἀπήγαγον, W.H.), probably means to lead the prisoner up, i.e., before the judgment tribunal (John xix. 13), to sentence him openly to death before the people.

Ver. 5. ὁ μὲν οὖν . . . προσευχὴ δὲ: both A. and R.V. regard προσ. δὲ in the same verse as the antithesis, but see Page's note, where the antithesis is found in ver. 6, ὅτε δέ. If we retain the former interpretation, ver. 5 may be regarded as a kind of parenthesis, the ὅτε δέ in ver. 6 forming a kind of antithesis to ver. 4.—ἐκτενής, see critical notes; if we read ἐκτενῶς = "earnestly," R.V. (Latin, *intente*), adverb is Hellenistic, used (by St. Luke xxii. 44, and) once elsewhere in 1 Peter i. 22 (cf. the adjective in 1 Peter iv. 8), so of prayer in Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xxxiv., 7. In LXX cf. the use of the word in Joel i. 14 (but see H. and R.), Jonah iii. 8, Judith iv. 12 (see H. and R.), 3 Macc. v. 9. The adjective is also found in 3 Macc. iii. 10 and v. 29. Their praying shows "non fuisse animis fractos," Calvin. The word passed into the services of the Church, and was often repeated by the deacon: δεηθῶμεν ἐκ. or ἐκτενέστερον.



ὁ. Ὅτε δὲ ἐμελλεν αὐτὸν προάγειν<sup>1</sup> ὁ Ἡρώδης, τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ ἣν ὁ Πέτρος κοιμώμενος μεταξύ δύο στρατιωτῶν, δεδεμένος ἀλύσειι δυσί, φύλακές τε πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἐτήρουν τὴν φυλακὴν. 7. καὶ ἰδοὺ, ἄγγελος Κυρίου ἐπέστη,<sup>2</sup> καὶ φῶς ἔλαμψεν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι· πατάξας δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ Πέτρου, ἡγείρειν αὐτὸν λέγων, Ἀνάστα ἐν τάχει. καὶ ἐξέπεσον<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ αἱ ἀλύσεις ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν. 8. εἰπε τε ὁ ἄγγελος πρὸς αὐτόν, Περιίῃσαι, καὶ ὑπόδησαι τὰ σανδάλιά σου. ἐποίησε δὲ οὕτω. καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Περιβαλοῦ τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, καὶ ἀκολουθεῖ

<sup>1</sup> προάγειν DEHLP, Chrys., so Meyer, Blass, and Hilg.; προαγαγεῖν A 8, 15, 61, so Tisch., W.H., marg., Weiss; προσαγεῖν N 5, 29; προσαγαγεῖν B 13, 57, so W.H. text, Wendt. Compounds in προ and προς often interchanged (see Weiss, p. 20).

<sup>2</sup> Western text, β, adds τῷ Πέτρῳ after ἐπέστη, for ἐλαμψεν reads ἐπελαμψεν, adds ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (the angel), and instead of τῷ οἰκ. reads τῷ τοπῷ ἐκεῖνῳ. πατάξ., instead D, Gig. read νύξας, so Hilg., cf. John xix. 34.

<sup>3</sup> ἐξεπεσον, but -εσαν NABDE 61, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Hilg., Weiss, W.H., App., p. 171, and Kennedy, p. 169.

Ver. 6. τῇ νυκτὶ ἐκείνῃ: "that very night," i.e., the night before the trial.—κοιμώμενος, cf. 1 Peter v. 7 and Ps. cxxvii. 2: "for so He giveth His beloved sleep": "and there too it is beautiful that Paul sings hymns, whilst here Peter sleeps," Chrys., *Hom.*, xxvi: cf. xvi. 25. τὸ πᾶν ῥίψας ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον, Oecumenius (cf. Blass, *in loco*).—ἀλύσειι δυσί, cf. xxi. 33; on the usual Roman custom see Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 6, 7, in the account of Herod's own imprisonment by Tiberius; cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, x., 65; Seneca, *Epist.*, i., 5, "eadem catena et custodiam (vincum) et militem copulabat," perhaps most natural to suppose that Peter was bound on either hand to each of the soldiers, the two chains being used perhaps for greater security on account of the former escape.—φύλακες, i.e., the other two of the quaternion to make escape impossible.

Ver. 7. ἐπέστη: often as here with the notion of coming suddenly, in classical Greek it is often used of dreams, as in Homer; or of the coming of heavenly visitors, very frequent in Luke, and with the same force as here, Friedrich, pp. 7 and 87, and almost always in second aorist, see also Plummer on Luke ii. 9.—οἰκήματι: only here in N.T., used in Wisdom xiii. 15 (and perhaps in Tobit ii. 4), but not in same sense. Dem. and Thuc. use it for a prison: R.V. "the cell," lit., the chamber.—πατάξας δὲ τὴν πλευρὰν: to rouse him, an indication of the sound and quiet sleep which the prisoner slept in spite of the fateful morrow (so Weiss); cf. vii. 24, and ver. 23).

Ver. 8. περιίῃσαι, but simple verb in R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt; bind thy tunic with a girdle: during the night the long flowing undergarment was loosened, but fastened up by day, so as not to impede the movements. Wetstein, Weiss, Page, and others contrast Hor., *Sat.*, i., 2, 132. "Colligit sarcinulas nec festinat" (Wetstein), simple verb only twice elsewhere in N.T., and there also of St. Peter, cf. John xxi. 18.—σανδάλιά: Mark vi. 9, elsewhere ὑποδήματα. St. Peter still observed his Master's rule to be shod with sandals (Mark, u. s.), i.e., the shoes of the poor as distinguished from those of the more wealthy: dim. of σάνδαλον, a wooden sole. In LXX cf. Josh. ix. 5, Isa. xx. 2; in Judith x. 4, xvi. 9, of the sandals of the richer class.—περιβαλοῦ, only here in Acts; Luke xii. 27, xxiii. 11, often elsewhere in N.T., and in LXX.—τὸ ἱμάτιον: the outer garment worn over the χιτῶν, and laid aside at night with the sandals. Lumby compares *Didache*, i., 4. Mark the distinction between the aorist and present tense, περιίῃσαι . . . ὑπόδ. . . περιβ., but ἀκολουθεῖ (cf. John ii. 16). "Præsens propter finem non indicatum" Blass; Simcox, *Language of N. T.*, p. 114.

Ver. 9. ἐδόκει δὲ δράμα βλέπειν: even those who regard the narrative as unhistorical can scarcely say that the writer cannot understand how to distinguish between an actual fact and a vision; moreover, this same writer describes visions such as that of Peter, x. 10, and of Paul, xxii. 17, as ecstasies; once in xxvi. 19 Paul speaks of the appearance of Christ vouchsafed to him before Damascus as a

μοι. 9. καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ· καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι ἀληθὲς ἐστι τὸ γινόμενον διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου, ἐδόκει δὲ ὄραμα βλέπειν. 10. διελθόντες δὲ πρώτην φυλακὴν καὶ δευτέραν, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τὴν σιδηρᾶν, τὴν φέρουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἣτις αὐτομάτῃ ἠνοιχθῇ<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐξελθόντες<sup>2</sup> προῆλθον ῥύμην μίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀπέστη ὁ ἄγγελος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ. 11. καὶ ὁ Πέτρος γενόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ εἶπε, Νῦν οἶδα ἀληθῶς ὅτι ἐξαπέστειλε Κύριος τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξείλετό με ἐκ χειρὸς Ἡρώδου καὶ πάσης τῆς προσδοκίας τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἰουδαίων·

<sup>1</sup> ἠνοιχθῇ EHL P, Chrys.; ἠνοιγῇ A, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Hilg.; see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 103; Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> After ἐξελθόντες D, Par. add κατεβησαν τους επτα βαθμους και. Both Weiss (p. 110) and Corssen (p. 441) (see too Harris, p. 63, *Four Lectures*, etc.) regard this as possibly original, so Wendt (p. 221, edit. 1899), whilst Belser (p. 65), Zahn (ii., 350), Salmon (pp. 600, 601), Zöckler incline still more strongly to its acceptance, and Blass and Hilg. retain. The addition has been referred to the mention of the seven steps in Ezek. xl. 22 (cf. 26, 31) as its source (so Chase), but, on the other hand, Zahn can see no explanation of the present passage in the seven or the eight (ver. 31) steps of Ezekiel. It is quite possible, he thinks, that the writer might introduce a detail of the kind into his first draft, but omit it afterwards as unnecessary for distant readers. In xxi. 35, 40, the steps lead not into the street, but from Antonia into the Temple, and there is no connection between them and the definite seven steps here, which are evidently presupposed (note the article) to be well known to the reader.

vision, ὀπτασία, but this word is not confined to appearances which the narrators regard as visions, cf. Luke i. 22, xxiv. 23, cf. Beyschlag, *Studien und Kritiken*, p. 203, 1864; *Witness of the Epistles* (Longmans, 1892).

Ver. 10. φυλακὴν: "ward," perhaps the best translation here with διελθόντες so often used of traversing a place. The first ward might be the place outside the cell where the other soldiers of the quaternion were on guard, and the second ward might refer to some other part of the prison or fortress Antonia (see Blass *in loco*) where sentinels were stationed. Weiss apparently takes the expression to refer to the two φύλακες, ver. 6, cf. 1 Chron. xxvi. 16.—σιδηρᾶν: specially noted since such a gate, when shut, would effectually bar their way; but it opened αὐτομάτῃ, only here in N.T. and in Mark iv. 28, cf. Lev. xxv. 5, 11, 2 Kings xix. 29, Wisdom xvii. 6, and in classical writers the striking parallel, Hom., *Iliad*, v., 749 (Wendt, Blass); Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi., 81 (Wetstein).—φέρουσιν εἰς: only here in N.T., but quite usual in classical Greek. If the narrative means that immediately they were out of the prison they were in the street (so Weiss), evidently the prison was in the city, and εἰς τὴν π. would simply mean the open town, in contrast

to the confined prison-house (so Weiss and Wendt, 1899). Blass decides for the tower of Antonia on account of D.—ἠνοιχθῇ, see critical notes.—ἐξελθόντες: for remarkable addition in D see critical notes.—εὐθὺς: used several times in Acts, but εὐθὺς only once, see x. 16.—ἀπέστη: when there were no further hindrances to the Apostle's flight, then the angel departed (Chrys.).

Ver. 11. γενόμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, cf. Luke xv. 17, and compare instances of similar phrases in Greek and Latin classical writers in Wetstein and Blass.—Κύριος, see critical notes, if without the article Nösgen (so Weiss) takes it of God, Jehovah.—ἐξαπέστειλε: a compound only found in Luke and Paul; four times in Luke's Gospel, six or seven times in Acts, and Gal. iv. 4, 6; very frequent in LXX, and used also in active voice by Polybius.—ἐξείλετο ἐκ χ.: close parallels in LXX, cf. Exod. iii. 8, 2 Sam. xxii. 1, Isa. xliii. 13, Baruch iv. 18, 21, etc.—ἐκ χειρὸς: Hebraism, cf. Luke i. 74. The expression is also classical, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 127, for close parallel.—προσδοκία: only in Luke here and in Luke xxi. 26, cf. Gen. xlix. 10, but more allied to its sense here Ps. cxix. 116, Wisdom xvii. 13, Eccles. xl. 2, and in 2 and 3 Macc. (see H. and R.), and *Psalms of Solomon*, Tit. xi.; frequently in classics. Ho-



12. συνιδὼν τε ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν<sup>1</sup> Μαρίας τῆς μητρὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου Μάρκου, οὗ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ συνηθροισμένοι καὶ προσευχόμενοι. 13. Κρούσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πέτρου<sup>2</sup> τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος, προσῆλθε παιδίσκη ὑπακοῦσαι, ὀνόματι Ῥόδη· 14. καὶ ἐπιγνοῦσα τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ Πέτρου, ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς οὐκ ἤνοιξε τὸν πυλῶνα, εἰσδραμοῦσα δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν εἶσθαι τὸν Πέτρον πρὸ τοῦ πυλῶνος.

<sup>1</sup> Μαρ., but with art. τῆς preceding **ABD** 33, 61, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt—Blass omits.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of τοῦ Π., great preponderance of authorities for αὐτοῦ **ABDLP** 61, maj. of vers., W.H., R.V., etc.

bart claims as a medical word, especially as the verb προσδοκᾶν is also so frequent in Luke; so too Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 436; but see Plummer on Luke xxi. 36. Both verb and noun are also frequent in classical use.

Ver. 12. συνιδὼν, cf. xiv. 6; so several times in Apocrypha, so in classical writers, and also in Josephus. It may also include a consideration of the future (Bengel and Wetstein), but the aorist refers rather to a single act and not to a permanent state (so Alford).—Μαρίας: as no mention is made of Mark's father, she may well have been a widow, possessed of some wealth like Barnabas; see below.—Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικ., i. 23; iv. 36; x. 5, 18, 32; xi. 13; and below, xiii. 9. As in the case of Paul, his Roman name is used most frequently, cf. xv. 39, 2 Tim. iv. 11, Philem. 24, although in xiii. 5, 13 he is spoken of as John. No reason to doubt the identity of this John Mark with the second Evangelist: the notice of Papias that Mark was the ἑρμηνευτής of Peter, Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii., 39, is quite in accordance with the notice here of the Apostle's intimacy with the family of Mark, and with his mention in 1 Pet. v. 13. Blass comments on Μάρκου, "quasi digito monstratur auctor narrationis," and similarly Proleg., p. 11; *Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 192, 193. In Col. iv. 10 the A.V. calls him "sister's son to Barnabas," ὁ ἀνεψιός, but ἀνεψ. properly means "first cousin"; so R.V. the cousin of Barnabas (cf. LXX, Num. xxxvi. 11, Tob. vii. 2), Lightfoot on Col. iv. 10; see on xv. 39.—προσευχόμενοι, cf. James v. 16; "media nocte," Bengel; they betook them to prayer, "to that alliance which is indeed invincible," Chrys., *Hom.*, 26. On ἦσαν with participle as characteristic of St. Luke, see i. 10. As in the former miraculous deliverance, v. 16, all at-

tempts to get rid of the supernatural in St. Luke's narrative are unsuccessful. This is frankly admitted by Wendt, although he also maintains that we cannot discern the actual historical conditions owing to the mingling of legend and history. But he does not deny that St. Peter was liberated, and the same fact is admitted by Weizsäcker, see Wendt (1899), p. 219; and Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 230, and Wendt (1888), pp. 269, 270, for an account of the different attempts to explain the Apostle's liberation. In contrast to all such attempts the minute circumstantiality and the naturalness of the narrative speak for themselves, and we can hardly doubt (as Wendt is inclined to admit in some details) that John Mark has given us an account derived partly from St. Peter himself, cf. vv. 9, 11, and partly from his own knowledge, cf. the peculiarly artless and graphic touches in vv. 13, 14, which could scarcely have come from any one but an inmate of the house, as also the mention of the name of the servant; cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 385; Blass, *Acta Apostolorum*, p. 142; Belser, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, Heft ii. (1895), p. 257; Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 244.

Ver. 13. τὴν θ. τοῦ πυλῶνος: the door of the gateway, cf. x. 17. πυλῶν as in Matt. xxvi. 71, of the passage leading from the inner court to the street, so that strictly the door in the gateway opening upon this passage would be meant, cf. εἰσδ., ver. 14 (and προσῆλθε, ver. 13).—κρούσαντος: to knock at a door on the outside, cf. Luke xiii. 25, but elsewhere in Luke without τὴν θύραν, Luke xi. 9, 10, xii. 36 (Matt. vii. 7, Rev. iii. 20); so too in classical Greek, Xen., *Symp.*, i., 11, see Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 266; in LXX, Judg. xix. 22, Cant. v. 2, Judith xiv. 14.—παιδίσκη, i.e., the portress, cf. John xviii. 17, see Rutherford, *u. s.*, p. 312; Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*,

15. οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπον, Μαίρη. ἡ δὲ διῴσχυρίζετο οὕτως ἔχειν. οἱ δ' ἔλεγον,<sup>1</sup> Ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν. 16. ὁ δὲ Πέτρος<sup>2</sup> ἐπέμενε κρούων·<sup>3</sup> ἀνοίξαντες δὲ εἶδον αὐτόν, καὶ ἐξέστησαν. 17. κατασείσας δὲ αὐτοῖς τῇ χειρὶ σιγᾶν,<sup>4</sup> διηγήσατο αὐτοῖς πῶς ὁ Κύριος αὐτὸν ἐξηγάγεν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς. εἶπε δέ, Ἀπαγγείlate ἱακώβω καὶ τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> Before ο αγγ. D (Pesh.) prefix *τυχον*, so Blass, Hilg. (as if only a possible solution, see Weiss, p. 72). (*τυχον* only occurs in N.T. in 1 Cor. xvi. 6, but in classical Greek adv.)

<sup>2</sup> D omits Π. with Par., but all edit. retain except Blass in β and Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> D reads *εξανοίξαντες δε και ιδοντες αυτον εξεστ.*, a graphic touch perhaps orig., but if so, hardly corrected for brevity.

<sup>4</sup> For *σιγαν* D (Vulg., Gig., Par.) *ινα σιγησωσιν*, and D, Syr. H. mg., Par. *εισηλθεν και*—may be explanatory by reviser; Belser defends as orig., p. 65.

p. 40.—*ὑπακοῦσαι*, R.V., “to answer,” cf. above, Xen., *Symp.*, i., 11 (so in Plato, *Phaedo*, 59 e, etc.).—*Ρόδη*: a rose, cf. Dorcas and other names of the same class. The name occurs in myths and plays, see Blass’s note.

Ver. 14. *τῆς χαρᾶς*: with article, the joy which she felt at the voice of Peter, cf. Luke xxiv. 41 for the same emphatic expression.—*εἰσδ.*: see above on ver. 10, only here in N.T., cf. 2 Macc. v. 26.

Ver. 15. *Μαίρη*: used as in a colloquial expression, not meaning literal insanity, see Page’s note on xxvi. 24, so in 2 Kings ix. 11, *ἐπιληπτος* seems to be used.—*διῴσχυρίζετο*: only here and in Luke xxii. 59 (cf. xv. 2 β). In Luke, A.V. renders “confidently affirmed” as it should be here, and as it is in R.V.; found in classical Greek, and so also in Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 6, 4, but not in LXX; cf. also its use in *Acta Petri et Pauli Apocryph.*, 34, 39 (Lumby). Both *ισχυρίζεσθαι* and its compound here are used in medical language, and both in the same way as in this passage. If we compare the parallel passages, Matt. xxvi. 73, Mark xiv. 70, Luke xxii. 59, in Matthew we have *εἶπον*, in Mark *ἔλεγον*, but in Luke the strong word in the passage before us; Hobart, p. 77, and see also a similar change in parallel passages on p. 76.—*Ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοῦ ἐστιν*, cf. Matt. xviii. 10, Heb. i. 14. According to Jewish ideas they would believe that Peter’s guardian angel had assumed his form and voice, and stood before the door, see Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 748-755, especially 752; *“Apocrypha”* (“Speaker’s Commentary”) “Angelology,” i., 171 ff.; Weber, *Jüdische Theol.*, pp. 170, 171 (1897); “Angels,” B.D., i<sup>3</sup>, Blass, Nösgen, J.

Lightfoot, *in loco*. We may contrast the reserve of the canonical books of the Jews with the details of their later theology, “Engel,” Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 2 and 3.

Ver. 16. *ἐπέμενε*, cf. John viii. 7, with a participle as here; only found elsewhere in N.T. in Luke and Paul; see on x. 48.—*ἀνολξ.*, another natural touch; those assembled went to the door themselves.

Ver. 17. *κατασείσας . . . σιγᾶν*: only in Acts xiii. 16, xix. 33, xxi. 40, prop. to shake down (as fruit from trees), thus to shake up and down (the hand), to beckon with the hand for silence, used with accusative, and later with dat. instrument. *χειρὶ*: so in classical Greek and Josephus, cf. Ovid, *Met.*, i., 206; *Aeneid*, xii., 692, and instances in Wetstein; not in LXX as parallel to this; on the phrase, and also on *σιγᾶν*, as characteristic of Luke, see further Friedrich, pp. 26, 79.—*διηγήσατο*, ix. 27, only in Luke and Mark (except Heb. xi. 32).—*Ἀπαγγείlate*: “tell,” R.V., characteristic of Luke, eleven times in his Gospel, thirteen or fourteen in Acts.—*ἱακώβω*: “the Lord’s brother,” Gal. i. 19, ii. 9, 1 Cor. xv. 7 (from Mark vi. 3 it has been inferred that he was the eldest of those so called). This James may have become more prominent still since the murder of James the son of Zebedee. On his position in the Church at Jerusalem see below on xv. 13, and also on xi. 30. For arguments in favour of the identification of this James with James the son of Alphæus, see B.D., i<sup>3</sup>, p. 1512; Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 239; and, on the other hand, Mayor, *Introd. to Epistle of*



ἀδελφοῖς ταῦτα. καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον. 18. Γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας, ἣν τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις, τί ἄρα ὁ Πέτρος ἐγένετο. 19. Ἡρώδης δὲ ἐπιζητήσας αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ εὐρὼν, ἀνακρίνας τοὺς φύλακας, ἐκέλευσεν<sup>2</sup> ἀπαχθῆναι· καὶ κατελθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας εἰς τὴν Καισάρειαν διέτριβεν.

<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγος om. D, Gig., Par., so Blass in β, and Hilg., may be "Western non-interpolation," and for ordinary reading cf. xx. 23. At end of verse β adds ἡ πως ἐξηλθεν, cf. Par.<sup>2</sup> "aut quomodo exisset"; cf. Blass, p. ix., for defence, so Belser, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπαχθ., D<sup>1</sup> reads ἀποκτανθῆναι, so Hilg., but Blass rejects—certainly looks like a gloss.

St. James; Zahn, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, i., 72; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 252 ff. and 364; Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 76, 77. In this mention of James, Feine points out that a knowledge as to who he was is evidently presupposed, and that therefore we have another indication that the "Jerusalem tradition" is the source of St. Luke's information here.—εἰς ἕτερον τόπον: all conjectures as to the place, whether it was Antioch, Rome, Cæsarea, are rendered more arbitrary by the fact that it is not even said that the place was outside Jerusalem (however probable this may have been); ἐξελθὼν need not mean that he went out of the city, but out of the house in which he had taken refuge, cf. ver. 9. For all that can be said in support of the view that he went to Rome, see Felten, *u. s.*, pp. 240-244, Knabenbauer, p. 214. Harnack, *Chronol.*, i., p. 243, apparently is prepared to regard the visit to Rome in the reign of Claudius, A.D. 42, as not impossible, although unprovable. But see the whole question treated from the opposite side by Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 233, 234 (second edition). The notice is so indefinite that we cannot build anything upon it, and we can scarcely go beyond Wendt's view that if Peter left Jerusalem at all, he may have undertaken some missionary journey, cf. 1 Cor. ix. 5.

Ver. 18. τάραχος (generally παραχή): only in Acts xix. 23, although several times in LXX.—οὐκ ὀλίγος: only found in Acts, where it occurs eight times (litotes), cf. xix. 11, xx. 12, xxvii. 14, and for similar expressions Luke xv. 13 (Acts i. 5), vii. 6: see Klostermann, *Vindicia Lucanæ*, p. 52, and Page, *in loco*. The guards would answer for the escape of the prisoner by suffering a like penalty, cf. *Cod. Just.*, ix., 4, 4.—τί ἄρα (cf. Luke i. 66), Peter has disappeared, what, then, has become of

him? (Grimm, *sub v. ἄρα* (i.), and Winer-Moulton, liii. 8); it thus marks the perplexity of the soldier as to what had become of Peter.—ἐγέν.: Blass, *quid Petro* (ablat.) *factum sit*.

Ver. 19. μὴ for οὐ, as often with a participle. Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 188.—ἀνακρίνας, Acts iv. 9, xxiv. 8, xxviii. 18, Luke xxiii. 14, of a judicial investigation, cf. also 1 Cor. ix. 3 for this judicial use by St. Paul, see Grimm *sub v.*—ἀπαχθῆναι, "to be put to death," R.V., only here in this sense in N.T. absolutely; so Latin *duci* in Pliny, *ad Traj.*, 96 (Page); Nestle, *Philologia Sacra* (1896), p. 53, cf. Gen. xxxix. 22, xl. 3, xlii. 16, LXX, use of the same verb of carrying off to prison.—κατελθὼν: Herod was wont to make his residence for the most part at Jerusalem, Jos., *Ant.*, xix., 7, 3, and we are not told why he went down to Cæsarea on this occasion. Josephus, xix., 8, 2, tells us that the festival during which the king met his death was appointed in honour of the emperor's safety, and the conjecture has been made that the thanksgiving was for the return of Claudius from Britain (see Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 315), but this must remain uncertain; he may have gone down to Cæsarea "propter Tyros," Blass, see also B.D., i., p. 135.

Ver. 20. θυμομαχῶν: lit., "to fight desperately" Polyb., ix., 40, 4; xxvii., 8, 4, and it might be used not only of open warfare, but of any violent quarrel; here almost=ὀργιζεσθαι. There could be no question of actual warfare, as Phœnicia was part of the province of Syria, and Herod had no power to wage war against it. Probably the cause of this θυμομαχία lay in commercial interests. The word is not found in LXX, or elsewhere in N.T.—ὀμοθυμαδόν, i. 14.—πείσαντες, cf. Matt. xxviii. 14, possibly with bribes, as Blass and Wendt suggest.—τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ

20. Ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἡρώδης θυμομαχῶν Τυρίοις καὶ Σιδωνίοις<sup>1</sup>. ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πείσαντες Βλάστον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως, ᾗτουντο εἰρήνην, διὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς. 21. Τακτῇ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἡρώδης ἐνδυσάμενος ἐσθῆτα βασιλικήν, καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, ἐδημηγόρει πρὸς αὐτούς. 22. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐπεφώνει, Θεοῦ φωνὴ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου. 23. παραχρήμα δὲ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἄγγελος Κυρίου, ἄνθ' ὧν οὐκ ἔδωκε τὴν δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ<sup>2</sup>. καὶ γενόμενος σκωληκόβρωτος, ἐξέψυξεν.

<sup>1</sup> ομοθ., D, Syr. H. mg. (Par. Vulg.), so Blass and Hilg. read οἱ δε ομοθ. ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πολέων παρήσαν., may be a gloss on ομοθ. meaning that the two cities made common cause, cf. τὰς χώρας for τὴν χώραν in same verse (Western). D, Par.<sup>2</sup> (Wern.) add at end of ver. 21 καταλλαγέντος δε αὐτοῦ τοῖς Τ. καὶ τοῖς Σ. D omits καὶ τοῖς Σ. Syr. H. mg. has κατηλλαγή δε αὐτοῖς. But this appears to introduce a fresh connection into the narrative, and to divert attention from the main point, viz., the speech. So Weiss, p. 73, thinks φωναὶ (β), for φωνῇ, ver. 22, is introduced to indicate he contents of the speech.

<sup>2</sup> D reads καταβας ἀπο τοῦ βήματος after Θεῷ καὶ. After σκωλ. D adds ἐτι ζῶν καὶ οὕτως, so Blass and Hilg. Blass in β reads εγεν. for γενομ.; insertions avoid possible misunderstandings, see comment.

κοιτῶνος, "chamberlain," perhaps best. κοιτῶν will imply that he was over the king's bed-chamber. Exod. viii. 3, cf. 2 Sam. iv. 7, 2 Kings, vi. 12, 1 Esd. iii. 3=Latin *cubicularius*. κοιτῶν, in Dio Cassius, lxi., 5, is used of the king's treasury, but the ordinary usage is as above. In Attic Greek δωμάτιον, not κοιτῶν.—τρέφεσθαι, i.e., with corn (cf. 1 Kings v. 9, Ezra iii. 7, Ezek. xxvii. 17; Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 10, 6), and see Blass, note *in loco*.

Ver. 21. τακτῇ: only here in N.T.; cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xix., 8, 2 (cf. xviii., 6, 7), δευτέρᾳ δὲ τῶν θεωριῶν ἡμέρᾳ. It is quite true that Josephus says nothing directly of the Tyrians and Sidonians, but the audience was evidently granted to them on the second day of the public spectacle; cf. for the expression, Polyb., iii., 34, 9. The description of Josephus evidently implies some special occasion, and not the return of the ordinary Quinquennialia; see on ver. 19 and also below. Josephus does not mention Blastus, or those of Tyre and Sidon, but this is no reason against the narrative, as Krenkel maintains. Belser, much more reasonably, contends that Luke's narrative supplements and completes the statement of Josephus.—ἐνδ. ἐσθῆτα βασιλικήν, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xix., 8, 2, στολὴν ἐνδυσάμενος ἐξ ἀργυρίου πεποιημένην πᾶσαν.; on ἐσθ. see i. 10.—βήματος: Josephus speaks of the event happening in the theatre, and the βῆμα here = rather "the throne," R.V. (margin, "judgment-seat"), the

royal seat in the theatre from which the king saw the games and made his harangues to the people (so of an orator's pulpit, Neh. viii. 4, 2 Macc. xiii. 26), see Blass and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*—ἐδημηγόρει: only here in N.T. In 4 Macc. v. 15 = *contionari*, frequent in classical Greek.—πρὸς αὐτούς, i.e., to the Tyrian and Sidonian representatives, but the word ἐδημ. might well be used of what was in any case an address, *ad populum*, cf. ver. 22.

Ver. 22. δῆμος: only in Acts, xvii. 5, xix. 30, 33, but in the same signification in classical Greek.—ἐπεφώνει: later Greek in this sense (cf. the flatterers in the description of Josephus, *u. s.*, ἀνεβόων, that Herod was θεός, and so in the words εὐμενῆς εἵης). In N.T. only in Luke, cf. Luke xxiii. 21, Acts xxi. 34, xxii. 24; cf. 2 Macc. i. 23, 3 Macc. vii. 13, 1 Esd. ix. 47. The imperfect quite corresponds to the description of Josephus: ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν φωνῆς ἀνεβ. θ. φωνῇ; for instances of similar flattery see Wetstein, and cf. Josephus, *u. s.*

Ver. 23. παραχρήμα, see above, p. 106.—ἐπάταξεν, cf. Exod. xi. 23, 2 Sam. xxiv. 17, 2 Kings xix. 35, 1 Chron. xxi. 15, Isa. xxxvii. 36, 1 Macc. vii. 41. See p. 188. On the confusion in the reading of Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii., 10, where for the owl whom Josephus describes as appearing to Herod as ἄγγελος κακῶν we have the reading "the angel" of the Acts, the unseen minister of the divine will, see B.D. i<sup>2</sup>, p. 1345, and Eusebius, Schaff and Wace's



24. Ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἤρξανε καὶ ἐπληθύνετο. 25. Βαρνάβας δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος<sup>1</sup> ὑπέστρεψαν ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ, πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν, συμπαραλαβόντες καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον.

<sup>1</sup> After Σαῦλος Syr. H. mg., Par. add ὁ ἐπικαλούμενος Παῦλος. Par. also reads Παῦλος in xiii. 1, 2. This seems a mere anticipation of xiii. 9. Blass in β follows Par. (p. ix.), and regards Παῦλος as original. So Belser, pp. 65, 66, warmly defends, as showing that there is no need to see in xiii. 9 a sudden introd. of the name Paul, but that Luke, at least in the first draft of his work, had already spoken of him here as bearing a double name, like John Mark. *υπέστρεψαν ἐξ* l. A 13, 27, Syr. P. and H., Sah., Boh., Arm., Aeth., Chrys., so Tisch., Weiss, W.H. marg., R.V.; but *SBHLP* 61, Syr. H. mg., Aethro.; W.H., Wendt, R.V. marg. read *εἰς* l., and DE 15, 180, Vulg., Chrys. read *απο*, so Blass in β, and so Hilg. Tisch. maintains that scribe began to write *απο* but turned it into *εἰς*. The latter prep. would not be understood if taken with *υπέστρεψαν*, as it would have no meaning, and so *ἐξ* and *απο* substituted. E, Syr. Pesh., Sah., and so Par. and Blass in β, added *εἰς Ἀντιοχείαν* (but see Weiss, *Introd. to Apostelgeschichte*, p. 37). But the reading *εἰς* l. can be fairly explained if the words are connected with *πληρ. τὴν διακ.*, so Wendt and W.H. (*App.*, p. 94), and Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 232. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 64, holds that *εἰς* was a deliberate alteration of an editor who thus brought the text into conformity with xxii. 17 because the two passages referred to the same visit.

edition, *in loco*; see also Bengel's impressive note on this verse on the difference between human history and divine. —ἀνθ' ὧν = ἀντὶ τούτων ὅτι, cf. Luke i. 20, xix. 44, see also xii. 3; only once outside St. Luke's writings in N.T., 2 Thess. ii. 10; see Simcox, *Language of N. T.*, p. 137; Plummer on Luke i. 20 and xii. 3; quite classical and several times in LXX.—ἐδωκε τὴν δ.: *debitum honorem*, cf. Isa. xlviii. 11, Rev. xix. 7; article elsewhere omitted (cf. Luke xvii. 18); a Hebrew phrase. How different the behaviour of St. Peter and of St. Paul, x. 26, xiv. 14. Josephus expressly says that the king did not rebuke the flatterers or reject their flattery.—καὶ γενόμεν. σκ.: see below. St. Luke does not say that Herod died on the spot, but simply marks the commencement of the disease, *παραχρῆμα*; Josephus describes the death as occurring after five days. Wendt (1899 edition) admits that the kind of death described may well have been gradual, although in 1888 edition he held that the ἐξέψυξεν meant that he expired immediately; see also Zöckler and Hackett, as against Weiss. ἐξέψ., see on v. 5, 10.—σκολ.: only here in N.T.; no contradiction with Josephus, but a more precise description of the fatal disease, cf. 2 Macc. ix. 5, 9, with which detailed and strange account the simple statement of the fact here stands in marked contrast. The word cannot be taken metaphorically, cf. Herod., iv., 205; and Jos., *Ant.*, xvii., 6, 5, of the death of Herod the Great. Such a death was regarded as a punishment for pride; in 2 Macc. and Herod., Farrar, *St. Paul*,

i., 318. The term itself was one which we might expect from a medical man, and St. Luke may easily have learnt the exact nature of the disease during his two years residence in Cæsarea (Belser). See Hobart, pp. 42, 43, Knabenbauer *in loco*. The word was used of a disease of plants, but Luke, no less than his contemporary Dioscorides, may well have been acquainted with botanical terms (Vogel). To think with Baur and Holtzmann of the gnawing worm of the damned is quite opposed to the whole context. If we place the two narratives, the account given by Josephus and that given by St. Luke side by side, it is impossible not to see their general agreement, and none has admitted this more unreservedly than Schürer. On reasons for the silence of Josephus as to the death as a punishment of the king's impiety in contrast with the clear statement of St. Luke; and also on the whole narrative as against the strictures of Spitta, see Belser, *Theologische Quartalschrift*, p. 252 ff., 2<sup>e</sup> Heft, 1895; for a full examination; cf. also Nösgen to the same effect, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 242, Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 417. Belser should also be consulted as against Krenkel, *Josephus und Lucas*, p. 203 ff. It should be noted that Krenkel does not affirm that Luke derived his material from Josephus in xii. 1-23, but only that he was influenced by the Jewish historian, and that with regard to the hapaxlegomenon, σκοληκόβρωτος, he can only affirm that Josephus affords us an analogous expression, B. 7., vii., 8, 7.

Ver. 24. δὲ, marking the contrast, not

XIII. 1. ἦσαν δέ τινες<sup>1</sup> ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκλησίαν προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι, ὃ τε<sup>2</sup> Βαρνάβας καὶ Συμεὼν ὁ καλούμενος Νίγερ, καὶ Λούκιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος, Μαναὴν τε Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου

<sup>1</sup> τινες om. **ABD** 61, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Boh., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> For ο τε **D**, Vulg. read ἐν οἷς, and before Κυρ. **D** omits ο—Blass, "recte," but there may have been some other Lucius from whom this one was distinguished. Σαῦλος, Par. reads Παῦλος, so in ver. 2, and Blass in β; see on xii. 25.

only between the death of the persecutor and the growth of the Word, but also between the persecution and the vitality of the Church.—ἡύξανε καὶ ἐπληθ. imperfects, marking the continuous growth in spite of all obstacles; cf. Luke viii. 11, Matt. xiii. 32, 2 Cor. ix. 10.

Ver. 25. ὑπέστρεψαν ἐξ ἰ., see critical notes, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 63, 64, and note on xxii. 17, below.—πληρ. τὴν διακ.; if the visit extended over as long a period as Ramsay believes, viz., from the time when the failure of harvest in 46 turned scarcity into famine until the beginning of 47 (u. s., pp. 51, 63), no doubt the delegates could not have simply delivered a sum of money to the elders, but would have administered the relief (not money), and carried a personal message of cheer to the distressed (Ramsay, p. 49 ff., u. s.), and so have "fulfilled" their ministry. But the word διακονία does not of necessity involve this personal and continuous ministration, e.g., cf. Rom. xv. 31, where St. Paul uses the word of the money collection brought by him to Jerusalem for the poor, a passage in which the Western gloss is δωροφορία, cf. Rom. xv. 25, 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1, 12, 13. Grimm writes that the word is used of those who succour need by either collecting or bestowing benefactions; see further, *Expositor*, March and July, 1896 (Ramsay), April, 1896 (Sanday), also Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 206, and above on xi. 29.—Σαῦλος, see critical notes for Western addition.—συμπαράλαβόντες, cf. xv. 37, 38, of bringing as a companion in N.T., only once elsewhere in same sense, Gal. ii. i. (cf. 3 Macc. i. 1). This incidental notice of John Mark may well emphasise the fact that he was taken with Paul and Barnabas as a supernumerary, and to mark his secondary character as compared with them. In view of subsequent events, it would be important to make this clear by introducing him in a way which showed that he was not essential to the expedition, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 71, 170, 177; cf. xv. 37, 40.

CHAPTERS XIII.-XIV. *First Missionary*

*Journey of St. Paul.*—On the unity of xiii. and xiv. with the rest of the book see additional note at end of chap. xiv.—Ver. 1. κατὰ τὴν οὖσαν ἐκκ.: the word οὖσαν may well be used here, as the participle of εἰμί is often used in Acts to introduce some technical phrase, or some term marked out as having a technical force, cf. v. 17, xiv. 13, xxviii. 17, so that a new stage in the history of the Christians at Antioch is marked—no longer a mere congregation, but "the Church that was there" (Ramsay, *Church in the R. E.*, p. 52). So also Weiss, *in loco*; οὖσαν stands in contrast to xi. 21-26: there was no longer a mere company of believers at Antioch, but a Church.—ἐν Ἀ.: Blass maintains that the order of words as compared with the mention of the Church in Jerusalem, xi. 22, emphasises the fact that Antioch is the starting-point of the succeeding missionary enterprise, and is named first, and so distinctively set before men's eyes.—προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι, see above on xi. 27. From 1 Cor. xii. 28 it would seem that in Corinth at all events not all teachers were prophets, although in a sense all prophets were teachers, in so far as they edified the Church. The two gifts might be united in the same person as in Paul himself, Gal. ii. 2, 2 Cor. xii. 1 (Zöckler). In Ephes. iv. 11, as in 1 Cor. xii. 28, Apostles stand first in the Church, Prophets next, and after them Teachers. But whilst it is quite possible to regard the account of the gift of προφητεία in 1 Cor. xii.-xiv. as expressing "inspiration" rather than "official character," this does not detract from the pre-eminent honour and importance assigned to the prophets and teachers at Antioch. Their position is such and their powers are such in the description before us that they might fairly be described as "presbyters," whose official position was enhanced by the possession of a special gift, "the prophecy" of the New Testament, "presbyters" who like those in 1 Tim. v. 17 might also be described as κοπιῶντες ἐν διδασκαλίᾳ, Moberly, *Ministerial Priest-*



σύντροφος, καὶ Σαῦλος. 2. λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ  
 νηστευόντων, εἶπε τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, Ἀφορίσατε δὴ μοι τὸν τε  
 Βαρνάβαν καὶ τὸν Σαῦλον εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς.

hood, pp. 159, 160, 166, 208. See further on the relation of the prophets and teachers in the *Didachē* "Church," Hastings' B.D., i. 436, Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 27; and on the relation of prophecy and teaching in the N.T., McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 528, Zöckler, *in loco*.—*τε . . . καὶ*: a difficulty arises as to the force of these particles. It is urged that two groups are thus represented, the first three names forming one group (prophets), and the last two another group (teachers), so Ramsay (p. 65), Weiss, Holtzmann, Zöckler, Harnack, Knabenbauer, and amongst older commentators Meyer and Alford; but on the other hand Wendt, so Nösgen, Felten, Hilgenfeld think that there is no such separation intended, as Paul himself later claims the prophetic gift (1 Cor. xiv. 6), to which Zöckler would reply that at this time Paul might well be described as a teacher, his prophetic gift being more developed at a later date. Amongst recent English writers both Hort and Gore regard the term "prophets and teachers" as applying to all the five (so Page).—*Συμεὼν*: nothing is known of him. Spitta would identify him with Simon of Cyrene, Matt. xxvii. 32, but the epithet Nigē may have been given to distinguish him from others of the same name, and possibly from the Simon to whom Spitta refers.—*Λούκιος ὁ Κ.*: Zöckler describes as "quite absurd" the attempt to identify him with Luke of the Acts. The names are quite different, and the identification has been supported on the ground that Cyrene was a famous school of medicine. This Lucius may have been one of the men of Cyrene, xi. 20, who first preached the Gospel at Antioch. Others have proposed to identify him with the Lucius of Rom. xvi. 21.—*Μαναήν*: of the three names, as distinct from Barnabas and Paul, Blass says *ignoti reliqui*, and we cannot say more than this. For although Mark is described as *σύντροφος* of Herod the Tetrarch (Antipas), the description is still very indefinite. A.V. "brought up with," R.V. "foster-brother," *collectaneus*, Vulgate. For an ingenious study on the name and the man see Plumptre, *in loco*, cf. also Wetstein and Zöckler. The name occurs in 1 Macc. i. 6, but the reading must apparently give place to

*συνέκτροφος*. It is also found in 2 Macc. ix. 29, and once in the N.T. in the present passage. Deissmann, from the evidence of the inscriptions, regards it as a court title, and quotes amongst other places an inscription in Delos of the first half of the second century B.C., where Heliodorus is described as *σύντροφος τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου Φιλοπάτορος*. So Manaen also might be described as a confidential friend of Herod Antipas, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 173, 178-181.—*Σαῦλος*, placed last probably because the others were older members of the Church. The position certainly does not mark the list as unhistorical; if the account came from the Apostle himself, the lowest place was eminently characteristic of him.

Ver. 2. *λειτουργούντων*: "as they ministered to the Lord," A. and R. V., *ministrantibus Domino*, Vulgate. It would be difficult to find a more appropriate rendering. On the one hand the word is habitually used in the LXX of the service of the priests and Levites (cf. Heb. viii. 2, x. 11), although it has a wider meaning as, e.g., when used to describe the service of Samuel to God, 1 Sam. ii. 18, iii. 1, or of service to man, 1 Kings i. 4, 15, 2 Chron. xvii. 19, Eccles. x. 25. So too in the N.T. it is used in the widest sense of those who aid others in their poverty, Rom. xv. 27 (cf. 2 Cor. ix. 12), Phil. ii. 25, 27, and also *λειτουργία τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν*, Phil. ii. 17, of the whole life of the Christian Society. But here the context, see on ver. 3 (cf. xiv. 23), seems to point to some special public religious service (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 63, but see also Ramsay's rendering of the words, and Zöckler, *in loco*). In this early period *λειτουργία* could of course not be applied to the Eucharist alone, and the Romanist commentator Felten only goes so far as to say that a reference to it cannot be excluded in the passage before us, and in this we may agree with him. At all events it seems somewhat arbitrary to explain *Didachē*, xv. 1, where we have a parallel phrase, of the service of public worship, whilst in the passage before us the words are explained of serving Christ whether by prayer or by instructing others concerning the way of salvation; so Grimm-Thayer. In each passage the verb should certainly be taken as referring to the

3. τότε νηστεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι, καὶ ἐπιθέντες τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς, ἀπέλυσαν.<sup>1</sup> 4. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος

<sup>1</sup> ἀπέλυσαν D omits, Blass retains, so Hilg.; its omission ruins the construction. (τον Β. καὶ) τον Σ., om. τον Ξ<sup>a</sup>ABCDE, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Hilg.; cf. Ramsay, "Forms of Classif. in Acts," *Expositor*, July, 1895.

ministry of public worship. In the N.T. the whole group of words, *λειτουργέω*, *λειτουργία*, *λειτουργός*, *λειτουργικός*, is found only in St. Luke, St. Paul, and Hebrews. See further on the classical and Biblical usage Westcott, *Hebrews*, additional note on viii. 2. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 137, from pre-Christian papyri points out that *λειτουργία* and *λειτουργέω* were used by the Egyptians of the sacred service of the priests, and sometimes of a wider religious service. —αὐτῶν: not the whole Ecclesia, but the prophets and teachers: "prophetarum doctorumque qui quasi arctius sunt concilium," Blass.—*νηστεύοντων*, cf. x. 30, xiv. 23, xxvii. 9, and in O.T. 1 Sam. vii. 5, 6, Dan. ix. 3, on the union of fasting and prayer. In *Didaché*, viii., 1, while the fasts of the "hypocrites" are condemned, fasting is enjoined on the fourth day of the week, and on Friday, i.e., the day of the Betrayal and the Crucifixion. But *Didaché*, vii., 4, lays it down that before baptism the baptiser and the candidate should fast. The conduct therefore of the prophets and teachers at Antioch before the solemn mission of Barnabas and Saul to their work is exactly what might have been expected, cf. Edersheim, *Temple and its Services*, p. 66.—εἶπε τὸ Π.: we may reasonably infer by one of the prophets; it may have been at a solemn meeting of the whole Ecclesia held expressly with reference to a project for carrying the Gospel to the heathen (Hort, Felten, Hackett). Felten sees in *δὴ* an indication of an answer to a special prayer. But it does not follow that the "liturgical" functions should be assigned to the whole Ecclesia. —Ἀφορίσατε, cf. the same word used by St. Paul of himself, Rom. i. 1, Gal. i. 15, LXX, Lev. xx. 26, Numb. viii. 11. μοι. Such words and acts indicate the personality of the Holy Ghost, cf. *δὴ* emphatic, signifying the urgency of the command (cf. use of the word in classical Greek). A. and R.V. omit altogether in translation. In Luke ii. 15 both render it "now," in Matt. xiii. 23, R.V. "verily," Act xv. 36, "now," 1 Cor. vi. 20, A. and R.V. "therefore," to emphasise a demand as here. With this force the word is

thus peculiar to Luke and Paul (in other passages, reading contested). The translation of the word may have been omitted here, since the rendering "now" would have been taken in a temporal sense which *δὴ* need not suggest.—δ for εἰς δ, cf. i. 21, Luke i. 25, xii. 46. Grimm-Thayer, Winer-Moulton, l. 7 b, so in Greek writers generally.—προσκέκλημαι, cf. ii. 39, xvi. 10. Grimm-Thayer, *sub v. δ*. Winer-Moulton, xxxix. 3.

Ver. 3. τότε probably indicating a new and special act of fasting and prayer. But is the subject of the sentence the whole Ecclesia, or only the prophets and teachers mentioned before? Ramsay maintains that it cannot be the officials just mentioned, because they cannot be said to lay hands on two of themselves, so that he considers some awkward change of subject takes place, and that the simplest interpretation is that the Church as a whole held a meeting for this solemn purpose (cf. πάντες in D). But if the whole Church was present, it does not follow that they took part in every detail of the service, just as they may have been present in the public service of worship in ver. 2 (see above) without *λειτουργῶν*. τῷ Κ. equally with the prophets and teachers (cf. Felten and also Wendt). There is therefore no reason to assume that the laying on of hands was performed by the whole Church, or that St. Luke could have been ignorant that this function was one which belonged specifically to the officers of the Church. The change of subject is not more awkward than in vi. 6. Dr. Hort is evidently conscious of the difficulty, see especially *Ecclesia*, p. 64. No doubt, on the return of the two missionaries, they report their doings to the whole Church, xiv. 27, but this is no proof that the laying on of hands for their consecration to their mission was the act of the whole Church. That prophets and teachers should thus perform what is represented in Acts as an Apostolic function need not surprise us, see Gore, *u. s.*, pp. 241, 260, 261. A further question arises as to whether this passage conflicts with the fact that St. Paul



τοῦ Ἀγίου,<sup>1</sup> κατήλθον εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν, ἐκεῖθεν τε ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον. 5. καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, κατήγγελλον τὸν λόγον

<sup>1</sup> ἐκπεμφ. ὑπο τοῦ Π., Par. has *egressi e sanctis* = οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐξεληθόντες ἀπο τῶν ἁγίων, Blass in β, and for ἀπηλθον D has καταβαίντες (so Blass and Hilg.).

was already an Apostle, and that his Apostleship was based not upon his appointment by man, or upon human teaching, but upon a revelation from God, and upon the fact that he had seen the Lord. It is certainly remarkable that both Barnabas and Saul are called Apostles by St. Luke in connection with this first missionary journey, and that under no other circumstance does he apply the term to either, xiv. 4, 14, and it is possible that the title may have been given here in a limited sense with reference to their special mission; see Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 28, 64, 65. But at the same time we must remember that in the N.T. the term ἀπόστολος is never applied to any one who may not very well have satisfied the primary qualification of Apostleship, *viz.*, to have seen the Lord, and to bear witness to His Resurrection, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 95 ff. (as against the recent statements of McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 653): "We have no reason to suppose that this condition was ever waived, unless we throw forward the *Teaching* into the second century," Gwatkin, "Apostle," Hastings' B.D.: see further, Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 350, additional note on the *Didaché*. This we may accept, except in so far as it bears upon the *Didaché*, in which the Apostles (only mentioned in one passage, xi. 3-6) may be contrasted rather than compared with the Apostles of the N.T., inasmuch as they are represented as wandering missionaries, itinerating from place to place, in days of corruption and gross imposture, and inasmuch as the picture which the *Didaché* reveals is apparently characteristic of a corner of Church life rather than of the whole of it; Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 176; Bright, *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, p. 34, and the strictures of Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, pp. 27, 40 ff. It may of course be urged that we know nothing of Barnabas and of the others, to whom Lightfoot and Gwatkin refer as to their special call from Christ, whilst in the case of St. Paul we have his own positive assertion. But even in his case the laying on of hands recognised, if it did not bestow, his Apostolic commission, and "the

ceremony of Ordination when it was not the channel of the grace was its recognition," Gore, *u. s.*, pp. 257-267, 383, 395, etc., and see especially the striking passage in Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, pp. 107, 108.

Ver. 4. μὲν οὖν answered by δέ in ver. 5, so Weiss and Rendall, Appendix on μὲν οὖν, p. 161. Page takes διελ. δέ in ver. 6 as the antithesis, see his note on ii. 41.—ἐκπεμφ., cf. ver. 2; only in N.T. in xvii. 10, cf. 2 Sam. xix. 31, where it denotes personal conduct. Mr. Rendall's note takes the verb here also of the personal presence of the Holy Spirit conducting the Apostles on their way.—κατήλθον: "went down," R.V., of a journey from the interior to the coast, cf. xv. 30; Vulgate, *abierunt*, and so A.V. "departed," which fails to give the full force of the word.—Σελεύκειαν: the port of Antioch, built by the first Seleucus, about sixteen miles from the city on the Orontes; *Seleucia ad mare* and ἡ ἐν Περσίᾳ to distinguish it from other places bearing the same name, see Wetstein for references to it. On its mention here and St. Luke's custom see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 70.—Κύπρον, cf. iv. 36. Although not expressly stated, we may well believe that the place was divinely intimated. But it was natural for more reasons than one that the missionaries should make for Cyprus. Barnabas was a Cypriote, and the nearness of Cyprus to Syria and its productive copper mines had attracted a large settlement of Jews, cf. also xi. 19, 20, and the Church at Antioch moreover owed its birth in part to the Cypriotes, xi. 20 (xxi. 16).

Ver. 5. Σαλαμῖνι: the nearest place to Seleucia on the eastern coast of Cyprus. A few hours' sail in favourable weather would bring the traveller to a harbour convenient and capacious. The Jewish colony must have been considerable since mention is made of synagogues.—κατήγγελλον: "they began to proclaim" . . . ἐν ταῖς συν., it was St. Paul's habitual custom to go to the synagogues first, cf. ix. 20, xiv. 1, etc.—Ἰωάννην: the marked silence about him previously seems to emphasise the fact that he was not selected by the Holy Ghost in the same solemn way as Barnabas and Saul,—

τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων· εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην.<sup>1</sup> 6. διελθόντες<sup>2</sup> δὲ τὴν νῆσον ἄχρι Πάφου, εὗρόν τινα μάγον

<sup>1</sup> ὑπηρέτην, D, Par., Syr. Harcl. mg. read *υπηρετουντα αυτοις* (E reads *εις διακονιαν*). Weiss considers that this is in order to avoid describing Mark as *υπηρετης*.

<sup>2</sup> διελθοντες δε, D<sup>1</sup> reads *και περιελθοντων αυτων*, and so Blass and Hilg., and D<sup>2</sup> *διελθοντων δε αυτων*. *περι* may have been changed into *δια*, as the latter prep. may have been thought to mean that they went straight through, instead of going about the island; see also Weiss, Codex D, p. 73. *ολην την νησον*, so  $\Sigma$ ABCDE 61, Vulg., several vers., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.—perhaps fell out, as in T.R., because the situation of Paphos was not known, and *ολην* seemed to contradict *αχρι Π.* (Wendt). D reads *ονοματι καλουμενον*;  $\psi$  *ονομα* is common in Gospels but not elsewhere in Acts, *ονοματι* and *καλου.* are both common; cf. also Luke xix. 1. *Βαριησους* BCE 13, Sah., Chrys., so W.H., Weiss; *Βαριησουν* AD<sup>2</sup>HLP, Syr. H. mg.; *Βαριησου*  $\Sigma$  40, Vulg., Boh., Syr. H. text, Arm., Tisch.; *Βαριησουνα* D, so Blass, Hilg. with *v* or *u* added (D<sup>2</sup>)—other variations. E, Gig., Wer., Lucif. add *ο μεθερμηνευεται Ετοιμας* (see on ver. 8) according to Blass in  $\beta$  (E reading *Ελυμας*, Gig., Wer., Lucif. reading *paratus* = *Ετοιμος*). In ver. 8 almost all authorities read *Ελυμας*, but D, Lucif. have *Ετοιμας* (not Gig., Par.). This reading is defended by Klostermann, *Prob. im Aposteltexte*, p. 21, and adopted by Blass (although he is not satisfied with Klostermann's derivation) and also by Ramsay. Blass holds that this name *Ετοιμας*, whatever it is, must be interpretation of *Βαριησους*—not *μαγος* of it. It is possible that some desire may have been at work to avoid any connection between the name of the Magian and the name of Jesus, and thus the words *ουτος γαρ μεθ. . . . αυτου* in ver. 8, which are omitted by Blass without any authority, simply because of the reading in ver. 6 in E, etc., may have crept into ver. 6 as more appropriate. See also "Barjesus," Hastings' B.D. Weiss, Codex D, p. 74, points out that *Ετοιμας* may be an old corruption for *Ελυμας*, and this seems very probable. See further, Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.*, i., 478 ff.

ὑπηρέτην, cf. Luke iv. 20, and many writers give it here a kind of official sense (although the word may be used of any kind of service), "*velut ad baptizandum*," cf. x. 48 (1 Cor. i. 14), Blass; so Alford, Felten, Overbeck, Weiss. But the word may express the fact that John Mark was able to set the Apostles more free for their work of evangelising.

Ver. 6. *διελθόντες δὲ (ὅλην) τὴν ν.*: "and they made a missionary progress through the whole island," Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 72 and 384, and "Words denoting Missionary Travel in Acts," *Expositor*, May, 1896; on *ὅλην*, see critical notes. Ramsay gives nine examples in Acts of this use of *διέρχασθαι* or *διελθεῖν* with the accusative of the region traversed, the only other instance in the N.T. being 1 Cor. xvi. 5. In each of these ten cases the verb implies the process of going over a country as a missionary, and it is remarkable that in i.-xii. this construction of *διέρχομαι* never occurs, though there are cases in which the idea of a missionary tour requires expression. Ramsay therefore sees in the use of the word in the second part of the book a quasi technical term which the writer had caught from St. Paul himself, by whom alone it is also employed.—

Πάφον: Nea Paphos—the chief town and the place of residence of the Roman governor—some little distance from the old Paphos (Παλαιάπαφος, Strabo) celebrated for its Venus temple. The place still bears the name of *Baffa*, Renan, *St. Paul*, p. 14; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 101; C. and H., smaller edition, p. 125.—*μάγον*, cf. viii. 9; "sorcerer," A. and R.V. margin, cf. Matt. ii. 1, but word used here as among the Greeks and Romans in a bad sense. Wycl. has "witch," and this in its masculine form "wizard" has been suggested as an appropriate rendering here. On the absurd attempt to show that the whole narrative is merely introduced as a parallel to St. Peter's encounter with Simon, chap. viii., see Nösgen, p. 427; Zöckler, *in loco*, and Salmon, *Introduction*, p. 310. The parallel really amounts to this, that both Peter and Paul encountered a person described under the same title, a magician—an encounter surely not improbable in the social circumstances of the time (see below)! For other views see Holtzmann, who still holds that the narrative is influenced by viii. 14 ff. The word is entirely omitted by Jüngst, p. 120, without any authority whatever. Elymas, according



ψευδοπροφήτην Ἰουδαῖον ᾧ ὄνομα Βαρῖησοῦς, 7. ὃς ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ, ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ. οὗτος προσκαλεσάμενος Βαρνάβαν καὶ Σαῦλον,<sup>1</sup> ἐπέζητησεν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> Σαυλον, so in all auth. Blass says "even by Par."—to distinguish him from Sergius Paulus—see above on ver. 1; Blass, p. ix., and Wendt (1899), p. 230, note.

to the narrative, says Jüngst, was either a magician or a false prophet. But the proconsul is styled ἀνὴρ συνετός, and this could not have been consistent with his relation with a magician: Elymas was therefore a kind of Jewish confessor. But neither supposition does much to establish the wisdom of Sergius Paulus. —ψευδοπροφήτην like ψευδόμαντις in classical writers, here only in Acts; and Luke vi. 26, by St. Luke. But frequently used elsewhere in N.T., and in the LXX, and several times in *Didaché*, xi. On the "Triple beat," Magian, false prophet, Jew, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 415.—Βαρῖησοῦς, on the name see critical notes.

Ver. 7. ὃς ἦν σὺν τῷ ᾧ, cf. iv. 13. Nothing was more in accordance with what we know of the *personnel* of the strange groups which often followed the Roman governors as *comites*, and it is quite possible that Sergius Paulus may have been keenly interested in the powers or assumed powers of the Magian, and in gaining a knowledge of the strange religions which dominated the East. If the Roman had been completely under the influence of the false prophet, it is difficult to believe that St. Luke would have described him as συνετός (a title in which Zöckler sees a distinction between Sergius Paulus and another Roman, Felix, over whom a Jewish Magian gained such influence, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 7, 2), although magicians of all kinds found a welcome in unexpected quarters in Roman society, even at the hands of otherwise discerning and clear-sighted personages, as the pages of Roman writers from Horace to Lucian testify. It was not the first time in the world's history that credulity and scepticism had gone hand in hand: Wetstein, *in loco*; Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., pp. 351, 352; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 74 ff.—ἐπέζητησεν; perhaps means, as in classical Greek, "put questions to them". The typical Roman is again marked by the fact that he was thus desirous to hear what the travellers would say, and it is also indicated that he was not inclined to submit himself entirely to the Magian.—τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ: "the proconsul," R.V., "deputy," A.V.

In the reign of James I. the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was called "the deputy" (cf. Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, i., 2, 161). Under Augustus, B.C. 27, the Roman provinces had been divided into two classes: (1) imperial and (2) senatorial, the former being governed by *proprætors* or generals, and the latter by *proconsuls*. But as the first kind of government would often be required when a province was unruly, it frequently happened that the same province might be at one time classed under (1) and at another time under (2). Cyprus had been originally an imperial province, Strabo, xiv., but in 22 B.C. it had been transferred by Augustus to the Senate, and was accordingly, as Luke describes it, under a *proconsul*, Dio Cassius, liii., 12, liv., 4. Under Hadrian it appears to have been under a *proprætor*; under Severus it was again under a *proconsul*. At Soloi, a town on the north coast of Cyprus, an inscription was discovered by General Cesnola, *Cyprus*, 1877, p. 425 (cf. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, 1889, p. 114), dated ἐπὶ Παύλου (ἀνθ)υπάτου, and the probable identification with Sergius Paulus is accepted by Lightfoot, Zöckler, Ramsay, Knabenbauer, etc.; see especially amongst recent writers Zahn, *Einkleitung*, ii., Excurs. ii., p. 632, for a similar view, and also for information as to date, and as to another and more recent inscription (1887), bearing upon the connection of the Gens Sergia with Cyprus; see also McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 175, note, and Wendt, edition 1899.—συνετῷ: R.V., "a man of understanding," cf. Matt. xi. 25. A.V. and other E.V. translate "prudent," Vulgate, *prudens*, but see Genevan Version on Matt., u. s.; frequent in LXX in various significations: σύνεσις, practical discernment, intelligence, so συνετός, one who can "put things together" (συνιέναι): σοφία, the wisdom of culture (Grimm-Thayer); on "prudent," see Humphry, *Commentary* on R.V., p. 28.

Ver. 8. ἀντίστατο: because he saw that his hope of gain was gone, cf. xvi. 19, xix. 27, and the hope of retaining influence with the *proconsul*; see reading in D, cf. 2 Tim. iii. 8, where St. Paul

8. ἀνθίστατο δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἑλύμας, ὁ μάγος, (οὕτω γὰρ μεθερμηνεύεται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ,) ζητῶν διαστρέφαι τὸν ἀνθρώπου ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως.<sup>1</sup>  
 9. Σαῦλος δέ, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος, πλησθεὶς Πνεύματος Ἁγίου, καὶ ἀτεινίσας εἰς αὐτόν, εἶπεν, 10. Ὡ πλήρης παντὸς δόλου καὶ πάσης ῥαδιουργίας, υἱὲ διαβόλου, ἐχθρὲ πάσης δικαιοσύνης, οὐ παύσῃ διαστρέφων τὰς

<sup>1</sup> After πιστεως D, Syr. Harcl. mg. add ἐπειδὴ ἡδιστα ἠκουεν αὐτῶν (cf. E). We may compare Mark vi. 20; see also Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 81.

uses the same verb of the magicians with-  
 standing Moses.—Ἑλύμας, see critical  
 notes in answer to Klostermann, who  
 finds in Ἑ. a translation of Bar-Jesus;  
 Wendt points out (1899) that in this  
 case οὕτω γὰρ μεθ. would follow im-  
 mediately after Ἑ., but as οὕτω κ.τ.λ.  
 follows immediately upon ὁ μάγος, Ἑ.  
 can only be a translation of that word;  
 see also MS. authority, so Blass in β,  
 where he adds to βαρῆησοῦς the words  
 δ μεθ. Ἑτοιμᾶς. In Ἑλύμας we have  
 the Greek form either of Aramaic *Alimā*,  
 strong, or more probably of an Arab  
 word *alim*, wise; we cannot arrive at any  
 derivation closer than this, cf. "Bar-  
 Jesus," Hastings' B.D., and for a similar  
 explanation Zöckler, *in loco*; and Wendt  
 (1899), Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, Ramsay,  
*St. Paul*, p. 74, and so Blass, *in loco*,  
 read Ἑτοιμᾶς, and render "Son of  
 the Ready".—διαστρέφαι, Exod. v. 4,  
 same construction with ἀπό; 1 Kings  
 xviii. 17, 18, Matt. xvii. 17, Luke ix. 41,  
 Phil. ii. 15; see also critical notes.

Ver. 9. Σαῦλος δέ, ὁ καὶ Παῦλος:  
 since the days of St. Jerome (*De Vir.*  
*Ill.*, chap. vi., cf. Aug., *Confess.*, viii., 4,  
 etc., cf. amongst moderns Bengel, Ols-  
 hausen, Ewald, Meyer) it has been  
 thought that there is some connection  
 here emphasised by the writer between  
 the name Sergius Paulus and the as-  
 sumption of the name Paul by the Apostle  
 at this juncture. (Wendt (1899) inclines  
 to the view that the name Paul was first  
 used in ver. 1. See *in loco* and critical  
 notes.) So too Baur, Zeller, Hausrath,  
 Overbeck, Hilgenfeld are of opinion that  
 Luke intended some reference to the  
 name of the proconsul, although they  
 regard the narrative of his conversion as  
 unhistorical. But Wendt rightly main-  
 tains (1899) that the simple δ καὶ without  
 the addition of ἀπὸ τότε would not  
 denote the accomplishment of a change  
 of name at this juncture, and that if the  
 change or rather addition of name had  
 been now effected, the mention of it  
 would naturally have followed after the  
 mention of the conversion of the pro-

consul in ver. 13. The connection  
 seemed so strained and artificial to many  
 that they abandoned it, and regarded the  
 collocation of the two names as a mere  
 chance incident, whilst Zöckler (whose  
 note should be consulted, *Apostelge-  
 schichte*, *in loco*, second edition), who  
 cannot thus get rid of the striking simi-  
 larity in the names of the two men,  
 thinks that the narrative of St. Luke is  
 too condensed to enable us fully to solve  
 the connection. But since it was custom-  
 ary for many Jews to bear two names,  
 a Hebrew and a Gentile name, cf. Acts  
 i. 23, xii. 25, xiii. 1, Col. iv. 11, Jos.,  
*Ant.*, xii., 9, 7, and frequent instances in  
 Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, pp. 182, 183,  
 cf. Winer-Schmiedel, p. 149 note, it may  
 well be that Luke wished to intimate  
 that if not at this moment, yet during  
 his first missionary journey, when the  
 Apostle definitely entered upon his Gen-  
 tile missionary labours, he employed not  
 his Jewish but his Gentile name to mark  
 his Apostleship to the Gentile world  
 („Seit 13. 1. ist der jüdische Jünger  
 Σαῦλος Weltapostel," Deissmann); by a  
 marvellous stroke of historic brevity the  
 author sets before us the past and the  
 present in the formula δ καὶ Π.—a simple  
 change in the order of a recurring pair  
 of names: see Ramsay's striking remarks,  
*St. Paul*, p. 83 ff., with which however,  
*mutatis mutandis*, his more recent re-  
 marks, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*  
 p. 54, should be carefully compared. See  
 also Deissmann, *u. s.*, Nösgen, Wendt,  
 Hackett, Felten, and Zöckler, *in loco*,  
 and McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 176.  
 This preference by St. Luke of the Gen-  
 tile for the Hebrew name has its analogy  
 in St. Paul's own use in his Epistles  
 (and in his preference for Roman pro-  
 vincial names in his geographical refer-  
 ences, cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 Cor. viii. 1, ix.  
 2, Rom. xv. 26, Phil. iv. 15).

Ver. 10. πλήρης: for an interesting par-  
 allel in Plato cf. Wetstein, *in loco*, Plato,  
*Legg.*, 908 D.—ῥαδιουργίας: only here  
 in N.T., cf. xviii. 14, hellenistic, R.V.  
 "villainy," A.V. "mischief" (so Genevan),



δοὺς Κυρίου<sup>1</sup> τὰς εὐθείας; 11. καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ χεὶρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ σέ, καὶ ἔσῃ τυφλὸς μὴ βλέπων τὸν ἥλιον ἄχρι καιροῦ. παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπέπεσεν<sup>2</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀχλὺς καὶ σκότος, καὶ περιάγων ἐζητεῖ χειραγωγούς. 12. τότε ἰδὼν ὁ ἀνθύπατος τὸ γεγονός ἐπίστευσεν,<sup>3</sup> ἐκπλησσομένης ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Κυρίου.

<sup>1</sup> Κυρίου, but **Ν**\*B του K., so W.H. text, cf. Hos. xiv. 9 (10) (but see *var. lec.*), so Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπέπεσεν, but ἐπεσεν **Ν**ABD 61, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt, Hilg.; see, on the other hand, Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, Introd., pp. 19, 20.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπίστευσεν—DE prefix εθανυμασεν καὶ; after επισ. D adds τῷ Θεῷ, so Blass and Hilg.

but other E.V. "deceit"; the idea of deceit, however, is more properly contained in δόλου R.V., "guile". ῥῆδ., lit., ease in doing, so easiness, laziness, and hence fraud, wickedness, cf. πανουργία, frequently used, although not necessarily so, in a bad sense.—*οὐκ διαβόλου*, John viii. 44, the expression may be used in marked and indignant contrast to the name "Son of Jesus," cf. iii. 25, iv. 36. But without any reference to ver. 6 the expression would describe him as the natural enemy of the messengers of God. On the phrase and its use here see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 163. Note the thrice πάντος—πάσης—πάσης, "ter repetitur emphatic" Wetstein.—*διαστρέφων*, cf. LXX, Prov. x. 9, and Isa. lix. 8, Micah iii. 9.—*τὰς δόους . . . τὰς εὐθείας*: similar expressions frequent in LXX, so of the ways of the Lord in contrast to the ways of men, Ezek. xxxiii. 17, Ecclesiast. xxxix. 24, Song of the Three Children, ver. 3.

Ver. 11. καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ, cf. Hort, *Eccllesia*, p. 179.—*μὴ βλέπων τὸν ἥλιον*: emphasising the punishment, as it would imply that he should be stone-blind (Weiss).—*ἄχρι καιροῦ*: "until a season," R.V. margin, "until the time" (Rendall), i.e., the duly appointed time when it should please God to restore his sight, cf. Luke iv. 13, xxi. 24 (Acts xxiv. 25). The exact expression is only found here and in Luke iv. 13. Wendt (1899) asks if the ceasing of the punishment is conceived of as ceasing with the opposition in ver. 8. See his earlier edition, 1888, and the comment of Chrys., so Oecumenius: οὐκ ἄρα τιμωρία ἦν ἀλλ' ἄσπις: so too Theophylact.—*παραχρῆμα*, see above on p. 106.—*ἐπέπεσεν*, see critical notes. If we retain T.R. with Weiss, the word may be called characteristic of St. Luke, see above on p. 216 its use as denoting an attack of disease

is quite medical, Hobart, p. 44.—*ἀχλὺς*: only here in N.T., not in LXX. Galen in describing diseases of the eye mentions ἀχλὺς amongst them. So Dioscorides uses the word of a cataract, and Hippocrates also employs it, Hobart, p. 44. The word is no doubt frequent in Homer, sometimes of one deprived of sight by divine power, and it also occurs in Polyb. and Josephus. But here it is used in conjunction with other words which may also be classed as medical, παραχ., σκότος, to say nothing of (ἐπὶ)ἐπέπεσεν.—*σκότος*: marks the final stage of blindness—the word is no doubt a common one, but it is used, as also some of its derivatives, by medical writers in a technical sense, and Dioscorides in one place connects σκοτώματα and ἀχλὺς together.—*περιάγων*: only absolutely here in N.T., so sometimes in classical Greek, and sometimes with acc. loci, as also in N.T. (cf. Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35, etc.).—*ἐζητεῖ*, imperf., he sought but did not find.—*χειραγωγούς*: only here in N.T., not in LXX, cf. the verb in ix. 8, xxii. 11, and in LXX, Judg. xvi. 26 A, Tobit xi. 16 (but not A, B); used by Plutarch, etc.

Ver. 12. ἐπίστευσεν: "the blindness of Elymas opened the eyes of the proconsul" (Felten). If the verb is understood in its full sense, viz., that Sergius Paulus became a convert to the faith, ver. 48, ii. 44, iv. 4, xi. 21, baptism would be implied, viii. 12.—*ἐκπλησσομένης*, Matt. vii. 28, Mark i. 22, xi. 18, Luke iv. 32, ix. 43, etc., so in classical Greek with ἐπί. The verb is also found in Eccl. vii. 17 (16), Wisdom xiii. 4, 2 Macc. vii. 12, 4 Macc. viii. 4, xvii. 16. Bengel's comment is suggestive, "miraculo acuebatur attentio ad doctrinam": the conversion is not represented as the result of the miracle alone. The conversion of a Roman proconsul is regarded as absolutely incredible by Renan (so more recent critics). But if

13. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἦλθον εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας. Ἰωάννης δὲ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα. 14. αὐτοὶ δέ, διελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Πέργης, παρεγένοντο εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας,<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἰσελθόντες

<sup>1</sup> τῆς Πισιδίας, DEHLP but acc. in  $\aleph$ ABC, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt. Blass (so Hilg.) retains gen. on the ground that the adj. Πισίδιος "non exstat," but see Ramsay, and Wendt (1899), p. 231; also Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* and *sub Ἀντιόχειαν*, 2.

the narrative had been a mere fiction to magnify Paul's powers in converting such an important personage in his first encounter with the powers of heathenism, the forger would not have contented himself with the brief Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Π. of ver. 9; see Zöckler's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 245, second edition, on this and other objections against the narrative. See *Introd.* for the favourable light in which St. Luke describes the relations between the Roman government and Christianity.

Ver. 13. Ἀναχθέντες, "set sail," R.V. So in classical use, here in its technical nautical sense—so too, in opposite sense, *κατάγεισθαι*. In this sense thirteen times in Acts, and once in Luke's Gospel, viii. 22, but not in the other Gospels at all; it is only used once, in another sense, by St. Matthew among the Evangelists, *cf.* iv. 1. *ἀγειν* and its compounds with *ἀνά*, *κατά*, *εἰς*, are characteristic of Luke's writings, Friedrich, p. 7.—οἱ περὶ τὸν Π.: Paul now taking the first place as the leader of the company, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 84, the order henceforth is Paul and Barnabas, with two significant exceptions, xv. 12, 25, and xiv. 12, see *in loco*. —Ἰ. δὲ . . . ὑπέστρεψεν: Ramsay refers St. Mark's withdrawal to the above circumstances, inasmuch as he disapproved of St. Paul's change of place, which he regarded as an abandonment of the work. But the withdrawal on the part of Mark is still more difficult to understand, if we are to suppose that he withdrew because Paul and Barnabas made, as it were, a trip to Antioch for the recovery of the former; and xv. 38 seems to imply something different from this. Various reasons may have contributed to the desertion of Mark, perhaps the fact that his cousin Barnabas was no longer the leader, or Paul's preaching to the Gentiles may have been too liberal for him, or lack of courage to face the dangers of the mountain passes and missionary work inland, or affection for his home at Jerusalem and anxiety for the coming famine (he withdrew, says Holtzmann,

"zu seinem Mutter"). See Deissmann's striking note, *Bibelstudien*, p. 185, on the fact that here, where John Mark leaves Paul for Jerusalem, he is simply "John," his Jewish name; in xv. 39 he goes with Barnabas to Cyprus, and on that occasion only he is described by his Gentile name "Mark" alone. On the "perils of rivers, and perils of robbers," see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 23, and in connection with the above, pp. 62, 65, also C. and H. (smaller edition), p. 129, Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, iii., 133.

Ver. 14. διελθόντες: in this journey northwards to Antioch the Apostles would probably follow the one definite route of commerce between Perga and that city; the natural and easy course would lead them to Adada, now *Kara Bavlö*, and the dedication there of a church to St. Paul may point to the belief that he had visited the place on his way to Antioch (Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 21, and Zöckler, *in loco*, who agrees here with Ramsay's view). Although disagreeing with C. and H. in bringing the Apostles to Adada, Ramsay fully agrees with them in emphasising the dangers of the journey across the Pisidian highlands, and in referring to his travels from Perga across Taurus to Antioch and back his perils of rivers, and perils of robbers, 2 Cor. xi. 26 (see too Wendt, *in loco* (1899), in agreement with Ramsay, whose instances of the dangers of the way, from the notices of the inscriptions, should be consulted, *u. s.*).—Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Πισιδίας, see critical notes. If we adopt with R.V., etc., Ἀ. τὴν Πισιδίαν = an adjective, τὴν Πισιδίην, "Pisidian Antioch," or, as it was also called, Antioch towards Pisidia, or on the side of Pisidia, to distinguish it from Antioch on the Maeander, or Carian Antioch. At this period Antioch did not belong to Pisidia at all (Strabo, pp. 557, 569, 577), but later the term Pisidia was widened, and so the expression "Antioch of Pisidia" came into vogue. Ptolemy, v., 4, 11, employs it



εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων, ἐκάθισαν. 15. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι πρὸς αὐτούς, λέγοντες, Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, εἰ ἔστι λόγος

and so some MSS. in the passage before us; see critical notes, and Ramsay, "Antioch in Pisidia," in Hastings' B.D., *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 25, and Wendt (1899), *in loco*; see further on xvi. 6. On the death of Amyntas, B.C. 25, Antioch became part of the Roman province Galatia, and a little later, some time before 6 B.C., it was made a *colonia* by Augustus, with Latin rights, and as such it became an administrative and military centre in the protection of the province against the Pisidian robbers in their mountain fortresses, Ramsay, *u. s.* There can be no doubt that Paul would also find there a considerable Jewish population, as the Jews were trusty supporters of the Seleucid kings, and found a home in many of the cities which they founded.—ἀπὸ τῆς Πέργης: Ramsay supposes that the travellers hurried on from Perga (chief town of Pamphylia on the Cestrus, and an important place of commerce) to Antioch, without any evangelisation on their way, because in Perga the Apostle had been smitten with an attack of malarial fever, which obliged him to seek the higher ground of Antioch. In Gal. iv. 13 Ramsay finds a corroboration of this view, a passage in which Paul himself states that an illness occasioned his first preaching to the Churches of Galatia, *i. e.*, of the Roman province Galatia. The suggestion has much to recommend it, see *St. Paul*, p. 92. McGiffert's remarks, however, should be consulted in support of the view that the illness overtook the Apostle at Antioch rather than at Perga, *Apostolic Age*, p. 177, and Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i., 275, E.T.—εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν, "to the Jew first," was Paul's primary rule, and here amongst those φοβ. τὸν Θεόν he would find, perhaps, the best soil for his labours, *cf.* xvi. 14, and also xiii. 5, xiv. 1, xvi. 13, xvii. 2, 10, 17, xviii. 4, xix. 8. Against the doubts raised by the Tübingen School as to the historical character of the notice, see especially Wendt, 1888 and 1899 editions. It is inconceivable, as he says, that Paul, who could express himself as in Rom. i. 16, ix. 32, x. 16, xi. 30, should entirely disregard the Jews in his missionary efforts. The notice in xvi. 13, from a "We-source," of St. Paul's first Sabbath at Philippi enables us to form

a correct judgment as to his probable course in other places.—τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαβ. ; not necessarily the first Sabbath after their arrival; some time may have been spent previously in mission work before a critical event took place, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 99, 100.—ἐκάθισαν: the word may mean that they sat down in the seat of the Rabbis, so J. Lightfoot, *in loco*, as intimating that they expected to be called upon to preach, or we may infer, ver. 15, that they were called upon on the present occasion because they were well known in the city as men who claimed to have a message to deliver, and the rulers of the synagogue could invite whom they would, Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 281; Lumby, p. 252, "on the Jewish Manner of reading the Scriptures".

Ver. 15. τὴν ἀνάγ. τοῦ ν. καὶ τῶν π. : the first and second lesson, Edersheim, *u. s.*, p. 278, *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 443; Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 79 ff., E.T., the first from the Pentateuch, and the second a paragraph from the Prophets, including the older historical books. As there is no evidence that the lectionary of the Prophets existed in the time of our Lord, it is precarious to attempt to fix the particular Sabbath for St. Paul's address. It is however significant that he uses two remarkable words from the LXX, Deut. i. 31: ἐτροφ. (see critical notes), in ver. 18, and from Isa. i. 2: ὑψώσεν in ver. 17, and that in the present table of Jewish lessons that from the Law for the forty-fourth Sabbath in the year is Deut. i.-iii. 22, while the corresponding lesson from the Prophets is Isa. i. 1-22; see Bengel on ver. 18, and Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., pp. 368, 369; Plumtree, *in loco*. But we cannot safely go beyond the view of Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 100, who points out that the present list of Jewish lessons is of decidedly later origin, but adds that "probably it was often determined by older custom and traditional ideas of suitable accompaniment".—ἀπέστειλαν: the words seem hardly consistent with Lumby's view that St. Paul was himself the Haphtarist.—οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι; generally only one, Luke xiii. 14, but *cf.* Mark v. 22 (Weiss, *in loco*), and the passage before us; the office was specially concerned with the care of public worship,

ἐν ὑμῖν παρακλήσεως<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸν λαὸν λέγετε. 16. ἀναστὰς δὲ Παῦλος, καὶ κατασείσας τῇ χειρὶ, εἶπεν, Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, ἀκούσατε. 17. ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου Ἰσραὴλ ἐξελέξατο τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν· καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὕψωσεν ἐν τῇ παροικίᾳ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ μετὰ βραχίονος ὕψηλου ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς·

<sup>1</sup> D reads *λογος σοφίας ἐν ὑμῖν παρακλήσεως*. Blass inserts *η* before *παρακ.*; cf. 1 Cor. xii. 8.

and the name was given to those who conducted the assemblies for that purpose. They had to guard against anything unfitting taking place in the synagogue (Luke xiii. 14), and to appoint readers and preachers, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 65, E.T.; Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 281, and on the present passage, *Jesus the Messiah*, i., 434, and for the title in inscriptions, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*; see also below on xiv. 2. —*ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί*: courteous address, ii. 37, "Gentlemen, brethren" (Ramsay).

Ver. 16. *κατασείσας*, see above on xii. 17, and cf. xix. 33, xxi. 40 (xxvi. 1), "made a gesture with his hand," a gesture common to orators, "nam hoc gestu olim verba facturi pro conatione silentium exigebant," and here a graphic touch quite characteristic of Acts. The speech which follows may well have remained in the memory, or possibly may have found a place in the manuscript diary of one of Paul's hearers (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 100), or St. Paul may himself have furnished St. Luke with an outline of it, for the main sections, as Ewald suggested, may have formed part of the Apostle's regular mode of addressing similar audiences; and if not St. Paul himself, yet one of those who are described as *οἱ περὶ Παῦλον*, ver. 13 (Zöckler), may have supplied the information. On the other hand it is maintained that the speech in its present form is a free composition of the author of Acts, since it is so similar to the early addresses of St. Peter, or to the defence made by St. Stephen, and that St. Luke wished to illustrate St. Paul's method of proclaiming the Messianic salvation to Jews. But considering the audience and the occasion, it is difficult to see how St. Paul could have avoided touching upon points similar to those which had claimed the attention of a St. Peter or a St. Stephen: "non poterat multum differre vel a Petri orationibus, vel a defensione Stephani . . . hæc igitur non magis in Paulum cadunt quam in quemvis novae salutis praeconem" (Blass), while at the

same time it is quite possible to press this similarity too far and to ignore the points which are confessedly characteristic of St. Paul, cf., e.g., vv. 38, 39 (Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 19-22; Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 244, 245; Lechler, *Das Apostolische Zeitalter*, p. 272; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, i., p. 46 (1896)); see further, Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., p. 369, note, and Alford references for the several Pauline expressions, and the remarkable list of parallels drawn out recently by Ramsay between the speech at Pisidian Antioch and the thoughts and phrases of the Epistle to the Galatians, *Expositor*, December, 1898 (see below on pp. 295, 297); also Nösgen's list of Pauline expressions, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 53, in this and in other speeches in Acts.—*ἄνδρες Ἰ.*, cf. ii. 22, iii. 12, v. 35, a mode of address fitly chosen as in harmony with the references to the history of Israel which were to follow.—*οἱ φ. Θεόν*, cf. x. 2, xiii. 43, 50, xvi. 14, etc.

Ver. 17. *τούτου*: this points back to *Ἰσρ.*: an appeal to the national pride of the people in their theocratic privileges and names, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 22, Rom. ix. 6.—*ἐξελ.* so often in LXX of God's choice of Israel.—*ὑψώσεν*: "exalted," A. and R.V. Weiss and Wendt, with Bethge and Blass, restrict its meaning to increase in numbers, Gen. xlviii. 19, Acts vii. 17, so also Overbeck; whilst others refer it to the miraculous events connected with their sojourn as well as to their increase in numbers (so St. Chrysostom), others take it of the exaltation of the people under Joseph. But the word may certainly mean something more than numerical increase, and include increase in strength and power (so Hackett, Page). It is used once by St. Paul elsewhere, 2 Cor. xi. 7, in contrast with *ταπεινώω*, cf. its similar use in Luke i. 52. Rendall refers its use here to 2 Kings xxv. 27, "lifted up," i.e., at the end of a miserable state of bondage, a passage where the verb is closely joined with *ἐξήγαγεν*. In Isaiah i. 2 and xxiii.



18. καὶ ὡς τεσσαρακονταετὴ χρόνον ἐτροποφόρησεν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ · 19.<sup>2</sup> καὶ καθελὼν ἔθνη ἑπτὰ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν, κατεκληροδότησεν αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup> τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. 20.<sup>4</sup> καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις

<sup>1</sup> ἐτροπ.  $\aleph B^2 D H L P$  36, 61, Vulg., Syr. Harcl. mg., so W.H., Blass, R.V. text, Rendall, Weiss; ἐτροφ.  $\Lambda C^* E$  13, d, Gg., Sah., Boh., Syrr. Pesh: Harcl. text, so Tisch., R.V. marg., and Hilg. Wendt cannot decide, although he considers ἐτροφ. as more fitting here, while he regards ἐτροπ. as the more original reading in LXX Deut. i. 31 (B\*, Orig.). Tischendorf, however, regards ἐτροφ. as best attested in Deut. i. 31 and as best suited to the context both there and here. W.H., *App.*, p. 94, maintain that τροπ. is the more obvious rendering of  $\aleph \psi$ , but that when the orig. meaning was forgotten, the context in Deut. i. 31 led to the change to τροφοφ. This corruption in LXX was doubtless widely current in the Apostolic age, and might have been followed here. W.H. conclude that there can be no reason to question a reading supported by  $\aleph B$  61, Vulg., and many good cursives, a reading which they regard as best authenticated in the LXX and as agreeing with the Heb., especially when it was liable to be changed by the influence of the common and corrupt text of the LXX. They add that both here and in Deut. either reading gives excellent sense.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ om. B 61, Sah., W.H. text, Wendt—but Blass, Hilg. and Weiss retain. W.H. take *as* in ver. 18 as “when,” not “about”.

<sup>3</sup> κατεκληροδοτήσεν, but κατεκληρονομήσεν  $\aleph A B C D E H L P$  13, 61, Chrys., Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. -δοτ- arose from missing active use of κληρονομ. Similar instances of confusion between the two verbs in LXX; cf. H. and R. αυτοῖς om.  $\aleph B D^* 13$ , 40, 61, Sah., Boh., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. For αὐτῶν D, Syr. Harcl. read τῶν αλλοφυλῶν, so Blass and Hilg.

<sup>4</sup> The words ὡς ἔτεσιν τετρ. κ. πεντ. are to be placed before καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα—so  $\aleph A B C$ , Vulg., Sah., Boh., Arm., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss. Wendt thinks with Meyer and Holtzmann that the transposition may have been made to meet a difficulty; see also Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 370. D, Sah., Syr. Harcl. mg. omit μετὰ ταῦτα altogether, so Blass and Hilg.

4 it is used of bringing up children.—παροικία, cf. vii. 6, and for the noun as here, LXX, 2 Esdras viii. 35, Wisdom xix. 10. Prologue of Eccclus., ver. 26, Ps. cxx. 5.—μετὰ βραχίονος ὑψ., cf. Exod. vi. 1, 6, Deut. v. 15, etc., Ps. cxxxvi. 12, Baruch ii. 11, etc. Hebraistic, cf. Luke i. 51, where we have ἐν as in Hebrew, but in LXX μετὰ as of the accompanying the arm of God, and not merely of his power as bringing the people out.

Ver. 18. ἐτροποφόρησεν, see critical notes. ἐτροπ., “suffered he their manners,” so A. and R.V. ἐτροφ., “bare he them as a nursing father,” R.V. margin. This latter rendering is supported by Bengel, Alford, Bethge, Nösgen, Hackett, Page, Farrar, Plumptre, etc., as more agreeable to the conciliatory drift of the Apostle’s words, but see above, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 27.

Ver. 19. καθελὼν, cf. Deut. vii. 1. In LXX the stronger verb ἐξαίρειν is used, but καθαιρεῖν in LXX often means to destroy, Jer. xxiv. 6, Ps. xxviii. 5, and so

in classical Greek. Weiss prefers the force of the verb as in Luke i. 52, to cast down, i.e., from their sovereignty.—κατεκληροδότησεν, see critical notes. If we adopt reading of R.V. W.H.: “he gave them their land for an inheritance”.

Ver. 20. If we follow the best attested reading, see critical notes, we may connect the dative of time ἔτεσι, cf. viii. 11, closely with the preceding words as signifying the period within which an event is accomplished. The κληρονομία was already assured to the fathers as God’s chosen, vii. 5, and the four hundred years of the people’s sojourn in a strange land, Acts vii. 6, Gen. xv. 13, forty years in the wilderness, and some ten years for the actual conquest of the land made up the four hundred and fifty years (so Weiss, Felten, see Wendt, *in loco*). If reading in T.R. is accepted (strongly defended by Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., p. 370), although it is at variance with 1 Kings vi. 1, according to which Solomon began his Temple in the 480th (LXX 440th) year after the Exodus, we

καὶ πεντήκοντα, ἔδωκε κριτὰς ἕως Σαμουὴλ τοῦ προφήτου· 21. κακέειθεν ἡτήσαντο βασιλέα, καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς τὸν Σαοὺλ υἱὸν Κίς, ἄνδρα ἐκ φυλῆς Βενιαμίν, ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα· 22. καὶ μεταστήσας αὐτόν, ἡγειρεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Δαβὶδ εἰς βασιλέα, ᾧ καὶ εἶπε μαρτυρήσας, “Εὗρον Δαβὶδ τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, ἄνδρα κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου, ὃς ποιήσει πάντα τὰ θελήματά μου.” 23. Τοῦτου ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος κατ’ ἐπαγγελίαν ἡγειρε<sup>1</sup> τῷ Ἰσραὴλ σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν, 24. προκηρύξαντος Ἰωάννου πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ βάπτισμα μετανοίας παντὶ τῷ λαῷ Ἰσραὴλ. 25. ὡς δὲ ἐπλήρου ὁ Ἰωάννης τὸν δρόμον, ἔλεγε, “Τίνα με<sup>2</sup> ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ, ἀλλ’ ἰδοὺ, ἔρχεται μετ’ ἐμέ, οὗ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν

<sup>1</sup> ἡγειρε, cf. ver. 22; but ἡγαγε NABEHL 61, Vulg., Boh., Aeth., Ath., Chrys., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> τίνα με, but τι ἐμε NAB 61, Sah., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; Blass follows T.R. with CDEHLP, Vulg., Boh., Syrr. P. and H., so Hilg., but in Blass punctuation differs from T.R.

have merely to suppose that the Apostle followed the popular chronology adopted by Josephus, *Ant.*, viii., 3, 1; x., 8, 5, especially when we remember that speaking in round numbers (ὡς) that chronology tallies very fairly with that of the Book of Judges. See Meyer-Wendt, Alford, and cf. also the almost similar reckoning in Wetstein, and Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden*, pp. 30, 31. Another explanation is given by Rendall, *in loco*, where ἔτεσι is taken as marking not duration of time (which would require the accusative), but the limit of time within which, etc.

Ver. 21. κακέειθεν: only here of time in N.T. as in later Greek. Weiss even here interprets the expression to mean that they asked for a king from him, *i.e.*, Samuel, in his character as prophet.—ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα: not mentioned in O.T., but cf. Jos., *Ant.*, vi., 14, 9. The period does not seem much too long for Saul's reign when we remember that Ishbosheth was forty years old at his father's death, when he was placed on the throne by Abner, 2 Sam. ii. 10.—Σαοὺλ κ.τ.λ., cf. Paul's description of himself in Phil. iii. 5.

Ver. 22. μεταστήσας, Luke xvi. 4: refers here to Saul's deposition from the throne, 1 Sam. xv. 16, cf. Dan. ii. 21, 1 Macc. viii. 13, not as Bethge thinks to his removal from the presence of God, cf. 2 Kings xvii. 23, nor to his death, 3 Macc. iii. 1, vi. 12. Saul therefore could not have been the bringer of the promised salvation.—εὗρον κ.τ.λ.: a combination

of two passages, Ps. lxxxix. 20 and 1 Sam. xiii. 14, and freely referred to as a saying pronounced by God Himself, but the latter part was pronounced by Samuel in God's name.—τὸν τοῦ Ἰεσσαί, but in LXX τὸν δοῦλόν μου. ἄνδρα to mark the dignity (Bethge).—κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν, cf. Jer. iii. 15.—ὃς ποιήσει, cf. Isa. xlv. 28, Ps. xl. 8. The fact that these quotations are thus left in their present shape with no attempt to correct them justifies the belief that we have here St. Paul's own words. With the first part of the quotation cf. Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xviii., 1, a striking agreement; see on the one hand as against its dependence on Acts, Wendt, p. 41 (1899), and on the other hand, Bethge, *in loco*, and *Introd.*, p. 37.

Ver. 23. κατ’ ἐπαγγελίαν: phrase only found in Gal. iii. 29, 2 Tim. i. 1: the Messianic promises generally, or more specifically 2 Sam. vii. 12, Ps. cxxii. 11, Isa. xi. 1, 10, Jer. xxiii. 5, 6, Zech. iii. 8. In the last prophecy the LXX read the verb ἄγω which is found in the verse before us, see critical notes.—Ἰησοῦν: emphatic at the end of the clause, as τούτου at the beginning of the verse.

Ver. 24. προκηρύξ. not in LXX or Apocrypha, but in classical Greek, cf. also Josephus, *Ant.*, x., 5, 1, and also in Plut., Polyb.—πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου: “before the face of his entering in,” R.V. margin, cf. Luke i. 76; here used temporally, really a Hebraistic pleonasm, cf. Mal. iii. 1, an expression used as still under the influence of that passage, Simcox, *Language of the*



λύσαι." 26. Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, υἱοὶ γένους Ἀβραάμ, καὶ οἱ ἐν ὑμῖν φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν, ὑμῖν ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτηρίας ταύτης ἀπεστάλη.<sup>1</sup> 27. οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν,<sup>2</sup> τοῦτον ἀγνοήσαντες, καὶ τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν τὰς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκομένας, κρίναντες ἐπλήρωσαν· 28. καὶ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν

<sup>1</sup> ὑμῖν CEHLP, Vulg., Syrr. P. and H. (text), Boh., Arm., Aeth., Chrys., so Blass; ἡμῖν NABD 13, 61, Sah., Syr. Harcl. mg.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, so Hilg. ἀπεσταλὴ EHL P; ἐξαπεσ. NABCD 13, 61, Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> For τοῦτον αγν. . . . των προφ. τας D has μη συνιεντες τας γραφας των π. τας . . ., cf. Luke xxiv. 45. D also reads καὶ κριναντες ἐπληρ., so Hilg. Par. reads *reprobaverunt* for ἐπλήρωσαν, so Blass τοῦτον ἀπεδοκιμασαν (omitting κριναντες ἐπλήρ.), reading κριναντες in the next verse; see on ver. 29.

N. T., p. 154, and also Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, p. 23.—εἰσόδον: the entry of Jesus upon His public Messianic ministry, a word which may also have been suggested by Mal. iii. 2, LXX.

Ver. 25. ἐπλήρουν: "i.e., non multo ante finem vitæ," Blass, cf. vii. 23.—δρόμον: "Paulum sapit," cf. xx. 24, 2 Tim. iv. 7, Gal. ii. 2.—ὑπονοεῖτε: three times in Acts, cf. xxv. 18, xxvii. 27; nowhere else in N.T., but see Judith xiv. 14, Tob. viii. 16, Ecclus. xxiii. 21. Note this free reproduction of the words of the Evangelists—essentially the same but verbally different.—οὐκ εἰμι ἐγώ, I am not he, i.e., the Messiah; best to punctuate as in A. and R.V., so Wendt; but see on the other hand Bethge and Weiss, and the reading they adopt: τί ἐμὲ ὑπον. εἶναι, οὐκ εἰμι ἐγώ; the gloss δ XC. after ἐγώ, old enough to have crept into the text, shows that the punctuation in A.V. was a natural one, Simcox, *u. s.*, p. 70.

Ver. 26. ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί: the address of ver. 16 is here renewed in more affectionate tones, and here as in ver. 16 both Jews and proselytes are two classes, here both regarded by Paul as ἀδελφοί.—ὑμῖν, see critical notes. Some take it as marking a sharp antithesis between the Jews of Antioch and those of Jerusalem (an antithesis not removed by ἡμῖν), as if the Jews at Antioch and of the Dispersion were contrasted with the Jews of the capital. But γὰρ need not mark a contrast, it may rather confirm the implication in σωτ. ταύτης that Jesus was the Saviour, for He had suffered and died, and so had fulfilled the predictions relating to the Messiah. Nor indeed was it true that those who crucified the Saviour had excluded themselves from the offer of the Gospel: ὁ λόγος τῆς σ., cf. Ephes. i. 13, Phil. ii. 16, 1 Thess. ii. 13, etc.—

ἀπεστάλη: if we read the compound ἐξαπ., critical notes, R.V. "is sent forth," i.e., from God, cf. x. 36. Weiss takes the verb as simply referring to the sending forth of the word from the place where it was first announced. But cf. on the other hand Gal. iv. 4, 6, and ver. 23 above, where God is spoken of as the agent in the Messianic salvation, and on the possible force of ὁ λόγος τῆς σωτ. and ἐξαπεστάλη here see Ramsay, *Expositor*, December, 1898.

Ver. 27. Both A. and R.V. take ἀγνοήσαντες as governing τοῦτον and τὰς φωνάς. But καὶ may be not copulative but intensive—not only did they not recognise the Christ, but even condemned Him to death; so Rendall. Meyer rendered καὶ = "also," and makes τὰς φωνάς the direct object of ἐπλήρ. Wendt renders as A. and R.V., see critical notes.—ἀγνοήσαντες, cf. iii. 14, it is very doubtful how far we can see in the expression an excuse in the former passage, and guiltiness here. Paul speaks of himself as acting ἀγνοῶν and yet obtaining mercy, 1 Tim. i. 13, cf. also for the use of the word by Paul xvii. 23, and frequently in his Epistles.

Ver. 29. ὡς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν ἅπαντα: St. Paul was evidently acquainted with the details of the Passion as well as with the main facts of the death and burial, cf. 1 Cor. xi. 23; and for the verb used here Luke xviii. 31, xxii. 37, John xix. 28, 30; only here in Acts, Weiss regards the subject of ἐτέλ., καθέλ., ἔθηκαν as presupposed as known in accordance with the Gospel history, but St. Paul may have been speaking in general terms of the action of the Jews, although not the enemies of Christ but His friends actually took Him down and buried Him. Taken literally, St. Paul's statement agrees with

θανάτου εὐρόντες, ᾗτήσαντο <sup>1</sup> Πιλάτον ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτόν. 29. ὥς δὲ ἐτέλεσαν <sup>2</sup> ἅπαντα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ γεγραμμένα, <sup>3</sup> καθελόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου ἔθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον. 30. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἤγειρεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, 31. ὃς ὤφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους τοῖς συναναβάσιν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, οἵτινες <sup>4</sup> εἰσι μάρτυρες αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαόν. 32. καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην, 33. ὅτι ταύτην ὁ Θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκε τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡμῖν, <sup>5</sup> ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν. ὥς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ᾗτήσαντο—**Σ** reads ᾗτησαν, so W.H. marg., but mid. better, "asked for themselves". D reads κρινάμενος αὐτον παρεδωκεν Πιλάτῳ ἵνα εἰς ἀναίρεσιν; Blass and Hilg. omit ἵνα; see ver. 29.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτέλεσαν, in D ἐτελούν.

<sup>3</sup> D reads after γεγρ.: ᾗτουντο τον Π. τουτον μεν σταυρωσαι και επιτυχοντες παλιν . . . The reason of these insertions, as has been suggested, seems the same as in the previous verses—to gain a complete, although summary, account according to the Gospels. Syr. Harcl. mg. after γεγρ. *postquam crucifixus esset, petierunt a Pilato ut de ligno detraherent eum. Impetraverunt* . . . Blass combines the two in **β** (cf. also Hilg.). But one seems rather a corruption of the other, although the same motive mentioned above might lead to the insertion of either.

<sup>4</sup> After οἵτινες **Σ**AC 13, 15, 18, 61, Sah., Boh., Syrr. P. (H.), Arm., Aeth. read νυν, so Tisch., R.V., [W.H.]; but om. BEHLP, Chrys., so Blass, Weiss, [W.H.]. Perhaps it fell out because the Apostles not only now first, but for a long time past, were witnesses. D, Vulg., Syr. Harcl. read **α**χρι νυν, so Blass in **β**, and Hilg.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτῶν ἡμῖν **C**<sup>8</sup>EHLP 61, Syr. P. and H., Arm., Chrys., Weiss, Hilg.; ἡμῶν (om. αὐτῶν) **Σ**ABC<sup>8</sup>D, Vulg., Aeth., Hil., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt; αὐτῶν (om. ἡμῶν) Sah., Gig., Amb., Blass. Wendt (1899) attaches great prob. to W.H. explanation, see *App.*, p. 95; ἡμῖν alone being the orig. reading. DE, Gig., Vulg., so Blass and Hilg., add ἡμῶν after πατέρας, which shows how easily additions would follow **ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣ**.

the *Gospel of Peter*, 21-24, as Hilgenfeld noted. But Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus were both Jews and members of the Council.—τοῦ ξύλου, cf. v. 30, x. 39. Jüngst, without any ground, as Hilgenfeld remarks, refers ver. 29 partly on account of this expression to a reviser, and so 34-37. On ξύλον, significant here and in Gal. iii. 13, see Ramsay, *Expositor*, December, 1898.—εἰς μν., cf. 1 Cor. xv. 4, the death followed by the burial, and so the reality of the death, "ἐκ νεκρῶν," was vouched for.

Ver. 31. ὤφθη, see Milligan's note on the word, *Resurrection of our Lord*, p. 265; *Witness of the Epistles* (1892), pp. 369, 377, 386; and Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu*, i., p. 434 (second edition), cf. Luke xxiv. 34, 1 Cor. xv. 5 ff.—ἐπὶ: with accusative of duration of time, cf. xvi. 18, xviii. 20, xix. 8, 10, 34, xxvii. 20, cf. Luke iv. 25, xviii. 4; in classical writers, but only in St. Luke in N.T., except Heb. xi. 30, *Vindictæ Lucanæ*, p. 53.—οἵτινες: if we add νυν, see critical notes, the word

intimates that this announcement of Jesus as the Messiah was not first made by Paul, as some new thing, but that His Apostles were still bearing the same witness to the Jews (λαόν) as a living message in the same city in which Jesus had been crucified.

Ver. 32. καὶ ἡμεῖς, cf. 1 Cor. xv. 11, "whether it were I or they," etc., "ut illi illis, sic nos vobis".—εὐαγγελ., see above on p. 210, and Simcox, *u. s.*, pp. 78, 79.—τὴν πρὸς τοὺς π. ἐπαγγελίαν γεν., cf. Rom. xv. 8, Acts xxvi. 6.

Ver. 33. ἐκπεπλήρωκε: "hath fulfilled to the utmost," cf. 3 Macc. i. 2, 22, Polyb., i., 67, 1, τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἐκπ.—τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡμῖν, see critical notes.—ἀναστήσας: "in that he raised up Jesus," R.V.; "in that he hath raised up Jesus again," A.V. The former rendering is quite compatible with the view that the reference of the word here is not to the resurrection of Jesus, but to the raising up of Jesus as the Messiah, cf. iii. 22, vii. 37, Deut. xviii. 15. The



δευτέρῳ<sup>1</sup> γέγραπται, “Υἱός μου εἰ σύ· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.”

34. ὅτι δὲ ἀνέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν, μηκέτι μέλλοντα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς διαφθοράν, οὕτως εἴρηκεν, “Ὅτι δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαβὶδ τὰ πιστά.” 35. διὸ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ λέγει, “Οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὀσιόν σου εἰδὲν διαφθοράν.” 36. Δαβὶδ μὲν γὰρ ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ ὑπηρετήσας τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλῇ ἐκοιμήθη, καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ εἶδε

<sup>1</sup> τῷ ψαλμῷ τῷ δευτέρῳ γεγ. ELP, Vulg., Syr. H., R.V. (T.R.); τῷ ψ. γεγ. τῷ δευτ. NAB 13, 61, Arm., W.H. But in D (τῷ) πρωτῷ ψ. γεγ., cf. Or., Hil., Gig., Latin MS. known to Bede, Tisch., Meyer, Blass. The δευτ. and πρωτ. is the only important var., and the authority for the latter is almost entirely Western. According to Origen the Jews frequently combined Ps. i. and ii. (cf. also Justin, *Apol.*, i., 40; Tert., *adv. Marc.*, iv., 22; Cypr., *Testim.*, i., 13), “so that a ‘Western’ scribe, being probably accustomed to read the two Psalms combined, would be under a temptation to alter δευτ. to πρωτ. and not *vice versa*,” W.H., *App.*, p. 95. In D, Syr. Harcl. marg. the quotation also comprises Ps. ii. 5 (cf. Blass in β, and Hilg.); see Wendt (1899), note, p. 241; Belser, p. 69. Wern. omits ἐν τ. πρ. ψ. altogether; “fort. recte,” Blass.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν ἐτέρῳ, D, Gig., Vulg., Hilg. read ἐτέρως—may have been changed into ἐν ἐτερ. διότι, so NAB, R.V., W.H., under influence of Heb. v. 6, but more probably corruption.

first prophecy, ver. 33, would be fulfilled in this way, whilst in vv. 34 and 35 the prophecy would be fulfilled by the resurrection from the dead, ἀνασ. ἐκ νεκρῶν (see Knabenbauer *in loco*, p. 233 ff.). Wendt argues that Heb. i. 5, where the same prophecy is quoted as in ver. 33, also refers to the raising up as the Messiah, but see on the other hand Westcott, *Hebrews*, *in loco*.

Ver. 34. μηκέτι μ. ὑποσ. εἰς διαφθ., cf. Rom. vi. 9, “no more to return to corruption,” does not of course mean that Christ had already seen corruption, so that there is no need to understand διαφθ. of the place of corruption, *sepulchrum*, with Beza, Kuinoel. Hilgenfeld refuses to follow Jüngst, Sorof, Clemen in referring vv. 34-37 to a reviser, for he justly remarks that the speech which was intended to move the Israelites to a recognition of Jesus as the promised Saviour of the seed of David, would have been imperfect, unless it had set forth His sufferings and after-resurrection.—Δώσω κ.τ.λ.: “I will give you the holy and sure blessings of David”. This rendering makes the connection with the next verse more evident, cf. Isa. lv. 3, καὶ διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιον τὰ ὅσια Δαβὶδ τὰ πιστά. “By David was understood the Messiah, which yet the Rabbis themselves have well observed:” J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.* (so Schöttgen), *in loco*. “The everlasting covenant,” what was it but the holy and sure blessings promised to David? But these blessings, ὅσια, *sancta promissa Davidi data*, are connected with the resurrection of

Christ because (“διότι not διὸ, T.R., see critical notes, stating the cause, not the consequence”) only in the triumph of God’s Holy One (τὸν ὅσιον) are these blessings ratified and assured. Just as Peter (ii. 47), so here Paul applies the passage in Ps. xvi. directly to Christ, Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 151.

Ver. 36. γὰρ: David is contrasted with Christ by St. Paul as by St. Peter, ii. 29.—ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ ὑπηρετ.: “after he had in his own generation served the counsel of God, fell on sleep,” R.V., but in margin the rendering of A.V. is practically retained. It seems best to take ἰδίᾳ γενεᾷ as a dative of time, cf. ver. 20, Ephes. iii. 5 (so Blass, Wendt, Zöckler, Felten), and not as *dat. commodi*. St. Paul’s point seems to be (1) the contrast between the service of David which extended only for a generation, and the service of Christ which lasted through all ages permanently. But this contrast would be also marked if we adopt R.V. margin rendering and govern ἰδίᾳ γεν. by ὑπηρετ. (see Weiss). (2) The second point of contrast is between the corruption which David saw, and the incorruption of the Holy One of God. Weiss still connects τῇ Θεοῦ βουλῇ with ἐκοιμήθη; see margin (2) in R.V.; but this does not seem so significant as the contrast drawn between David serving the counsel or purpose of God for one, or during one generation, whilst in Christ the eternal purpose of God was realised.—προσετέθη πρὸς τοὺς π. αὐτοῦ: Hebraistic expression, lit., “was added,” i.e., in Sheol, cf. Gen. xxvi. 8, Judg. ii. 10, 1 Macc. ii. 69.

διαφθοράν. 37. ὃν δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἤγειρεν, οὐκ εἶδε διαφθοράν. 38. Γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν, ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὅτι διὰ τούτου<sup>1</sup> ὑμῖν ἄφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν καταγγέλλεται. 39. καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ Μωσέως δικαιοθῆναι, ἐν τούτῳ πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων δικαιούται.

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τούτου  $\Sigma$ AB<sup>3</sup>CDLP, so all edd.; διὰ τούτο B\* 15, 18, 180—Weiss here follows above authorities.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ BC<sup>3</sup>(D)ELP, Sah., Boh., Syrr. P. and H., Arm., Aethro., Chrys., W.H., Weiss, R.V. (T.R.); om.  $\Sigma$ AC, Vulg. (am. fu. demid.), Aethpp., Tisch., Blass; καὶ might easily drop out after TAI (Weiss). D 137, Syr. H. mg. add παρα θεῷ after δικαί.

Ver. 37. ἤγειρεν: more than resurrection from the dead, "hic non notatur resuscitatio ex mortuis; quippe quæ ipsa in conclusione evincitur: sed quem Deus suscitavit est Sanctus Dei, ver. 35, ut hæc Subjecti descriptio contineat ætiologiam," Bengel.

Ver. 38. γνωστὸν οὖν: "incipit adhortatio quæ orationem claudit," Blass.—ἄφεσις ἁμαρ.: the keynote of St. Paul's preaching, cf. xxvi. 18, as it had been of St. Peter's, ii. 38, v. 31, x. 43; and as it had been of the preaching of the Baptist, and of our Lord Himself.—διὰ τούτου, i.e., Christ—through Him Who died, and was risen again—the phrase is characteristically Pauline, cf. x. 43.

Ver. 39. So far the words represent the entire harmony between the preaching of St. Peter and St. Paul, and there is no reason to attribute this verse, as also x. 43, with Jüngst, to any reviser; δικαιῶσθαι ἀπὸ only elsewhere in Rom. vi. 7. But if St. Paul's next words seem to imply that within certain limits, i.e., so far as it was obeyed, the law of Moses brought justification, they affirm at the same time the utter inefficacy of all legal obedience, since one thing was certain, that the law exacted much more than Israel could obey; complete justification must be found, if anywhere, elsewhere. Can we doubt that St. Paul is here giving us what was really his own experience? (See Briggs, *Messiah of the Apostles*, p. 76.) In spite of all his efforts to fulfil the law, there was still the feeling that these efforts were hopelessly deficient; there was an area of transgression in which the law, so far from justifying, condemned. But in the Messiah, the Holy One of God, he saw a realisation of that perfect holiness to which in the weakness of the flesh he could not attain, and in Him, Who died, and rose again, for us—that Righteous One, Whom he saw, not only on the road to Damascus, but ever on his right hand by the eye of faith—he found complete and full justi-

fication. That this forgiveness of sins is not connected specially with the Death of Christ, but with His Resurrection, or rather with His whole Messianic character, to which the Resurrection put the final seal, is certainly not to be regarded as an indication of a non-Pauline view, cf. Romans iv. 25, viii. 34, 2 Cor. v. 15. Moreover, if we consider the connection of the whole address, the Resurrection is not regarded apart from the Death of Christ: vv. 26-29 show us that the Message of Salvation starts from the Death of Christ, and is based upon that, cf. Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden*, p. 54. It is unreasonable to complain that St. Paul's conception of justification in this address falls below his characteristic and controlling idea of it (McGiffert, p. 186). We could not justly expect that the Apostle's utterances, thus summarised by St. Luke, would contain as full and complete a doctrinal exposition as his Galatian and Roman Epistles. To the former Epistle McGiffert points as giving us what Paul actually taught in Galatia; but there is no contradiction between the teaching given us in St. Luke's account of the address in Pisidian Antioch and St. Paul's account of his teaching to his converts in his letter "the coincidences between the two are so striking as to make each the best commentary on the other . . . and there is no such close resemblance between the Epistle and any other of Paul's addresses reported in Acts," Ramsay, *Expositor*, December, 1898. "Historical Commentary on Gal." see below, and also Lightfoot, on Gal. iii. 11. St. Paul's teaching is essentially the same in the synagogue at Antioch as when he is writing to his Galatian converts: only in Christ is justification, and in the law as such there is no forgiveness of sins. He does not say in so many words that there was no sin from which men could be freed under the law of Moses, but it is evident that the most solemn warning with which the Apostle



40. βλέπετε οὖν μὴ ἐπέλθῃ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις,  
 41. "Ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονηταί, καὶ θαυμάσατε καὶ ἀφανίσθητε· ὅτι  
 ἔργον ἐγὼ ἐργάζομαι ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ὑμῶν, ἔργον ᾧ οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε,  
 ἐάν τις ἐκδιηγῇται ὑμῖν.<sup>1</sup>"

42. Ἐξιόντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων,<sup>2</sup> παρεκάλουν τὰ  
 ἔθνη εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον λαληθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα.

<sup>1</sup> At end D adds *καὶ εἰσησαν*, Syr. Harcl. mg. *καὶ εἰσησεν*. In the former case points to the impression the speech made; in the latter, merely to the fact that he finished it; cf. xv. 12, 13. Blass reads *εἰσησεν* (β), so Hilg.; see Weiss, Codex D, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τῆς σ. των Ι., but *αὐτῶν* only in *NA*BCDEI 13, 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syr. (Pesh.) and Harcl., Arm., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. *τα ἔθνη*, but om. *NA*(B)CD(E), Syr. P. and H., Sah., Boh., Arm., Aeth., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. Evidence overwhelming for R.V.; the subject of the verbs not being clear the sentence was interpreted wrongly. BE (81) omit *παρακαλουν*—B inserting *ἡξιουν* after *σαβ.*, while Chrys. substitutes *ἡξιουν* for *παρακ.* W.H., *Ἀββ.*, p. 95, suspect primitive corruption, probably in opening words, and see Hort's suggestion. *μεταξυ*—D reads *ἐξης*, Hilg. retains; Blass rejects, although he thinks it good as an explanation.

follows up his declaration could only be justified on the ground that some essential principle was involved in the acceptance or rejection of the work of Christ. On *δικαίω* in classical literature, in LXX, and in N.T., see Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, pp. 104, 105, and Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. 30, 31.

Ver. 40. ἐν τοῖς προφ., cf. Luke xxiv. 44, and Acts xxiv. 14; John vi. 45.—ἐπέλθῃ: quite Lucan in this sense, cf. viii. 24, Luke xi. 22, xxi. 26 (James v. 1).

Ver. 41. Hab. i. 5, but here slightly different from the Hebrew "behold, ye among the nations," in LXX through the possible mistake of reading the Hebrew noun as if = deceitful ones (with the idea perhaps of impudence, shamelessness). On βλέπ. μὴ ἐπέλ. see Burton, pp. 85, 89; Viteau, p. 83 (1893).—ἀφανίσθητε: added by LXX to the "wonder marvellously" of Heb. and LXX: "perish," "vanish away," R.V. margin, an idea involved in Heb. though not expressed: verb frequent in LXX, in N.T. three times, in Matt. vi., and nowhere else except James iv. 14, see Mayor's note, *in loco*. The Apostle here transfers the prophecies of the temporal judgments following on the Chaldean invasion to the judgment of the nation by the Romans, or to the punishment which would fall upon the Jews by the election of the Gentiles into their place. Perhaps the latter is more probable before his present audience. The πᾶς ὁ πιστ. naturally leads him to the warning for those who disbelieved (ἔργον ᾧ οὐ μὴ

πιστεύσητε). It is tempting to regard the words with Ramsay (*Expositor*, December, 1898), as insisting upon the marvellous and mysterious nature of God's action in the sending forth of His Son, but the context (cf. ἐπέλθῃ) here, and the O.T. prophecy, both point to the imminence of judgment and penalty.—ἐργάζομαι: the present (so in LXX), because the result was so certain that it was regarded as actually in process. With true rhetorical force St. Paul concludes his speech, as at Athens, by an appeal to awaken all consciences, cf. St. Peter's closing words, ii. 36, iii. 26—possibly, as at the close perhaps of St. Stephen's speech, signs of impatience had begun to manifest themselves in his audience (Plumptre).

Ver. 42. ἐξιόντων: "and as they went out," i.e., the Apostles, before the synagogue broke up the congregation of Jews and proselytes besought them—not "when they had gone out," which would introduce a confusion of time; see critical notes. Wendt refers to ver. 15, and takes ἀρχισμ. as the subject of παρακάλουν.—εἰς τὸ μ. Σ.: "the next Sabbath," A. and R.V., cf. for εἰς iv. 3. *μετ.* here an adverb, later Greek, cf. Barn., *Epist.*, xiii. 5; Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, i. 44, and so in Josephus; ver. 44 apparently decides for the rendering above. Others take it of the days during the intervening week, between the Sabbaths, cf. J. Lightfoot, *in loco*, and Schöttgen.

Ver. 43. λυθ. δὲ: Paul and Barnabas

43. λυθείσης δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς, ἠκολούθησαν πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρνάβῃ<sup>1</sup>. οὕτως προσλαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς, ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς ἐπιμένειν τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ.

44. Τῷ δὲ ἐρχομένῳ<sup>2</sup> σαββάτῳ σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις συνήχθη ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ. 45.<sup>3</sup> ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου, καὶ ἀντέλεγον τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου λεγομένοις, ἀντιλέγοντες καὶ βλασφημοῦντες. 46. παῖρρησιασάμενοι δὲ ὁ Παῦλος καὶ ὁ Βαρνάβας εἶπον, Ὑμῖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον λαληθῆναι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἐπειδὴ δὲ<sup>4</sup> ἀπωθεῖσθε αὐτόν, καὶ οὐκ ἀξίους κρίνετε

<sup>1</sup> Βαρναβᾶ, 137, Syr. Harcl. mg. add ἀξιουντες βαπτισθῆναι, so Blass in β. Belser supports, p. 69, and thinks that it explains context, but if thus important it seems curious that it should have been omitted. At end of verse D, Syr. H. mg., Prov. add εγεν. καθ' ὅλης τῆς πόλεως διελθεῖν τὸν λόγον (cf. E, Wern.), so Blass in β., and Hilg. επιμενειν, but προσμ. ΞABCDE 61, Chrys., Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> ἐρχομένῳ ΞBC\*DE<sup>2</sup>LP 61, Chrys., Tisch., W.H., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg; ἐχομένῳ AC<sup>2</sup>E\* 13, 40, W.H. marg., Blass (ἡ ἐχομένη several times in Luke). For τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θ. (K.) D reads only Παύλου; so Blass and Hilg. Belser defends (with addition in previous verse) as marking exactly what the people would be likely to say, p. 69. But as D reads τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θ. in previous verse, probably the change may have been made here merely to avoid repetition, Weiss, Codex D, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> D commences πολὺν τε λόγον ποιησαμένου περὶ τοῦ κυρίου (all this following upon Παύλου at close of previous verse): may be meant to mark that the opposition showed itself after Paul had spoken at length. ἀντλ. καὶ DIP 40, Syr. Harcl., Chrys., Theophyl., Par.<sup>1</sup>, Tisch., Wendt, Hilg.; om. ΞABCL 13, 61, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Boh., Arm., Aeth., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss. ἐναντιομενοι (sic) καὶ E, Gig.; Blass in β ἀντιτασσομενοι (cf. xviii. 6).

<sup>4</sup> ἐπειδὴ δε, but δε om. Ξ\*BD\* 180, Syr. H., Sah., Boh., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt (Weiss retains, so Blass and Hilg.). ἀπωθ. . . κρίνετε . . ., Gig., Par., Wern., Cypr., Prom., so Blass in β, read ἀπώσασθε . . . ἐκρίνατε, marking that the opportunity was past and gone.

had gone out before the synagogue was formally broken up; δὲ marks the contrast in the case of those who followed them to hear more.—τῶν σεβ. προσ.: only here. σεβ. τὸν Θεόν or φοβ. τὸν Θεόν: used elsewhere of the uncircumcised Gentiles who joined the Jewish synagogue, whilst προσήλυτοι means those who became circumcised and were full proselytes: "devout," R.V., referring rather to the outward worship, "religious," A.V., rather to inward feelings (but in ver. 50, "devout," A.V.).—οὕτως (ix. 35, xi. 28) refers to the Apostles, but see on the other hand Rendall's note, pp. 92, 165, referring it to the people (so apparently Calvin). The Apostles thought by the eager following of the people that the grace of God had found an entrance into their souls, see critical notes for D.—προσλαλοῦντες: in N.T. only elsewhere in xxviii. 20, cf. Wisdom xiii. 17 (Exod. iv. 16, A B<sup>2</sup>).

Ver. 44. ἐρχ., see critical notes.—σχεδόν, cf. xix. 26, Heb. ix. 22, each time before πᾶς, and in 2 Macc. v. 2, 3 Macc. v. 14, 45. In classical use as in text, often with πᾶς.—συνήχθη, i.e., in the synagogue, not, as some have thought, before the lodging of the Apostles.

Ver. 45. οἱ Ἰ.: not the proselytes with them (Ramsay, St. Paul, p. 101).—τοὺς ὄχλους, cf. ver. 48, τὰ ἔθνη.—ἀντλ. καὶ, see critical notes; if retained, participle emphasises finite verb: "not only contradicting but blaspheming"; see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 130.—βλασ.: nomen Christi, xviii. 6, xxvi. 11.

Ver. 46. παῖρρησιασάμενοι, see on ix. 27.—ἦν ἀναγκαῖον, cf. on ver. 14.—ἐπειδὴ δε, see critical notes. δε marks the contrast, but its omission emphasises it even more vividly and sternly.—ἀπωθεῖσθε: "ye thrust it from you," R.V.; repellitis, Vulgate; only in Luke and



ἐαυτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς, ἰδοὺ στρεφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη· 47. οὕτω γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος, “Τέθεικά<sup>1</sup> σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν, τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς.” 48. ἀκούοντα δὲ τὰ ἔθνη ἔχαιρον, καὶ ἐδόξαζον<sup>2</sup> τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. 49. διεφέρετο δὲ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου δι’ ὅλης τῆς χώρας. 50. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι παρώτρυναν τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὰς εὐσχήμονας καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐπήγειραν διωγμὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Βαρνάβαν,

<sup>1</sup> DE, Cyr. prefix ἰδου to quot., so LXX. D, Cyr., Gig. read φως τοῦ σε τοις ἔθν., so Blass and Hilg., but here variance from LXX.

<sup>2</sup> ἐδοξαζον, D, Gig., Aug. read ἐδεξαντο, so Hilg.—rejected by Blass in β, but see also his Commentary, *in loco*; for the phrase cf. 2 Thess. iii. 1. του Κυριου, but του Θ. BD\*E 180, Boh., Arm., Aug., W.H. text, R.V. text, Blass, Hilg.—Weiss retains τον Κ., so Tisch., W.H. mg. following ὁ ACCLP 61, Vulg., Sah., Chrys.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ (1) om. Ὡ ABCD 61, 180, Sah., Boh., Syrr. P. and H., Arm., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Hilg. Gig. τινας των σεβ. (τον θεον) γυναικας ευσχημονας. DE (Ephraem, Harris, *Four Lectures*, p. 23) read θλιψιν μεγ. και διωγμον, cf. viii. 11, Western text, and Phil. i. 16; see also Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 106.

Paul, cf. 1 Tim. i. 19, Rom. xi. 1, Acts vii. 27, 39; frequent in LXX, cf., e.g., Ps. xciii. 14, Ezek. xliii. 9, and 3 Macc. iii. 22, vi. 32, 4 Macc. ii. 16.—οὐκ ἀξίους, cf. Matt. xxii. 8.

Ver. 47. γὰρ: this action of the Apostles in turning to the Gentiles was not arbitrary.—Τέθεικα, cf. Isa. xlix. 6 (Luke ii. 32). In LXX B reads δέδωκα instead of Τέθ., and inserts after it εἰς διαθήκην γένους; not in Hebrew.—σε really refers to the Servant of the Lord, the Messiah; cf. Delitzsch, *Das Buch Jesaia*, p. 486, fourth edition; but the Apostles speak of an ἐντολή given to them, because through them the Messiah is proclaimed to the Gentiles; see note on i. 8.

Ver. 48. ἐδόξ. τὸν λ. τοῦ Κ.: δοξ. τὸν Θ.; frequent in Luke and Paul, cf. 2 Thess. iii. 1 for the nearest approach to the exact phrase here.—ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγ.: there is no countenance here for the *absolutum decretum* of the Calvinists, since ver. 46 had already shown that the Jews had acted through their own choice. The words are really nothing more than a corollary of St. Paul's ἀναγκαῖον: the Jews as a nation had been ordained to eternal life—they had rejected this election—but those who believed amongst the Gentiles were equally ordained by God to eternal life, and it was in accordance with His divine appointment that the Apostles had turned to them. Some take the word as if middle, not passive: “as many as had set themselves unto

eternal life,” and in support of this Rendall refers to 1 Cor. xvi. 15, ἔταξαν ἑαυτοὺς (see also Blass, *in loco*). The rendering here given by Rendall may be adopted without pressing the military metaphor in the verb, as has sometimes been done; see Wendt's note, p. 308 (1888). St. Chrysostom takes the expression (rightly as Wendt thinks): ἀφωρισμένοι τῷ Θεῷ. Mr. Page's note, *in loco*, should be consulted.

Ver. 49. διεφέρετο; *divulgabatur*, “was spread abroad,” R.V.; not only by the preaching of the Apostles themselves, but by small knots of Christians in other towns, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 105, and so Blass, *in loco*; only here in N.T. in this sense, so in (Wisdom xviii. 10) Plut.; Lucian; imperfect, a certain lapse of time is implied, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 105.—ὅλης τῆς χώρας: the phrase, “the whole *Region*,” indicates that Antioch was the centre of a *Region*, a notice which introduces us to an important fact of Roman imperial administration. Antioch, as a Roman colony, would be the natural military and administrative centre of a certain *Regio*, and there is evidence that in Southern Galatia there were also other distinct *Regiones*, *χῶραι*, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 102-104, 109, 110-112.

Ver. 50. παρώτρυναν: “urged on,” R.V.; only here in N.T., not in LXX or Apocrypha; so in Pind., Lucian, and so too in Josephus, *Ant.*, vii. 6, 1, 1,

καὶ ἐξέβαλον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων αὐτῶν. 51. οἱ δὲ ἐκτιναξάμενοι τὸν κοριορτὸν τῶν ποδῶν αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἤλθον<sup>1</sup> εἰς Ἰκόνιον. 52. οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐπληροῦντο χαρᾶς καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου.

XIV. 1. ἘΓΕΝΕΤΟ δὲ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ λαλῆσαι οὕτως ὥστε πιστεῦσαι

<sup>1</sup> ἤλθον, D reads *κατηντησαν*, so Blass and Hilg., a common word in Acts but not necessary here.

and also in Hippocrates and Aretaeus.—*ἐπήγειραν*, cf. xiv. 2; nowhere else in N.T., several times in LXX, and also frequently in Hippocrates and Galen, Hobart, pp. 225, 226. On the addition in Codex D see critical notes, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 105, 106.—*τὰς εὐσχ.*: "of honourable estate," R.V.; not of character, but of position, cf. Mark xv. 43. This influence assigned to women at Antioch, and exerted by them, is quite in accordance with the manners of the country, and we find evidence of it in all periods and under most varying conditions. Thus women were appointed under the empire as magistrates, as presidents of the games, and even the Jews elected a woman as an Archisynagogos, at least in one instance, at Smyrna, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 102; *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 67; C. and H., p. 144; "Antioch," Hastings' B.D.; Loening, *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristentums*, p. 15.—*τοὺς πρῶτους*: perhaps approaching them through their wives. On the addition of women to the Jewish religion cf. Jos., *B. J.*, ii., 20, 2; Strabo, vii., 2; Juvenal, vi., 542; see Blass, Felten, Plumptre, *in loco*, and instances in Wetstein.—*ἐξέβαλον αὐτούς*, see xiv. 21.

Ver. 51. *ἐκτιναξάμενοι*, cf. Matt. x. 14, Luke x. 11, Mark vi. 11. The symbolic act would be understood by the Jews as an intimation that all further intercourse was at an end. There is no reason to see in the words a late addition by the author of Acts to the source; the disciples mentioned in ver. 52 need not have been Jews at all, but Gentiles, and in xiv. 21 nothing is said of any intercourse except with those who were already disciples.—*Ἰκόνιον*, see on xiv. 1.

Ver. 52. *χαρᾶς*, cf. 1 Thess. i. 6, Rom. xiv. 17, 2 Tim. i. 4.

CHAPTER XIV.—Ver. 1. ἐν Ἰκονίῳ (*Konia*), sometimes regarded as a Roman colony towards the end of the reign of Claudius, thus dignified on account of the title conferred upon the frontier town, Claudio-Derbe. But Hadrian, not Claudius, constituted it a colony. In ver. 6 the Apostles flee from Iconium to the

cities of Lycaonia, Lystra and Derbe, and the inference from this statement is that Iconium was not itself Lycaonian. But this inference justifies the local accuracy of the historian, as it would appear that the people of Iconium regarded themselves as Phrygian even after Iconium had been united with Lycaonia in one district of Roman administration: cf. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 37 ff., and the testimony of the Christian Hierax, 163 A.D., before his Roman judge: "I have come hither (*i.e.*, as a slave), torn away from Iconium of Phrygia": on the road travelled by the Apostles see also Ramsay, *u. s.*, p. 27 ff. Strictly speaking, Lystra and Derbe were cities of Lycaonia-Galatia, while Iconium reckoned itself as a city of Phrygia-Galatia, all three being comprised within the Roman province of Galatia. See also Rendall, *Acts*, p. 262. On the place and its importance, situated with a busy trade on the principal lines of communication through Asia Minor, see C. and H., smaller edition, p. 145, B.D.<sup>2</sup>. Iconium is the scene of the famous *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, forming a part of the *Acts of Paul*, C. Schmidt's translation of which we must await with interest. See Harnack, *Chronol.*, i., p. 493, Wendt (1899), p. 42, Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 375, and "Iconium," Hastings' B.D.—*κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ*, "together," so R. and A.V., cf. LXX, 1 Sam. xi. 11, or it may mean "at the same time". Blass however (so Ramsay, Weiss, Rendall) renders "after the same fashion," *i.e.*, as at Antioch. But for this meaning cf. xvii. 2, where a different phrase is used.—*Ἑλλήνων*: on the whole best taken as referring to the *σεβ.* or *φοβ.* τὸν Θεόν, because in ver. 2 we have *ἔθνη*, which would signify the Gentiles generally, as opposed to those devout persons who as proselytes had joined the Jewish synagogue.

Ver. 2. *ἀπειθοῦντες*, see critical notes. If we read *ἀπειθήσαντες*, "that were disobedient," R.V., but cf. John iii. 36, and Page's note *in loco*. Lumby quotes



Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος. 2. οἱ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντες<sup>1</sup>  
Ἰουδαῖοι ἐπήγειραν καὶ ἐκάκωσαν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἐθνῶν κατὰ τῶν  
ἀδελφῶν. 3. ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν χρόνον διέτριψαν παρῆρσιζόμενοι ἐπὶ

<sup>1</sup> απειθουντες, but aor. απειθησαντες BABC 13, 61, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. D, Syr. Harcl. mg., cf. Blass in β, and Hilg., read οἱ δε αρχισυναγωγοι των Ιουδαιων και οι αρχοντες της συναγωγης (τ. σ. om. by Syr. H.), and for επηγειραν DE, Gig., Wern., Syr. H. read επηγαγον (αυτοις om. by Syr. H.) διωγμον κατα των δικαιων. These readings may have arisen from the seeming inconsequence of vv. 1-3 as they stand in the ordinary text. We read of the opposition of the Jews, and yet the Apostles abode a long time, etc. Ramsay therefore maintains that there is some corruption, and is prepared to follow Spitta in omitting ver. 3 (although for a different reason). But as the text stands it is quite possible to suppose that the effect of the preaching in the synagogue would be twofold, ver. 2 thus answering to the last clause of ver. 1, and that the disciples continued to speak boldly, encouraged by success on the one hand and undeterred by opposition on the other, the consequence being that the division in the city was still further intensified. Ramsay sees in the reading at the commencement of the verse which marks the distinction between αρχοντες and αρχισυναγωγοι a proof that the Bezan reading here cannot be an original first century one, although in its carefulness to enumerate the different classes of Jews it may embody an actual popular tradition (see his article on "The Rulers of the Synagogue," *Expositor*, April, 1895, and compare *C. R. E.*, p. 46). On κατα των δικαιων see also Ramsay, *C. R. E.*, p. 46; δικαιοι is not used by Luke of Christians, rather αγιοι or αδελφοι. At the end of the verse D(E), Gig., Par., Wern., Syr. H. mg. add ο δε κυριος εδωκεν ταχυ ειρηνην, which seem introduced to make an easy transition from ver. 2 to ver. 3, a second tumult being referred to in ver. 5; see crit. notes. Cf. εκ δευτερου, Blass in β. See further Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 77; Wendt (1899), pp. 247, 248; Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., pp. 23, 69; and for decided support of β, Belser, p. 70 ff.; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, i., pp. 52, 53, 1896, and *Acta Apost.*, p. 245, 1899; and especially Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, pp. 121, 127; Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 135; see also Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 598; but on the other hand Schmiedel, *Encycl. Bibl.*, i., p. 53.

Baruch i. 19, and regards the expression here as stronger than "unbelieving," rather unbelief breaking forth into rebellion, as in the case of these Jews at Iconium and elsewhere. Ramsay renders "the disaffected".—ἐκάκωσαν: "exasperated," Ramsay; only here in N.T. in this sense, five times in Acts, once in quotation; only once elsewhere in N.T., 1 Pet. iii. 13, cf. for its use here Jos., *Ant.*, xvi., 1, 2; vii., 3; viii., 6. It is used several times in LXX, but not in this sense, the nearest approach to it is Ps. cv. (LXX) 32. The same phrase occurs twice, Num. xxix. 7, xxx. 14, but with a different meaning or reading in D. See critical notes.

Ver. 3. ἱκανὸν μὲν οὖν χ. οὖν: as a result from the two previous verses, the accession to their numbers and the disaffection. Blass sees in the aorists ἐπήγ. and ἐκάκ. a proof that the disaffected Jews succeeded in their attempts, and he asks if this was so, how were the Apostles able to remain? The answer is to be found, he thinks, in D, see

above, so Hilgenfeld, who holds that this reading makes it conceivable how Paul and Barnabas could continue their work. On ἱκανός with χρόνος, peculiar to St. Luke, see p. 215. Ramsay sees the same force in the aorists, and therefore ver. 3 seems so disconnected that he can only regard it as an early gloss similar to many which have crept into the Bezan text. He thus inclines to adopt here Spitta's hypothesis, and to regard vv. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 as a primitive document. The Bezan text is to him simply an attempt to remedy the discrepancy which was felt to exist between vv. 2 and 3, and it presupposes two tumults: one in ver. 2, and the other in vv. 4 and 5. But there seems nothing unnatural in taking οὖν as marking a result from the events of the two previous verses, not from the second alone, or in the extended stay of the Apostles in the divided city. (Wendt (1899) supposes that in the original source ver. 3 preceded ver. 2, which makes the sequence quite easy. Clemen is much more drastic in his

τῷ Κυρίῳ τῷ μαρτυροῦντι τῷ λόγῳ· τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, καὶ διδόντι σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῶν. 4. ἐσχίσθη<sup>2</sup> δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς πόλεως· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν σὺν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, οἱ δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις. 5.<sup>3</sup> Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ὁρμὴ τῶν ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν, ὑβρίσαι καὶ λιθοβολῆσαι αὐτοὺς,

<sup>1</sup> Wendt (1899), p. 248, maintains that ver. 3 preceded ver. 2 in the source, thus simplifying, as he thinks, the order of thought. τῷ λόγῳ, in  $\aleph A$ , Syr. Pesh. *ἐπι* precedes, so Tisch., Wendt, and Weiss; *cf.* Heb. xi. 4, but prep. om. by  $\aleph^c B C D E L P$ , Chrys., so W.H., Blass, Hilg. καὶ διδ., om. καὶ ABDEP, Chrys., so W.H., Blass, R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.; διδόντος so  $\aleph$  4, 21, 133, Tisch.

<sup>2</sup> ἐσχίσθη, D, Syr. Pesh. *ἡν ἐσχισμένον*, and for *οἱ δε* D reads *ἄλλοι δε*, so Hilg.; Harris regards these as cases of Latinisation, so Corssen, p. 43. At end of verse, D, Syr. Harcl. mg. add *κολλώμενοι δια τον λογον του Θεου* (so Blass in  $\beta$  and so Hilg.), the verb is Lucan, but we cannot say that it is original.

<sup>3</sup> Syr. Harcl. mg. has "et iterum excitaverunt persecutionem secundo Judæi cum Gentibus et lapidantes eos eduxerunt eos ex civitate," so Blass in  $\beta$ ; *cf.* also Ephrem; Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 23. Hilg. follows T.R. Harris also quotes "et iniuriaverunt et lapidaverunt eos," d, which he suspects to be more archaic than its Greek. It is difficult to see how this can agree with *συνιδόντες* in the next verse, which could not be used of an assault actually committed, but Syr. Harcl. omits *συνιδ.*

methods, and refers ver. 2 and vv. 4-6<sup>a</sup> to his Redactor Antijudaicus.)—παῖδες: speaking boldly in spite of the opposition of the Jews, see above on the verb, p. 242. —ἐπὶ, *cf.* iv. 17, 18 (elsewhere with ἐν), the Lord being the ground and support of their preaching; Calvin notes that the words may mean that they spoke boldly in the cause of the Lord, or that relying on His grace they took courage, but that both meanings really run into each other. —τῷ Κυρίῳ: difficult to decide whether the reference is to Jesus; Nösgen takes it so, not only on account of St. Luke's usual way of giving Him this title, but also because the Acts speak expressly of the miracles of the Apostles as works of Christ, iii. 16, *cf.* iv. 30. On the other hand Meyer-Wendt appeals to iv. 29, xx. 24, 32 (but for last passage see var. lect.), Heb. ii. 4.

Ver. 4. ἐσχίσθη δὲ, better "and the multitude" (see Page's note on ver. 3), *cf.* xxiii. 7, John vii. 43. There is no such marked success in ver. 3 as in Ramsay's view. In Thessalonica, xvii. 4, 5, a similar division, *cf.* Luke xii. 51.—ἀποστόλοις: the note of Weiss here takes the word, not in its technical sense at all, but only as missionaries; but see above on xiii. 1.

Ver. 5. The real contrast is marked in this verse, ὡς δὲ ἐγέν. Hitherto the evil results indicated in ver. 2 had not resulted in an open combination of Jews and Gentiles to injure Paul and Barnabas,

but now the Jews and their rulers were prepared to act in concert with the Gentiles, so that the opposition assumed a public shape, and a definite accusation of blasphemy could be formulated against the Apostles.—ὁρμὴ, "onset," R.V.; "assault," A.V., but neither word seems appropriate, since neither onset nor assault actually occurred. It seems therefore better to take the word as expressing the inclination, or hostile intention, or instigation, and to connect it with the infinitives. In classical Greek the word is used of eagerness (joined with ἐπιθυμία), of impulse, of eager desire of, or for, a thing, *cf.* Thuc. iv. 4, Plat., *Phil.*, 35 D, although it is also used of an assault or attack. The only other place in the N.T. in which it occurs is James iii. 4 (R.V. renders "impulse"). Hesychius regards it as equivalent to βουλή, ἐπιθυμία, but see also for its use as expressing attack, violence, 3 Macc. i. 16, 23; iv. 5.—σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν, i.e., of the Jewish synagogues, as αὐτῶν shows. Hackett and Lumby take it of the heathen magistrates. On the distinction between these and the ἀρχισυνάγωγος, see Schürer, div. ii., vol. ii., pp. 64, 250, E.T. The magistrates of the city could not have participated in an act of mob-violence, and the plot to stone the Apostles seems to point to Jewish instigation for enforcing the punishment of blasphemy.—ὑβρίσαι, "to entreat them shamefully," so A. and R.V., indicating



6.<sup>1</sup> συνιδόντες κατέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας, Λύστρην καὶ Δέρβην, καὶ τὴν περίχωρον, 7. ἀκεῖ ἦσαν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Syr. Harcl. mg. (cf. Flor.) reads "et fugientes pervenerunt in Lycaoniam, in civitatem quandam, quæ vocatur Lystra, et Derben," so Blass in β; in *civit. quandam* does not sound Lucan. After περιχώρον DE (Flor., Vulg.) add ὁλην, so Blass and Hilg., but see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> At end of verse D(E), Flor., Wern., Prov. add ἐκινήθη ὁλον το πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ, and also apparently by way of transition to the following narrative ὁ δε Π. καὶ Β. διέτριβον ἐν Λύστροις, so Blass and Hilg., but see Ramsay, *u. s.*, and Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 78. E has ἐξεπλησσετο πασα ἡ πολυπληθεια ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ αὐτων, and Harris thinks that the gloss arose in Latin and points out the closeness of d and e here (see also Blass, *Proleg.*, p. 28). But it has been pointed out that the Latin of d and Flor. also differ.

outrage, insolence in act, cf. Matt. xxii. 6, Luke xviii. 32, 2 Macc. xiv. 42, 3 Macc. vi. 9; in Luke xi. 45 of insulting words. St. Paul uses the same word of treatment at Philippi, 1 Thess. ii. 2, and he describes his own conduct towards the Christians by the cognate noun ὑβριστής, 1 Tim. i. 13.

Ver. 6. συνιδόντες, cf. xii. 12, v. 2, only in Luke and Paul, 1 Cor. iv. 4; 1 Macc. iv. 21; 2 Macc. iv. 41, xiv. 26, 30; 3 Macc. v. 50.—κατέφυγον, cf. Matt. x. 23: "We ought not to run into danger, but to flee from it if needful, like these leaders of the Church wishing to extend their preaching, and to multiply by persecution" Oecumenius; only elsewhere in N.T., Heb. vi. 18; see Westcott, *l.c.*, cf. Deut. iv. 42, Numb. xxxv. 26; 1 Macc. v. 11, etc. So in classical Greek with εἰς, ἐπὶ, πρὸς.—εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λ. Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην, καὶ τὴν περίχωρον: in these words Ramsay sees a notable indication of St. Luke's habit of defining each new sphere of work according to the existing political divisions of the Roman Empire: "Lystra and Derbe and the surrounding Region"; in going from Antioch to Iconium the travellers entered no new Region (χώρα), but in ver. 6 another Region is referred to, comprising part of Lycaonia, consisting of two cities and a stretch of cityless territory; and if this is so, we see also in the words an indication of St. Paul's constant aim in his missionary efforts, viz., the Roman world and its centres of life and commerce; when he reached the limit of Roman territory (Derbe) he retraced his steps. The position of Lystra, about six hours south-south-west from Iconium, near the village *Khatyn Serai*, is now considered as established by Professor Sterrett's evidence based on an inscription; and from similar evidence of inscriptions it appears that Lystra had been a Roman

colonia since Augustus, Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 47 ff., and Wendt (1899), p. 248; O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, p. 102. The site of Derbe cannot be quite so satisfactorily determined, but probably near the village Losta or Zosta; about three miles north-west of this place, a large mound, by name Gudelissin, is marked by evident traces of the remains of a city, "Derbe," Hastings' B.D.; Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 54 ff., and Wendt (1899), p. 249. From 41-72 A.D. Derbe was the frontier city of the Roman province on the south-east. But if St. Paul thus found in Lystra and Derbe centres of Roman commercial life, we must modify our view of the wild and uncivilised nature of the region into which the Apostles penetrated after leaving Antioch and Iconium, cf. C. and H., p. 147, with Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 56, 57. If Paul had gone to the ruder parts of Lycaonia, it is very doubtful whether the inhabitants could have understood him, or any one addressing them in Greek (see also Rendall, *Acts*, p. 263).

Ver. 7. See critical notes for reading in D.—ἀκεῖ; found in four other places in Acts, but not at all in Luke's Gospel.—εὐαγγελ. ἦσαν: "they were engaged in preaching the Gospel," Ramsay; on participate with ἦν or ἦσαν see i. 10.

Ver. 8. ἐν Λύστροις: here neuter plural, and not as in vv. 6 and 21; feminine. Clemen, p. 115, and Jüngst, p. 131, see a proof in this that 8-18, or 21a, was interpolated by a redactor. But Hilgenfeld points out that the same interchange of feminine singular and neuter plural recurs in xvi. 1, 2; cf. also 2 Tim. iii. 11. The miracle which follows has often been compared with those narrated in iii. 1 ff., and it has been alleged that this second miracle is a mere imitation of the first, to

8. Καί τις ἀνὴρ ἐν Λύστροις <sup>1</sup> ἀδύνατος τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκάθητο, χλωδὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων, <sup>2</sup> ὃς οὐδέποτε περιεπεπατήκει. <sup>3</sup>  
9. οὗτος ἤκουε <sup>4</sup> τοῦ Παύλου λαλοῦντος· ὃς ἀτενίσας αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι πίστιν ἔχει τοῦ σωθῆναι, 10. εἶπε μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, Ἀνάστηθι

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Λυστροῖς, D omits (so Hilg. and Blass in β, where he reads καὶ (ἐκεῖ))—attractive, although probably due to the previous interpolation, because it would do away with the perplexity of the two readings ἐν Λ. αδυν. (so Weiss) and αδυν. ἐν Λ. (W.H.).

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ κ. μητρός Blass thinks out of iii. 2, so apparently Wendt—χλωδὸς om. D, Gig., but see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> περιεπεπατήκει, but περιεπατήσεν ΞABC 61, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V., Blass. At end of verse Flor. reads ὑπαρχων ἐν φόβῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, so Blass in β; D omits τοῦ θεοῦ and puts the clause after λαλοῦντος in ver. 9; so Hilg. ὑπαρχ. omitted above, where it seems clearly an interpolation in T.R. out of iii. 2. According to Flor. the man would be a proselyte, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 116, Hilgenfeld, Blass; but Weiss, Codex D, p. 78, regards the reading in Flor. as quite secondary, and it is to be noticed that D omits entirely the words τοῦ θεοῦ after φόβῳ.

<sup>4</sup> ἤκουε BCP, Sah., Syr. Harcl., so W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt, Weiss; ἤκουσεν ΞADEHL 13, 61, Syr. Pesh., Boh., Arm., Æth., Chrys., so Tisch. Flor. adds "libenter," and Gig. adds ἐπιστευσεν, so Blass in β.

keep up the parallel between Peter and Paul. But whilst there are, no doubt, features in common in the two narratives—no great matter for surprise in similar healings, where a similarity of expressions would fitly recur, especially in the literary usage of a medical writer (see Zöckler, p. 240)—the differences are also marked: e.g., in the Petrine miracle the man is a beggar, and asks only for alms; in the Pauline nothing is said of all this, even if the first fact is implied—in the Petrine miracle nothing is said of the man's faith, although it is implied (see notes, *in loco*); here it is distinctly stated—in the earlier miracle Peter is represented as taking the man and raising him up; here nothing of the kind is mentioned (see further on the two miracles, and the different motive in their performance, Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 267). On St. Paul's own claim to work miracles see 2 Cor. xii. 12, Rom. xv. 19, Gal. iii. 5. If the latter passage occurs in an Epistle addressed amongst other Churches to Christians in Lystra, in accordance with the South Galatian theory, the assertion of miraculous powers is the more notable; see also McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 189.—ἀδύν. τοῖς π.: adjective only here in N.T. in this sense, cf. LXX, S. Tobit ii. 10, v. 9, ἀδύν. τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς. It is used frequently in a similar sense by medical writers, Hobart, p. 46.—ἐκάθητο; not "dwelt" Hebraistic; but simply "used to sit," cf. Luke xviii. 35, John ix. 8; probably in the

forum, cf. ver. 11 (Blass).—ἐκ κοιλ. μητρὸς α.; "no mendicant pretender, but one whose history from infancy was well known". See Ramsay on the "triple beat," *St. Paul*, p. 115.

Ver. 9. οὗτος; a genuine Lucan mark of connection, Friedrich, p. 10.—ἤκουε; "used to hear," or "was listening to," i.e., was an habitual hearer of Paul's preaching, see critical notes on D. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 114, 116, regards the man as a proselyte, cf. additions in Bezan text, but for another view of the additions here and in ver. 10, Page, *Classical Review*, July, 1899.—ἀτεν., see above, i. 10.—τοῦ σ., Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 158.

Ver. 10. ἀνάσ. . . . ὀρθός: verb, as elsewhere, ix. 34, 40, but only here with ἐπὶ τοὺς π., hitherto they had been too weak to support him, ὀρθός signifying that he was entirely whole, cf. reading in D. On ὀρθός see Hobart, p. 46: it was frequently used by medical writers, so by Hippocrates and Galen, with ἵστημι; only elsewhere in N.T. in a figurative sense and in a quotation, Heb. xi. 13. The collocation is also found in classical Greek, and cf. 1 Esdras ix. 46 (see also Hatch and Redpath), but cf. also ἀνορθώ, Luke xiii. 13, and the combination in Galen of ὀρθός and τὸ ἀδύνατον κῶλον.—ἤλατο καὶ περιεπ., see also reading in D. If we read ἤλατο, note aorist and imperfect, he sprang up with a single bound, whilst the walking is a continuous action, or inceptive: "he began to walk".





Ἑρμῆν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λόγου.<sup>1</sup> 13. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν, ταύρους καὶ στέμματα

<sup>1</sup> Flor. om. ἐπειδὴ αὐτος . . . του λ., and Blass brackets, comparing xvii. 18, xviii. 3, where some Western authorities omit explanatory clause. Ramsay also rejects clause, *St. Paul*, p. 117, but Hilg. retains. It is quite possible that in these cases the Western reading may be original, and the explanation may have been added later.

<sup>2</sup> D reads του οντος Διὸς προ πολεως (Blass accepts, so Hilg., adding τῆς before πολ.), and D, Gig. read οἱ ἱερεῖς, so Hilg. (Blass rejects), so D reads ἐπιθῦναι, so Hilg. (not Blass). Ramsay, *C. R. E.*, p. 51, and *St. Paul*, p. 118, defends all these readings as indications of local accuracy; see notes. Perhaps he forces too much his rendering of ἐπιθῦναι.

the Galatians: "Ye received me as a messenger of God," Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 117.

Ver. 13. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς. Plural in D; strongly rejected by Blass, with other details. Ramsay defends D (p. 118), and points out that at each of the great temples in Asia Minor a college of priests would be in regular service: see also *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 52, 53.—τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς π. αὐτῶν, see critical notes. R.V., omitting αὐτῶν, renders "whose temple was before the city," i.e., enshrined in the temple outside the gate as the protecting deity. Zöckler, with Ramsay, compares "Zeûs Προάστιος" on an inscription at Claudopolis, cf. also παρὰ Διὶ (=ad fanum Jovis), παρ' Ἡρῇ, and Rome, the name of a church in Rome, "S. Paolo fuori le mura" (see also Holtzmann and Wendt). Here again the reading of D seems to bring out the technical force of the phrase more accurately, τοῦ ὄντος Δ. πρὸ πόλεως (so Blass in β)—possibly = Προπόλεως (cf. an unpublished inscription of Smyrna with the phrase ἱερεῖα πρὸ πόλεως or Προπόλεως). In this phrase, as read in D, the force of the participle is retained in a way characteristic of Acts, as almost = τοῦ ὀνομαζομένου: see on xiii. 1, a characteristic lost by the transposition of ὄντος; see on the whole question Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 51 ff., and also on the possible site of the temple. The words cannot refer to the statue of Jupiter (so lately Rendall), to which no priests would be attached. See Blass in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1900, p. 27, n. 1.—ταύρους καὶ στέμματα: brought by the *ministri* who would be included in the generic term priests. On the sacrifice of a bull to Jupiter, Ovid, *Met.*, iv., 755, as also to Mercury, Persius, *Sat.*, ii., 44. On the garlands to wreath and adorn the victims, *Æneid*, v., 366; Eur., *Heracl.*, 529, perhaps also for the priests and the

altars, the doors, and the attendants; see instances in Wetstein, and cf. Tertullian, *De Corona*, x. The words do not refer to the Apostles; the aim seems to be indicated in ἤθελε θύειν.—ἐπὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας; some see a reference to the gates of the city, mainly because of the collocation τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς π. Blass supposes that the priest came from the temple outside to the city gates, but in that case Ramsay urges that Lucan usage would = πύλη rather than πυλῶν, cf. ix. 24, xvi. 13. Others take it of the gates of the temple in front of which the altar stood, cf. οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς τοῦ νεῶ πυλῶνες, Plut., *Tim.*, xii. Ramsay suggests that the priests probably prepared their sacrifices at the outer gateway of the temple grounds, as something beyond the usual ritual, and so not to be performed at one of the usual places, cf. ἐπιθῦναι D; *St. Paul*, p. 119. Others again refer the words to the gates leading into the atrium or courtyard of the house in which the Apostles were lodging, partly on the ground that the word ἐξεπήδησαν is best referred to the house (cf. Judith xiv. 17, and Susannah, ver. 39). But the verb may mean that they ran hastily out of the city to the temple, and there mingled with the crowd: in 2 Macc. iii. 18 the same verb is used of a general rush of the people to the temple for supplication to heaven.—ἤθελε θύειν: What was his motive? Was he acting in good faith, or out of complaisant regard to the wishes of the multitude (Ewald), or for the sake of gain? On the attitude of the native priests see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 144. In the present instance it would appear that they had known of the Apostles' preaching for some time at all events, and also, it may be, of its success, cf. D., xiv. 7, critical notes, and apparently they were willing to honour the Apostles with divine honours, and to turn the religious revival to their own ends.



ἐπὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας ἐνέγκας, σὺν τοῖς ὄχλοις ἤθελε θύειν. 14. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι<sup>1</sup> Βαρνάβας καὶ Παῦλος, διαβρῆξαντες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν εἰσεπήδησαν<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὸν ὄχλον, κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες, 15. Ἄνδρες, τί ταῦτα ποιεῖτε; καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμοιοπαθεῖς ἐσμεν ὑμῖν ἄνθρωποι, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ματαίων ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα,<sup>3</sup> ὃς ἐποίησε τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> οἱ ἀποστολοι om. D, Flor., Gig., Syr. Pesh., Blass "recte". Weiss thinks om. caused because offence was taken at the extension of the title to Barnabas. In ver. 4 Barnabas is not expressly mentioned, while here he is not only mentioned by name but placed first.

<sup>2</sup> εἰσεπηδησαν, but εξεπ. ΞABCDE 13, 61, Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ζῶντα Ξ<sup>c</sup>ABCD<sup>2</sup>E 13, 40, 61, Ath., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; cf. Blass, *Gram.*, p. 144. D has εὐαγγ. ὑμῖν τὸν Θεὸν (so Iren.), and again ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν ζῶντα τὸν ποιησαντα, thus reading τὸν Θεὸν in both places (whilst Blass in β and Hilg. follow Flor. in omitting τὸν Θεὸν the second time). Ramsay however also retains the words in both places, as "the God" was the title under which the supreme God was worshipped in Asia Minor, *St. Paul*, p. 118.

Ver. 14. ἀκούσ.: how, we are not told; whether, as Blass supposes, they had returned to their lodgings, and hurried forth to the city gates when they heard what was going on, or whether, later in the day, they hurried from the city to the temple when they heard of the approaching sacrifice, we do not know, and a better knowledge of the localities would no doubt make many points clearer. The crowd who had seen the miracle, ver. 11, would naturally be eager to follow the priest to the sacrifice, σὺν τοῖς ὄχλοις, ver. 13.—διαβρῆξαντες: in token of distress and horror, cf. Gen. xxxvii. 29, 34; Josh. vii. 6; Matt. xxvi. 65; frequently in LXX, and several times in 1 Macc.—εἰσεπήδησαν: xvi. 29, see critical notes.

Ver. 15. ἄνδρες: brief address in accordance with the hurry of the moment.—ὁμοιοπαθεῖς, James v. 17, "of like passions," so R.V. in both passages, but 'nature' in margin, so Ramsay. But to others the latter word seems too general, and they explain it as meaning equally capable of passion or feeling, as opposed to the ἀπάθεια of the idols; or, equally prone to human weakness, and not all-powerful as the people seemed to infer from the miracle (Bethge); whilst others again take it as meaning ὁμοίως θνητός (so Blass). On its meaning in Wisdom vii. 3 see Grimm, *sub v.*, and *Speaker's Commentary*. In 4 Macc. xii. 13 it is also used to mark the atrocious nature of persecution inflicted by one who, a man himself, was not ashamed τοὺς

ὁμοιοπαθεῖς γλωττοτομήσαι: cf. its use in medical writers and in classical Greek (Wetstein); by the Fathers it was used of our Lord Himself, Euseb., *H. E.*, i., 2, cf. Heb. iv. 15 (see Mayor on James v. 17).—εὐαγγελιζ.: we preach not ourselves—Paul was a "messenger of God" in a higher sense than the people conceived; on the construction see above p. 210 and Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 79. For reading in D see critical note = bringing you glad tidings of "the God"—in Asia Minor a familiar term for the great God, so that just as St. Paul introduces the Christian God at Athens as "the Unknown God," whom the Athenians had been worshipping, so here he may have used a familiar term known to the crowd around him at Lystra, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 118.—ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ, cf. especially 1 Thess. i. 9, in Acts ix. 35, xi. 21, xv. 19, xxvi. 20; on the construction see Wendt, and Weiss, *in loco*, cf. iv. 18, v. 28, 40, infinitive after παραγγέλλειν.—τὸν ζῶντα, see critical note.—τούτων: may be used contemptuously, as if St. Paul pointed to the preparations for the sacrifice.—ματαίων, cf. Jer. ii. 5, x. 3, of the gods of the nations and their worship, cf. also 2 Kings xvii. 15 B, Jer. viii. 19; cf. Rom. i. 21, Ephes. iv. 17. R.V. and A.V. take it as neuter, others as masculine, sc., Θεῶν.—ὃς ἐποίησε κ.τ.λ., cf. especially Jer. x. 11, 12-15, 16, for the contrast between the gods who are no gods, and the God Who made the heavens, and cf. also Acts xvii. 24 for a similar appeal from the same Apostle.

θάλασσαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· 16. ὃς ἐν ταῖς παρῳχημέναις γενεαῖς εἶασε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πορεύεσθαι ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν· 17. καίτοιγε<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἁμάρτυρον ἑαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν, ἀγαθοποιῶν,<sup>2</sup> οὐρανόθεν ἡμῖν ὑετοὺς διδοὺς καὶ καιροὺς καρποφόρους, ἐμπιπλῶν τροφῆς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> καίτοιγε N<sup>c</sup>C<sup>s</sup>HLP 61\*\*, Chrys., Theodt.; καίτοι N<sup>c</sup>ABC\* 13, 61\*, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt; καίγε DE, so Hilg. (see Wendt's note (1888), p. 312); cf. xvii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> ἀγαθοποιῶν, but N<sup>c</sup>ABC 13, 61, 180 ἀγαθοῦργων, and so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

The "living" God manifests His life in creation—a manifestation to which St. Paul would naturally appeal before such an audience; even in writing to Christian converts of the deepest mysteries of the faith he does not forget that the God of Nature and the God of Redemption are one, cf. Ephes. iii. 9, R.V.; so too St. Peter prefaces the first Christian hymn with the same words used here by the Apostle of the Gentiles, iv. 24. On the tact of St. Paul at Lystra and at Athens, laying the foundation of his teaching as a wise master-builder in the truths of natural religion, and leading his audience from them as stepping-stones to higher things, see notes on xvii. That he did not even at Lystra confine his teaching or his appeal simply to Nature's witness, see notes on vv. 22 and 23.

Vv. 16-17. ὃς: God working not only in creation, but in history, not only the source of life but the personal living Guide and Ruler of man, even in His tolerance far removed from the easy indifference of the gods of Olympus. The three present participles ἀγαθ. . . διδ. . . ἐμπ. . . mark the continuous activity and goodness of God, and are all three expegetical of ἁμάρτυρον; whilst the second participle is generally regarded as specifying a mode of the first, and the third as expressing a consequence of the second.—οὐρανόθεν: only again in xxvi. 13 in N.T., see 4 Macc. iv. 10; so in Hom. and Hes., old genitive of οὐρανός.—ὑετοὺς διδοὺς καὶ καιροὺς καρπ.: the Apostle's appeal becomes more significant when we remember that Zeus was spoken of as ὑέτιος, ἐπικάρπιος (Bethge); the rain was regarded in the East as a special sign of divine favour, and here, as in the O.T., God's goodness and power in this gift are asserted as against the impotence of the gods of the heathen, see especially Jer. xiv. 22, and cf. 1 Kings xviii. 1 and 1 Sam. xii. 17 where this same phrase ὑετ. διδόναι is used of God.—καρπ.:

here only in N.T., cf. LXX, Jer. ii. 21, Ps. cvi. 34, and also classical; cf. for the whole passage Cicero, *De Nat. Deorum*, ii., 53.—ἐμπιπλῶν (ἐμπιπλάω), cf. Luke i. 53, vi. 25, Rom. xv. 24, John vi. 12, frequent in LXX, e.g., Ps. cvi. 9, Isa. xxix. 19, Jer. xxxviii. 14, Ecclus. iv. 12; see also below on εὐφροσ.—καρδίας: Blass compares Luke xxi. 34, where the heart is spoken of as overcharged with surfeiting, as here it is spoken of as filled with food. But the word may be used not merely as = ἡμᾶς, or in a merely material sense, but as including the idea of enjoyment, cf. LXX, Ps. ciii. 15; Winer-Moulton, xxiii. 1, and Alford on James v. 5.—εὐφροσύνης: in its ordinary Greek use might simply mean "good cheer," although we need not limit it here with Grotius to wine as in Ecclus. xxxi. 28; very frequently used in LXX (only here and in ii. 28 in N.T.), sometimes of mere festive joy, Gen. xxxi. 27, sometimes of religious gladness, Deut. xxviii. 47. Although St. Paul could not have used it here as it is employed in ii. 28, yet he might perhaps have used it as a kind of transition word to lead his hearers on to a deeper gladness of heart, a richer gift of God than corn and wine, cf. Ps. iv. 7, and for the phrase ἐμπ. εὐφροσ. Isa. xxix. 19, Ecclus. iv. 12. It may well be that whilst we have in this address the germ of the thoughts afterwards developed in Rom. i. 18, 23, etc., St. Paul did not press his argument on this occasion as in his Epistle, but took the first step to arrest the attention of his hearers by an appeal to the goodness, not to the severity, of God—the goodness which leadeth to repentance. It has been thought that the words οὐρ. ἡμῖν διδοὺς κ.τ.λ. are rhythmic, and may have been some familiar fragment of a song, or a citation from a Greek poet, in which the Apostle expressed his thoughts; others have maintained that they may have formed part



εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν.<sup>1</sup> 18. καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες, μόλις<sup>2</sup>  
κατέπαυσαν τοὺς ὄχλους τοῦ μὴ θύειν αὐτοῖς.

19.<sup>3</sup> Ἐπῆλθον δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἰκονίου Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ  
πέισαντες τοὺς ὄχλους, καὶ λιθάσαντες τὸν Παῦλον, ἔσυρον ἔξω τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἡμιν . . . ἡμῶν, but ὑμιν . . . ὑμῶν B\*BCDE, Syr. Harcl., Arm., Ir., Ath., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; ὑμιν however is om. by B<sup>9</sup>CA 13, 61, Vulg.

<sup>2</sup> μόλις, D reads μογίς, and for κατέπαυσαν . . . αὐτοῖς Flor. has "vix persuaserunt ne immolarent sibi illi homines" (so Blass in β, cf. Hilg.). C, many min., and Syr. H. mg. add ἀλλὰ πορευεσθαι ἑκαστον εἰς τὰ ἴδια, cf. v. 18 D, John vii. 53; Flor. adds "et discedere eos ab se" (so Blass in β preceding previous addition; Hilg. omits).

<sup>3</sup> At the begin. of verse CDE (Flor. Cassiod.), Syr. H. mg., Arm., Bed. read διατριβῶντων δε αὐτῶν καὶ διδασκοντῶν evidently to show that the outbreak did not ensue immediately upon the intended worship. D, Flor., Syr. H. mg. (E, Vulg.) insert τινες before ἰουδ. and change order. C, Syr. H. mg., Flor. proceed καὶ διαλεγόμενων αὐτῶν παρρησιᾷ ἐπείσαν τοὺς ὄχλους ἀποστῆναι ἀπ' αὐτῶν ("ne crederent illis docentibus," Flor.), λέγοντες ὅτι οὐδεν ἀληθες λεγουσιν ἀλλὰ πάντα ψευδονται—so Blass throughout in β, and Hilg., see Belser, p. 71, in support, on the ground that β thus explains fully the change in the attitude of the people; but the whole might proceed from a reviser, and need not be original.

of the hymn sung in the procession for the sacrifice, and that St. Paul made the words his text; see Humphry, *in loco*; Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., p. 384; Felten, *in loco*; but it may be fairly said that the O.T. language was in itself quite sufficient to suggest the Apostle's words. On the remarkable parallels between this speech and the sayings of Pseudo-Heraclitus in his letters see Gore, *Ephesians*, p. 253 ff., but see also Bernays, *Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 29.—πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: "all the Gentiles," R.V., the words divided mankind into two classes, but there was the same Lord over all, Rom. iii. 29.—ἐν ταῖς παρῶν. γενεαῖς: "in the generations gone by," R.V. παρῶν: not in LXX or Apocrypha, but classical, and used also by Josephus.—εἵασε (cf. xvii. 30, Rom. iii. 25, 26) . . . πορεύ. ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν, i.e., without summoning them as now to repent, cf. for the combination ix. 31, and for the expression 2 Cor. xii. 18, Jude v. 11, James v. 20 (in classical Greek cf. Thuc., iii., 64, ἀδικον ὁδὸν ἵεναι), cf. also the contrast between God's ways and the wilfulness of Israel in the past, Ps. lxxxi. 13 and previous verses, expressed in the same phraseology.

Ver. 17. καίτοιγε, see critical notes. If we read καίτοι the word is only found in the N.T. here and in Heb. iv. 3; used here as an adversative conjunction; see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 168, and further Blass, *Gramm.*, pp. 242, 264; Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 118 (1893);

see 4 Macc. ii. 6.—ἀμάρτυρον: not in LXX or Apocrypha; only here in N.T., but in classical Greek, and also in Josephus, see instances in Wetstein. This witness is not as at Athens, xvii. 27, Rom. ii. 15, to man's consciousness and conscience, but rather to God's presence in nature, cf. for the expression LXX, Ps. lxxxviii. 37, ὁ μάρτυς ἐν οὐρανῷ πιστός, and Pseudo-Heraclitus, letter iv., where the moon is spoken of as God's οὐράνιος μαρτυρία; see below on ver. 17.—οὐκ ἀφήκεν: non reliquit sed sivit (Blass).—ἀγαθοποιῶν, see critical notes. Neither ἀγαθοργέω nor ἀγαθοεργέω, 1 Tim. vi. 18, occur in classical Greek or LXX. T.R. uses the more familiar word; found three times in Luke's Gospel and elsewhere in N.T., and also a few times in LXX (in different senses), but not in classical Greek; see Plummer on Luke vi. 33, and Hatch, *Essays in B. G.*, p. 7.

Ver. 18. μόλις: used only by Luke and Paul (with one exception of a quotation, 1 Pet. iv. 18), Luke ix. 39, W.H.; four times in Acts, and Rom. v. 7.—κατέπαυσαν τοῦ μῆ, x. 47, Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, pp. 159, 184.

Ver. 19. ἐπῆλθον δὲ: on readings to account for the interval see critical notes. Nothing in the narrative forbids some kind of interval, whilst nothing is said as to its duration.—Ἰουδαῖοι: a proof of their enmity in that they undertook a long journey of some one hundred and

πόλεως, νομίσαντες<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸν τεθνάναι. 20.<sup>2</sup> κυκλωσάντων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν μαθητῶν, ἀναστὰς εἰσήλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν· καὶ τῇ ἑπαύριον ἐξῆλθε σὺν τῷ Βαρνάβᾳ εἰς Δέρβην. 21. εὐαγγελισάμενοί<sup>3</sup> τε τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, καὶ μαθητεύσαντες ἱκανούς, ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Λύστραν

<sup>1</sup> νομίζοντες NABD 13, 40, 61, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> Flor. reads "tunc circumdederunt eum discentes et cum surrexisset (x) populus vespere . . ." Par.<sup>2</sup> adds μογῖς before ἀνασ., so Blass in β; cf. Belser, p. 71.

<sup>3</sup> εὐαγγελισάμενοι N<sup>c</sup>BCL 61, Bas., Chrys., so W.H., Blass, R.V.; εὐαγγελίζομενοι ADEHP, Lach., Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg., the aor. part. probably a mechanical conformity to the following part.

thirty miles.—*πίσαντες τοὺς δ.*: *mobile vulgus*. The change in their attitude need not surprise us, cf. the fickleness of the inhabitants of Malta, xxviii. 6, and, more notably still, the change of feeling in the multitudes who could cry Hosannah! and Crucify! The Scholiast, Homer, *Il.*, iv., 89-92, has ἄπιστοι γὰρ Λυκάονες, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης μαρτυρεῖ. These Jews may have received help from their fellow-countrymen, some few of whom were resident in Lystra, xvi. 1, or possibly, as McGiffert suggests, it may have been easy to incite the populace against Paul and Barnabas, because of the Apostles' rejection of the divine honours offered to them. But probably the persuasion implies that they influenced the multitudes to regard the miracle, the reality of which they could not dispute, as the work not of beneficent gods but of evil demons. The form of punishment, *λιθάσαντες*, would seem at all events to point to Jewish instigation, although the stoning took place not outside but inside the city, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 25, 2 Tim. iii. 11, and Wendt (1888), p. 318, as against Zeller. In Gal. vi. 17 the Apostle may allude to the scars marked on him by these same people (Ramsay, Zahn), cf. also Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, v. 6. *λιθασθεῖς*: "Uti Paulus prius lapidationi Stephani consenserat: ita nunc veterem culpam expiat, 2 Cor. xi. 25" (Wetstein). On the undesigned coincidence between this narrative and the notice in 2 Tim. cf. Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, xii., 5. Hilgenfeld refers this verse to his "author to Theophilus," but the change in the multitude and the hatred of the Jews are not surprising, but perfectly natural.—*ἔστυγον*: perhaps as a last indignity, cf. viii. 3, xvii. 6.—*νομίσαντες*: St. Luke's words do not require us to infer that St. Paul was rendered lifeless, and we need not suppose that he was more than stunned. But at the same time the

narrative undoubtedly leads us to recognise in St. Paul's speedy recovery from such an outrage, and his ability to resume his journey, the good hand of God upon him. We may again notice St. Luke's reserve in dwelling on the Apostle's sufferings, and his carefulness in refraining from magnifying the incident.

Ver. 20. *κυκλ.*: Bengel says "tanquam sepeliendum," and others have held the same view, but the word need not imply more than that the disciples surrounded him, to help if human aid could profit, and to lament for him in his sufferings. Amongst the mourners the youthful Timothy may well have found a place. On Timothy's means of knowing of the Apostle's sufferings here narrated see Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, u. s.—*μαθητῶν*: the Apostles' work had not therefore been unsuccessful: there were converts willing to brave persecution, and to avow themselves as disciples.—*τῇ ἑπαύριον*: the journey to Derbe was one of some hours, not free from risk, and the mention of Paul's undertaking and finishing it on the morrow indicates how wonderfully he had been strengthened in his recovery. The word is found ten times in Acts, and not at all in Luke's Gospel, but cf. *εὔριον* Luke x. 35, Acts iv. 5 only; Hawkins' *Horæ Syn.*, p. 144. It occurs three times in chap. x., no less than in the second half of the book.—*σὺν τῷ Β.*: apparently he had been free from attack, since Paul was the chief speaker, and consequently provoked hostility.

Ver. 21. *εὐαγγελ.*: continuous preaching, present participle, and the result, many disciples; not "having taught many," A.V., but "had made many disciples," R.V., cf. Matt. xxviii. 19. No doubt they pursued the same course as at Lystra, and again we have direct proof that the teaching of the Gospel was not in vain: it is therefore quite unwarrantable to suppose that Paul's



καὶ Ἰκόνιον καὶ Ἀντιόχειαν, 22. ἐπιστηρίζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν μαθητῶν, παρακαλοῦντες ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει, καὶ ὅτι διὰ πολλῶν θλίψεων δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. 23. χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, προσευξάμενοι μετὰ νηστειῶν, παρέθεντο αὐτοὺς τῷ Κυρίῳ εἰς ὃν

speech at Lystra indicates the powerlessness of the message of the Gospel in contact with deep-rooted heathenism (Bethge); in vv. 22, 23 we have abundant proof that Paul had not limited his first preaching in Lystra to truths of natural religion, for now on his return the disciples are bidden ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει, and they are commended to the Lord, εἰς ὃν πεπιστεύκεισαν, "on whom they had believed". No persecution is mentioned at Lystra, with which cf. 2 Tim. iii. 11.—ὑπέστρεψαν: how they were able to do this after they had been recently expelled, cf. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 70 ff., and McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 190, 191—no permanent disability could be inflicted on them by the magistrates, and the person expelled might return after a little, especially if new magistrates had been appointed in the interim. Moreover, on their return journey the Apostles may have refrained from open and public preaching, and devoted themselves rather to the organisation of the Christian communities. (There is therefore no ground for Hilgenfeld's and Wendt's reference of ver. 19 to a different source from the verse before us.) At the same time the courage of the Apostle is also noteworthy: "neque enim securum petit, ubi instar emeriti militis otio fruatur, sed etiam repetit loca, in quibus paullo ante male tractatus fuerat," Calvin.

Ver. 22. ἐπιστηρίζοντες: only in Acts, cf. xv. 32, 41; for the simple verb see xviii. 23 (W.H., R.V.), and Luke xxii. 32, and six times in St. Paul's Epistles, frequent in LXX, but not in any similar sense, although for the simple verb cf. Ps. li. (1.) 12.—ἐμμένειν, Gal. iii. 10, Heb. viii. 9, two quotations: in the former, with the simple dative; in the latter, with ἐν; several times in LXX, and with both constructions, cf. Xen., *Mem.*, iv., 4.—τῇ πίστει: subjective or objective, as a feeling of trust, or a belief, a creed? That it was used in the latter sense by St. Paul we cannot doubt, in such passages as Col. i. 23, 1 Tim. v. 8 (cf. 1 Pet. v. 9, Jude vv. 3, 20), and St. Luke may have used the word in this latter sense in recording the incident. But cf. also vi. 7, xiii. 8, where the word may be used, as perhaps here,

in a kind of intermediate stage.—ὅτι, cf. xi. 3, xv. 1, we have the language of the preachers themselves, but it is precarious to conclude that ἡμᾶς includes the presence of the author of the book, St. Luke himself. The ἡμᾶς may simply mean that the speakers thus associated themselves with their hearers, and drew a general lesson similar to that drawn by St. Paul in 2 Tim. iii. 12, as he looked back upon these same sufferings at the close of his life. The teaching thus expressed may have struck deep root in the heart of one of St. Paul's hearers—why not Timothy?—and have been repeated by him to St. Luke as the Apostle had uttered it; see further in its bearing on the date, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 123. Alford's note strongly maintains that Luke himself was present, see *in loco* and also Proleg., pp. 6, 7. On the possibility that the words contain an *Agraphon* of the Lord see Resch, *Agrapha*, pp. 148, 278, and cf. *Epist. Barn.*, vii., 11.—θλίψεων, cf. xx. 23, quite a Pauline word, not used by Luke at all in his Gospel (five times in Acts), cf. 1 Thess. iii. 3 and ii. 12, and *Epist. Barn.*, u. s. On St. Paul's reference to "the kingdom of God," sometimes as future, sometimes as actually present, see *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 311, note (1892).

Ver. 23. χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβ., see above, x. 41, where the compound verb is used, "chosen of God," ὑπὸ Θεοῦ. The simple verb is only used here and in 2 Cor. viii. 19: lit., to elect by popular vote, by show of hands, but it is by no means a word of certain meaning, and came to be used, as Ramsay admits, in the sense of appointing or designating. Here evidently the word is not used in the literal sense given above, as Paul and Barnabas appoint, and that the idea of popular election did not necessarily belong to the word, at least in later Greek, is evident from Josephus, *Ant.*, vi., 13, 9, τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένον βασιλέα: cf. xiii. 2, 2, of the appointment of Jonathan as high priest by Alexander. On the later use of the word, of which there is no early trace, as referring to the stretching out of the bishop's hands in the laying on of hands, cf.

πεπιστεύκεισαν. 24. καὶ διελθόντες τὴν Πισιδίαν, ἦλθον εἰς Παμ-  
φυλίαν· 25. καὶ λαλήσαντες ἐν Πέργῃ<sup>1</sup> τὸν λόγον, κατέβησαν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> ἐν Πέργῃ <sup>BCDEHLP</sup>, so Lach., W.H. text, Rendall, Hilg.; εἰς τὴν Π. <sup>N<sup>a</sup>A</sup> (without art.) 61, so Tisch., W.H. marg., Weiss, Wendt, Blass—the change of ἐν into εἰς is quite inconceivable, so Weiss, who compares other frequent uses of εἰς as characteristic of Acts ii. 5, ix. 21 (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 36).

"Ordination" (Hatch, *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, ii., p. 1501 ff.). Blass takes the word here as = καθιστάναι, and compares Titus i. 5, although he thinks that nothing is said here about the mode of election, and that the Church may have had some share in it. So too Ramsay compares the same passage, Titus i. 5, and concludes that St. Paul doubtless followed there the same method which he followed here, a method in which the votes and voices of each congregation were considered, cf. 2 Cor. viii. 19. But the office to which Luke was appointed in 2 Cor., *i. e.*, was not an office which involved ordination, and we could not argue from it alone to the method of the appointment of elders in the passage before us. At the same time it may be fully admitted that the Church was not without some share in the election of the elders, and it must not be forgotten that, in the case of the Seven, the Church had elected, and the Apostles had ordained, Acts vi. 3. In Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xlv., whilst the Apostles took care to secure that after their death distinguished men should appoint presbyters and deacons, yet the latter were elected *with the consent of the whole Church*, and they were exposed, as it were, to the judgment of the Church (see on this voice of the Church, Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 89, and Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, p. 100 ff.). If we compare the language of Acts vi. 3, Tit. i. 5, Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xlii., 4, xlv., 2, 3, and the use of the verb καθίστημι in each, it would seem that the κατάστασις was throughout reserved to the Apostles or their representatives, whilst the Church, if not always selecting, may at least be regarded as consenting, *συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης*, Clem. Rom., *u. s.*, xlv., 3; see "Bishop" (Haddan), *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, i., p. 213. But, further, in the passage before us it is not impossible that the choice as well as the ordination of the presbyters may be referred to Paul and Barnabas, cf. the pronoun αὐτοῖς: "having appointed for them," and in newly founded communities it was not unnatural that the Apostles should

exercise such choice and authority. On the use of the verb in the *Didaché*, xv., 1, and its compatibility with ordination in accordance with Apostolic practice and injunction, see Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, p. 281; and further, *Church Quarterly Review*, 42, p. 265 ff., on the strictures passed by Loening, *Die Gemeindeverfassung*, 61, 62.—κατ' ἐκκλησίαν, "in every Church," distributive, ii. 46, v. 42, cf. Titus i. 5, Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xlii., 4. On the spread of Christianity in Asia Minor see additional note at end of chapter.—προσευξ. μετὰ νηστ.: Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 122, speaks of the solemn prayer and fasting which accompanied the appointment of the elders, and of this meeting and rite of fasting, as the form permanently observed, cf. xiii. 1-3. The two participles χειροτ. and προσευξ. evidently refer to the appointment, and not to the subsequent commendation. See also Harnack, *Proleg. to Didaché*, p. 148; and on the other hand, Overbeck, Wendt, Weiss, Zöckler.—παρῆντο, xx. 32, cf. Luke xii. 48, xxiii. 46, 1 Pet. iv. 19, cf. 1 Tim. i. 18, 2 Tim. ii. 2 (in no parallel sense in the other Evangelists). In the first three passages above used as here of solemn committal to God; also of giving into another's charge or keeping, cf. παραθήκη, 1 Tim. vi. 20, 2 Tim. i. 12, 14. In classical Greek of money or property entrusted to one's care. In Tobit x. 12 (cf. i. 14, iv. 1, 20) both verb and noun are found together, παρατίθεμαι σοι τὴν θυγατέρα μου ἐν παραθήκῃ S (see Hatch and Redpath).—αὐτοὺς may refer to the believers in general, cf. Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 66.—τῷ Κ., *i. e.*, Christ, as the πιστεύω indicates: the phrase πιστ. εἰς, or ἐπὶ τινα, is peculiarly Christian, cf. Lightfoot on Gal. ii. 16.

Ver. 24. διελ. τὴν Π. "having made a missionary journey through Pisidia," see above on xiii. 6. Here it seems clearly implied that Pisidian Antioch was not in Pisidia, see above on xiii. 14, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 124.

Ver. 25. καὶ λ. ἐν Πέργῃ τὸν λόγον: in the beginning of their journey they probably made a slight stay at Perga, but without preaching there—possibly



Ἀττάλειαν· 26. κάκειθεν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν ὅθεν ἦσαν παραδεδομένοι τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐπλήρωσαν.

for the reason mentioned above which prompted them to hurry on to Antioch, and possibly because, as C. and H. (so Felten) think, the inhabitants at the time of the Apostles' first visit were all leaving Perga for the cool mountain districts, their summer retreats, whereas on the return journey of the missionaries Perga would again be full (C. and H., pp. 131, 158, smaller edition).—ἐν Π., see critical notes.—κατέβησαν, went down, i.e., to the sea coast where Attalia lay, cf. xvi. 8 (xiii. 4), Jonah i. 3, so in classical Greek ἀναβαίνω, to go up from the coast.—Ἀττάλειαν: mentioned because it was the harbour of embarkation, and so called from Attalus II. Philadelphus, king of Pergamus, its builder, B.C. 159-138; is a port for the trade of Egypt and Syria, Strabo, xiv., 4. It bears the modern name of Adalia, and until quite recent days it was the chief harbour of the south coast of Asia Minor. See B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Hastings' B.D., "Attalia" (Ramsay). The distance from Perga was about sixteen miles, and the travellers would reach it across the plain: formerly they had gone up the Cestrus to Perga, and probably they now go to Attalia to find a ship for Antioch. See Hackett, *in loco*, and C. and H.

Ver. 26. κάκειθεν, cf. vii. 3, and Luke xi. 53, in six other places in Acts in a local sense as here, only once elsewhere in N.T., in Mark ix. 30, in same sense; see also xiii. 21.—ἦσαν παραδεδομ.: "they had been committed," R.V., in xv. 40 "commended"; in both passages A.V. "recommended," a rendering which has changed its meaning; only in these two passages in this sense, but cf. i Pet. ii. 23 (John xix. 30).—ὃ ἐπλήρωσαν, cf. xii. 25, xiii. 25, still, as hitherto, St. Paul found the χάρις of God "sufficient".

Ver. 27. συν. τὴν ἐκκλ., cf. xv. 30, as was natural, for they had been sent out by them.—ἀνήγγειλαν: xv. 4 (xx. 20, 27), lit., to carry back tidings (so in classical Greek, as from a less to a greater), cf. 2 Cor. vii. 7; used here as in Æschylus, Xen., Polyb., of messengers reporting what they had seen or heard (Grimm). Blass takes it as simply = ἀπαγγέλλω as in LXX and later Greek.—δοα: "how many (or 'how great') things".—μετ' αὐτῶν, i.e., on their behalf; cf. xv. 4, Luke i. 58, 72, x. 37, cf. i Sam. xii. 24, Ps. cxxvi. 2,

3, Hebrew דַּעַן נָפְשׁוֹ, Ps. cxix. 65, and cannot = *per ipsos*, which would require διὰ—the phrase may therefore be described as a Hebraism; it occurs only in Luke; Friedrich, p. 33.—ὅτι ἦνοιξε . . . θύραν: a striking coincidence with St. Paul's use of the same metaphor elsewhere, cf. i Cor. xvi. 9, 2 Cor. ii. 12, Col. iv. 3, and cf. Rev. iii. 8. St. Paul's Galatian Epistle clearly shows that his missionary work in Galatia had met with much success, and that the Churches now founded held a large place in his affections, cf. Gal. iv. 14, 15. Enough had been accomplished, even if all his desires were still unfulfilled, to make him eager for a continuation of the work to which he had been called as an Apostle of the Gentiles, see McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 191, 192; Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 66: "perhaps the greatest epoch in the history of the Ecclesia at large": Spitta refers the whole verse to his Redactor, p. 171.

Ver. 28. χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον: only in Acts, where it occurs eight times, cf. xii. 18, etc.; on the length of time thus spent see "Chronology of the N.T.," Hastings' B.D., and also Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 74, with which cf. Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, p. 288.

*Additional Note.*—In chapters xiii. and xiv. many critics find the commencement of a new source, a belief based to a great extent upon the view that Barnabas and Saul are here introduced as if they had not been previously mentioned. But whilst some description is given of each of the remaining persons in the list (xiii. 1), nothing is added to the name of Barnabas or of Saul, so that it seems quite permissible to argue that these two are thus simply mentioned by name because they were already known. It is therefore not surprising to find that some writers, e.g., Hilgenfeld, regard these chapters as part of a previous source, so too Wendt, Spitta, Jüngst. Others see in these chapters a separate document, possibly not used again by the author of Acts; a document composed by a different hand from that to which we owe the "We" sections, and incorporated by the author of the whole book into his work (McGiffert). Others again see in these same chapters the commencement of a Travel-Document, containing not only these two chapters, but also the later journeys of St. Paul, coming to us from

27. παραγενόμενοι δὲ καὶ συναγαγόντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀνήγγειλαν<sup>1</sup> ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅτι ἤνοιξε τοῖς ἔθνεσι θύραν πίστεως. 28. διέτριβον δὲ ἐκεῖ χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς.

<sup>1</sup> ἀνήγγειλαν, but imperf.  $\aleph$ ABC 18, 40, 61, Syr. Pesh., Boh., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt—Blass and Hilg. follow T.R. For μετ' αὐτῶν D, Gig., so Hilg., read μετὰ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν, perhaps Syriac influence (Harris). Blass brackets καὶ ὅτι . . . θ. πίστεως without any authority, and adds the same words to xv. 4, see below *l. c.*

the same hand as the "We" sections, and from the same hand as the rest of the book (Ramsay). It is disappointing to find how Clemen, while referring xiii., xiv. to his good source, *Historia Pauli*, goes even further than Spitta in breaking up the different parts of the narrative: e.g., xiv. 8-11, we owe to the Redactor Judaicus, and vv. 19, 20, 22b, 23 in the same chapter to the Redactor Anti-Judaicus. (See on the whole question Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, 1<sup>o</sup> Heft, 1896; Wendt (1899), p. 225, note; Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 243, 244 (second edition).) It is no wonder in face of the unsatisfactory attempts to break up these chapters, or to separate their authorship from that of the rest of the book, that Zahn should maintain that a man like Luke needed for the composition of chapters xiii.-xxviii. no other source than his recollections of the narratives recited by St. Paul himself, or of the events in which he, as St. Paul's companion, had participated, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, ii., 412 (1899), cf. Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 25, 26. Certainly the unity of authorship between the two chapters under consideration and the rest of the book seems most clearly marked in language and style: e.g., κατασελεῖν, xiii. 6, only found elsewhere in N.T., Acts xii. 17, xix. 33, xxi. 40; ἐπαίρειν τὴν φωνήν, xiv. 11, only elsewhere in N.T., Luke xi. 27, Acts ii. 14, xxii. 22; παραχρήμα, xiii. 11, elsewhere in N.T., ten times in Luke's Gospel (only twice in St. Matthew, and not at all in the other Evangelists), Acts iii. 7, v. 10, xii. 23, xvi. (26), 33; ἦν, with participle, xiii. 48, xiv. 7, 12, 26; δῆ, xiii. 2; ἀχρη, xiii. 6, 11; ἱκανός with χρόνος, xiv. 3, elsewhere in N.T. in Luke only, and eight times in Acts in all parts; ἀτενίζειν in xiii. 9 and xiv. 9 and the frequent recurrence of τέ in both chapters. It is also perhaps worthy of observation that out of some twenty-one words and phrases found only in the "We" sections, and in the rest of Acts (Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 151), six occur in these two

chapters, and two of them twice: ἀποπλέω, xiii. 4, xiv. 26; διατρίβω with accusative of time, xiv. 3; ἔξεμι, xiii. 42; ἡμέραι πλείους, xiii. 31; προσέκλημαι with accusative, xiii. 2, 7; ὑπονοέω, xiii. 25. On the position of these two chapters relatively to chap. xv. see below.

*Additional note on xiv. 23.*—On the rapid spread of Christianity in Asia Minor see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishops of Phrygia*, i., pp. 87, 94, 95, 135-137, and *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 161, 397. The old nature religion with its negation of moral distinctions and family ties was doomed, a religion which on the one hand made woman the head of the family, and on the other hand compelled her to a so-called sacred service which involved the surrender of all which in a civilised community womanhood held most dear. The strength of the old ritual, however, was so great that it seems to have been maintained in Phrygia even after a higher type of society became known in the Roman period. But with the growth of Roman organisation and educational influences the minds of men were at least prepared for new ideas, and at this juncture St. Paul came preaching a gospel of home life, of Christian purity; and wherever higher social ideas had already penetrated he found converts disposed to follow his teachings as "a more excellent way". In connection with the wide spread of Christianity in Asia Minor see also Orr, *Some Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*, p. 48 ff. (1899).

CHAPTER XV.—Ver. 1. *τινες κατέλ. ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰ.*: on the vagueness of the expression see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 158, 159.—κατέλ., i.e., to Antioch; see critical notes for β reading, and additional note at end of chapter on the identification of Gal. ii. 1-10 with Acts xv.: in the early Church in favour of the identification, cf. Iren., *Hær.*, iii., 13, 3; Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, v., 2.—ἐδίδασκον: imperfect, representing perhaps their continuous efforts to force their teaching on



XV. 1. ΚΑΙ ΤΙΝΕΣ ΚΑΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ Ἰουδαίας ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφούς, Ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ περιτέμνησθε<sup>1</sup> τῷ ἔθει Μωϋσέως, οὐ δύνασθε

<sup>1</sup> περιτέμνησθε, but περιτέμνηθητε.  $\aleph$  ABCD 13, 40, 180, Const. Apost., Epiph., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. After *Ιουδαίας* Syr. Harcl. mg., 8, 137 add τῶν πεπιστευκοτῶν ἀπο τῆς αἵρεσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων, obviously anticipating ver. 5. After Μωϋσέως Const. App. add καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν (ἐθεσιν) οἷς διατάξατο περιπατῆτε: in D, Syr. Harcl. mg. (Sah.) after περιτ. καὶ τῷ ἔθει Μ. περιπατῆτε, cf. xxi. 21. Blass in  $\beta$  follows Const. App. The Western reading may be original, but it may also be due to assimilation to ver. 5 and xxi. 21.

the brethren.—περιτέμνησθε, see critical note.—τῷ ἔθει Μ.: R.V. as in vi. 15, "custom of Moses"; in A.V. "manner," which might be used of a temporary fashion or habit; ἔθος marks a national custom, but see also Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 79. On its national significance, see art. "Circumcision," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Hastings' B.D., "Beschneidung"; Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 2, 174; Weber, *Jüdische Theol.*, p. 266 (1897); Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 66; and cf. *Book of Jubilees*, xv., cf. i.; *Assumption of Moses*, viii.; Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 2, 4; c. *Apion.*, ii., 14; *Vita*, xxiii.—σωθῆναι, i.e., in the Messianic salvation, cf. ii. 40, iv. 12, xi. 14. On the tradition that Cerinthus was amongst these Judaizers, as he and his had already rebuked Peter, Acts xi. 2, see "Cerinthus," *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, i., 447. It is very probable that the successful mission of Paul and Barnabas was really the immediate cause of this protest on the part of the narrow Judaic party. This party, as the Church in Jerusalem grew, may well have grown also; the case of Cornelius had been acquiesced in, but it was exceptional, and it was a very different thing to be asked to embrace all Gentiles in the new covenant, and to place them on a level with the Jewish Christians, whether they did homage or not to the Mosaic law, Hort, *Ecclesiast.*, p. 67; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 192.

Ver. 2. στάσεις: the word, with the exception of Mark xv. 7, and Heb. ix. 8 (in a totally different sense), is peculiar to St. Luke: twice in his Gospel, and five times in Acts; used in classical Greek of sedition, discord, faction, and so of the factious opposition of parties in the state; frequent in LXX, but only once in any similar sense, Prov. xvii. 14.—συζητήσεως, but ζητ.: "questioning," R.V., cf. John iii. 25; three times in St. Paul, 1 Tim. vi. 4, 2 Tim. ii. 23, Tit. iii. 9, in a depreciatory sense in each case; not in LXX or Apocrypha.—οὐκ

ἀλίγης, see on xii. 18 and xiv. 28; eight times in Acts.—ἔταξαν, sc., οἱ ἀδελφοί, ver. 1; no discrepancy with Gal. ii. 2, see additional note.—τινας ἄλλους: Titus amongst them, Gal. ii. 1, 3; expression found only here in N.T.; men like the prophets and teachers in xiii. 1 may have been included. On the attempt to identify Titus with Silas see Zöckler, *in loco*, and further Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 390, for the entire omission of Titus from Acts and its probable reason; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 281; Farrar, *St. Paul*, ii., 532; Alford, iii., 106, Proleg. A Gentile convert, and so keenly concerned in the settlement of the question, and in himself a proof of the "repentance unto life" granted to the Gentiles.—προεβ.: first mentioned in xi. 30, cf. note, in all official communications henceforth prominent, xv. 2, 4, 6, 22, 23, xvi. 4, xxi. 18, Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 193.—ζητήματος: five times in Acts, nowhere else in N.T.; once in LXX, Ezek. xxxvi. 37 A (see Hatch and Redpath), and in classical Greek; "question," A. and R.V.

Ver. 3. οἱ μὲν οὖν: Phœnicia and Samaria on the one hand welcome them with joy, but on the other hand the Church in Jerusalem is divided, ver. 5, see Rendall, Appendix on μὲν οὖν, p. 161. Blass however thinks that the words are used "without opposition" as often.—διήρχοντο τὴν Φ. καὶ Σ., see note on xiii. 6. In both cases the presence of brethren is presupposed, cf. viii. 25, xi. 19, imperfect, "peragrabant donec pervenerunt," ver. 4 (Blass).—προπεμφ.: escorted on their way, not as Tit. iii. 13, of being provided with necessaries for the journey (Wisdom xix. 2); cf. xx. 38, xxi. 5, and so in classical Greek, only in Luke and Paul in N.T. (except once, 3 John 6), cf. Rom. xv. 24; but in 1 Cor. xvi. 6, 11, 2 Cor. i. 16, R.V. renders as in Titus, *l. c.*, and John, *l. c.*; cf. 1 Esd. iv. 47, Judith x. 15, 1 Macc. xii. 4, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*; Polycarp, *Phil.*, i., 1, of the conduct of St. Ignatius through Macedonia, amongst the early

σωθῆναι. 2. γενομένης οὖν στάσεως καὶ συζητήσεως<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ὀλίγης τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Βαρνάβᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἔταξαν ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν καὶ τινες ἄλλους ἐξ αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ πρεσβυτέρους εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, περὶ τοῦ ζητήματος τούτου. 3. οἱ μὲν οὖν προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, διήρχοντο τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Σαμάρειαν, ἐκδιηγούμενοι τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν· καὶ ἐποίουν χαρὰν μεγάλην πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. 4. παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἀπεδέχθησαν<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> συζητήσεως, but ζητήσεως.  $\Sigma$  ABCDHL P, Const., Apost., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt. Blass in  $\beta$  reads without authority *εγενετο δε στασις* καὶ ζητήσις οὐκ ὀλιγή, to give good construction, and on the supposition that all authorities have been influenced by  $\alpha$ . After *αυτους* D, Syr. Harcl. mg., Gig., Wer., Prov. add *ελεγεν γαρ ο Π. μενειν (εκαστον) ουτως καθως επιστευσεν διςχυριζομενος*; cf. 1 Cor. vii. 17, 20, 24. Hilg. brackets all this. *διςχυριζ.* only in Luke in N.T., Luke xxii. 59, Acts xii. 15 (Zahn). In place of *εταξαν* D, Syr. Harcl. mg. read *οι δε εληλυθοτες απο ιερ. παρηγγειλαν αυτοις*. The subject of *εταξαν* is probably the Antiochian Christians, the brethren, vv. 1 and 3, but "those from Jerusalem" was assumed to be the subject, and so to remove all doubt the gap was supplied as above, and *παρηγγειλαν* appeared more fitting than *εταξαν*, which seemed too dictatorial when applied to men in the high position of Paul and Barnabas (Weiss, Codex D, p. 80). Blass reading *αυτοις* omits Π. καὶ Β. . . ἐξ αυτων. But D, which alone has *αυτοις*, has the rest as well, and it is uncertain whether *αυτοις* ever stood alone. After *εις ι.* D 137, Syr. Harcl. mg. insert *οπως κριθωσιν επ' αυτοις* (137, αυτων) *περι τ. ζητηματος τουτου*, cf. xxv. 9; so Blass and Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> *απεδεχθησαν*, but *παρεδεχ.*  $\Sigma$  ABD<sup>2</sup> 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.; Blass retains T.R.; D<sup>1</sup> has *παρεδοθησαν*. υπο  $\Sigma$  ADEHLP 31, 61, Chrys., so Tisch., Blass, Hilg.; απο BC 18, 180, W.H., Weiss, Wendt (as the more probable). After *παρεδ.* CD 137, Syr. Harcl. mg., Sah., Cassiod. insert *μεγαλως*, so Blass and Hilg., but *ασμενως*, xxi. 17, would seem to be a fitter word; D<sup>1</sup> has *μεγως*. At end of verse C<sup>3</sup>HL add *και οτι ηνοιξεν τοις εθνεσιν θυραν πιστεως*, cf. xiv. 27, where all authorities read it; Blass however inserts it here (so also Hilg.) on the ground of its suitability and rejects it in the former passage; see also Blass, p. xv.

Christians, as amongst the Jews (Gen. xviii. 16), a mark of affection and respect. The meaning of the word, as Wendt points out, depends on the context.—*ἐκδιηγ.*: only here and in quotation, xiii. 41 in N.T., "telling the tale of the conversion of the Gentiles"; so *διηγείσθαι* and *ἐξηγείσθαι* more frequently in Luke than in other N.T. writers. Hobart describes all three as medical terms but all three also occur frequently in LXX. *ἐκδ.*: cf. Hab. i. 5; several times in Eccclus., also in Josephus and Arist. (Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*)—*χ. μεγάλην*: on Luke's fondness for the predicate *μέγας*, Friedrich, p. 41, with *χαρά* as here, cf. Luke ii. 10, xxiv. 52, Acts viii. 8 (Matt. ii. 10, xxviii. 8), cf. LXX, Jon. iv. 6, Isa. xxix. 2, A. S.—*ἐποίουν*, imperfect, continuous joy, as they went from place to place, perhaps visiting Cornelius or Philip the Evangelist, viii. 40, in their progress.—*ἐπιστροφὴν*: only here in N.T. (cf. 1 Thess. i. 9), Eccclus. xviii. 21 (20), xlix. 2.

Ver. 4. *Council at Jerusalem*.—*παραγεν.*, Lucan, see above on v. 21.—*ἀπεδέχθησαν*—if we read *παρεδέχ.*, cf. 2 Macc. iv. 22 (but see Hatch and Redpath); with the idea of receiving with welcome, cf. Mark iv. 20, Heb. xii. 6 (quotation); see Syn. *δέχ.* and *λαμβάν.*, Grimm-Thayer; in classical Greek = *ὑποδέχομαι*.—*ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκ.*: the whole Church is regarded as concerned in the matter; as present at the public discussion in ver. 12 and as concurring in the decision, ver. 22 (30); the decree is issued by the Apostles and Elders, see on ver. 23.—*μετ' αὐτῶν*, see above on xiv. 27.

Ver. 5. For D see critical note.—*ἐξανέστησαν*: compound verb in this sense here only in N.T. (only elsewhere in quotation, Mark xii. 19, Luke xx. 28), but in classical Greek and in LXX, cf. Obad. i. 1, Eccclus. viii. 11, xvii. 23, 1 Macc. ix. 40. The double compound apparently gives at least some measure of emphasis, Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 43.—*τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἵρ. τῶν Φ.*:



πρεσβυτέρων, ἀνήγγειλάν τε ὅσα ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε μετ' αὐτῶν. 5. ἐξανέστησαν<sup>1</sup> δέ τινες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων πεπιστευκότες, λέγοντες, Ὅτι δεῖ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς, παραγγέλλειν τε τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον Μωϋσέως. 6. Συνήχθησαν δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι<sup>2</sup> ἰδεῖν περὶ τοῦ λόγου τούτου.

<sup>1</sup> D, Syr. Harcl. mg. begin verse οἱ δὲ παραγγειλαντες αυτοις αναβαινειν προς τους πρεσβ. ἐξανέστησαν λεγοντες, so Blass in β, so Hilg., but with αποστολους instead of πρεσβ., Blass "male," omitting τινες . . . πεπιστευκότες. According to this reading the Jerusalem Christians who stirred up the disputed question in Antioch are now identified with those who rise up against Paul and Barnabas in Jerusalem. A.V. margin, following Beza and some of the older commentators, make this sentence part of the narrative of Paul and Barnabas, "there rose up, said they (ελεγον)," etc. Weiss, Völter, Spitta, see here a proof of a combination of two sources. But there does not seem to be any reason why, as in T.R., the Pharisees at Jerusalem should not represent the same point of view as had been presented by the Jews who had come down to Antioch; that they did so with accentuated bitterness in Jerusalem is quite in accordance with the notice in Gal. ii. 4, but this fact need not exclude the previous raising of the question against the Apostles in Antioch, especially as the Jews who had come thither from Jerusalem were plainly not merely Jews but Judaizers. See Wendt (1899), following Meyer, and for a favourable judgment of the Bezan text Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 598; see also Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, i., 1896, and *Acta Apost.*, p. 246, 1899; on the other hand Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 80, and Wendt (1899), *Introd.*, p. 49, and on this occasion Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> After πρεσβ. 137, Syr. Harcl. mg. add συν τῷ πληθει so Blass in β, and Hilg. The πληθος here, although not mentioned except in authorities just named, is plainly presupposed in vv. 12 and 22, and Wendt (1899) opposes the view that we have before us in its omission elsewhere a trace of distinct sources.

probably in some smaller and more private assembly in answer to the ἀνήγγ. of ver. 4, which seems to mean that the delegates at first announced informally in Jerusalem what had happened, just as they had done in Phœnicia and Samaria, cf. παρῆσαντοί τε ἀδελφοί, Gal. ii. 4. The Pharisees took up their remarks, objected—probably basing their teaching on the necessity of circumcision on such passages as Isa. lvi. 6, cf. lii. 1 (Lumby); and then followed as a consequence the official assembly in ver. 6 (see Zöckler's note, ver. 4, and *in loco*, p. 246, second edition). Or if we consider that a representative meeting of the whole Church is implied in ver. 4, and that the Apostles spoke before it, then the private conference of Gal. ii. 2 may be regarded as taking place between the first public assembly, ver. 4, and the second in ver. 6 (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 69, cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 126).—αἰρέσεως, see above p. 148.—τῶν Φ.: the Pharisaic spirit had already shown itself in xi. 2, but this is the first definite mention in the book of the conversion of any of the Pharisees; not strange after the conversion of the priests, see note on vi. 7, or after the

attitude of men like Nicodemus or Joseph of Arimathæa towards our Lord, and the moderate counsels of Gamaliel.—πεπιστευκότες: believed, i.e., that Jesus was the Messiah, and the fulfiller of the law—but still only as the Head of a glorified Judaism, from which Gentiles were to be rigidly excluded unless they conformed to the enactments relating to circumcision. How difficult it was for a Pharisee Quietist probably of the earlier part of the first century to acknowledge that the law of circumcision and of Moses could possibly be regarded as unessential we may learn from *Assumption of Moses*, ix., 4-6, and viii., on circumcision, and see references on ver. 1.—αὐτοὺς, i.e., the Gentiles, speaking generally, not the τινες ἄλλους of ver. 2 (Lekebusch), the uncircumcised companions of Paul and Barnabas, although in accordance with Gal. ii. 3-5 such persons would no doubt have been included.—τηρεῖν: only used here by St. Luke of keeping the law, and only elsewhere in James ii. 10 in a similar phrase, cf. Mark vii. 9, John ix. 16, of keeping the law of the Sabbath; Matt. xix. 17, of keeping the commandments; Tobit xiv. 9 (S, al.), Jos., *Ant.*, xiii., 10, 6.

7. Πολλῆς δὲ συζητήσεως<sup>1</sup> γενομένης, ἀναστὰς Πέτρος εἶπε πρὸς αὐτούς, "Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ἡμῖν ἐξελέξατο<sup>2</sup> διὰ τοῦ στόματός μου ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἔθνη τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, καὶ πιστεῦσαι. 8. καὶ ὁ καρδιογνώστης Θεὸς ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῖς, δοὺς αὐτοῖς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον, καθὼς καὶ ἡμῖν. 9. καὶ οὐδὲν διέκρινε μεταξύ ἡμῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν, τῇ πίστει καθάρισας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν. 10. νῦν οὖν τί πειράζετε τὸν Θεόν,<sup>3</sup> ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τῶν μαθητῶν, ὃν οὔτε οἱ πατέρες

<sup>1</sup> συζητησεως, but ζητησεως as in ver. 1. B<sup>AB</sup>, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt. Meyer retains T.R. with Lach. (so Hilg. and Blass) on the ground of alteration to ζητ. after ver. 1.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν ἡμῖν ἐξελ., but ἐν ὑμῖν B<sup>ABC</sup> 13, 40, 61, Arm., Const., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (as against Meyer, Blass, Hilg.).

<sup>3</sup> After πειράζετε one Latin MS. and several Latin Fathers omit τὸν Θεόν. Blass says "recte fort.," but does not follow in β. But no need to omit the words or to regard πειράζειν = πειρασθαί (Wendt *in loco*).

Ver. 6. λόγον: "de causâ quæ in deceptionem venit" (Blass), *cf.* viii. 21, xix. 38. The Ecclesia at large was in some manner also present at this final assembly, *cf.* vv. 12, 22, although the chief responsibility would rest with the Apostles and Elders, *cf.* Iren., *Har.*, iii., chap. xii. 14, "cum universa ecclesia convenisset in unum," Zöckler, *in loco*, p. 246, and *cf.* p. 254; Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 66, 70, and see critical notes above.

Ver. 7. ἀναστὰς, Lucan, see v. 17; the position of Peter is one of authority, not of pre-eminence—the latter belongs to James. The part which Peter had formerly taken in the conversion of Cornelius would naturally make him the most fitting person to introduce the discussion. From Gal. ii. 3 we learn that the general principle was debated with reference to the individual case of Titus.—ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων: "a good while ago," meaning probably from the beginnings of the Christian Church, *cf.* xi. 15, xxi. 16; *cf.* Phil. iv. 15 (see Lightfoot's note, *l. c.*), and *cf.* Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xlvii., 2, and Polycarp, *Phil.*, i., 2; or, if the words are referred to the one definite incident of the conversion of the Gentile Cornelius, some ten or twelve years (Blass, "for-tasse") may have passed since that event, possibly longer, see Zöckler, Page, Knabenbauer, *in loco*. Others take the words as referring to our Lord's declaration to St. Peter as long ago as at Cæsarea Philippi, Matt. xvi. 13-20; see *Speaker's Commentary*, so Bishop Williams of Connecticut, *Studies in the Book of Acts*, p.

139 (1888). Rendall connects ἐν ἡμῖν with ἀρχ. on the ground that thus the whole phrase would point to early Christian days, whereas, without qualification, confusion as to its meaning would arise, *cf.* ver. 21. But a reference to the case of Cornelius need not exhaust the meaning of the phrase, and St. Peter would naturally think of his own choice by God as going back earlier still, dating from the foundation of the Church, and receiving its confirmation and significance in the acceptance of the Gospel by Cornelius.—ἐξελέξατο, see on i. 2.—τοῦ εὐαγγ.: not used by St. Luke in his Gospel, but here and in xx. 24; used once by St. Peter, 1 Pet. iv. 17; so also εὐαγγελίζομαι, three times in the same Epistle.

Ver. 8. ὁ καρδιογνώστης, i. 24, where the same word is used by St. Peter; *cf.* Jer. xvii. 10. ἐτάζων καρδίας, and *cf.* St. Peter's words in x. 34.—καθὼς καὶ ἡμῖν, x. 44, xi. 15.

Ver. 9. τῇ πίστει καθάρισας τ. κ.: the thought is described by Zöckler as equally Petrine, Pauline, and Johannine; *cf.* iii. 16, 19, 1 Pet. i. 18-21, xiii. 38, Rom. iii. 24, 1 John i. 8, ii. 2, Rev. vii. 14; here it stands in contrast to the outward purification of circumcision upon which the Judaisers insisted, *cf.* also x. 15, and for the phrase καθαρ. τῇ κ., Ecclus. xxxviii. 10. Rendall renders τῇ πίστει, the faith, *i.e.*, the Christian faith, and he is no doubt right in this, in so far as the faith is faith in Jesus Christ (Schmid, *Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, pp. 424, 425), *cf.* St. Peter's language in 1 Pet. i. 18-22.



ἡμῶν οὔτε ἡμεῖς ἰσχύσαμεν βαστάσαι; 11. ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς χάριτος Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι, καθ' ὃν τρόπον κἀκεῖνοι.  
12.<sup>1</sup> Ἐσίγησε δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ ἤκουον Βαρνάβα καὶ Παύλου ἐξηγουμένων ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι

D, Syr. Harcl. mg. prefix *συγκατατιθεμένων δε των πρεσβυτερων τοις υπο του Πητρου ειρημενοις*, so Blass and Hilg., an addition which shows why the multitude kept silence, and connects Peter's speech with Paul and Barnabas. Weiss, p. 84, sees here the characteristic love of D for the gen. abs., cf. ii. 1, iv. 18, etc., and notes that the same stress is here laid as in ver. 5 upon the *πρεσβυτεροι* rather than upon the Apostles.

Ver. 10. *νῦν οὖν*: in Acts four times, nowhere else in N.T.; cf. x. 35, *nunc igitur*: LXX, Gen. xxvii. 8, etc.; 1 Macc. x. 71.—*τί περάετε τὸν Θεόν*, cf. v. 9, they put God to the proof, as to whether He had not admitted unworthy persons into the Church.—*ἐπιθ. ζυγόν*: on the infinitive see Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 151; Blass, *Gram.*, p. 221: metaphor common among the Rabbis, and also in classical literature, cf. Jer. v. 5, Lam. iii. 27, Eccus. li. 26 (Zeph. iii. 9), and Matt. xi. 29 (Luke xi. 46), Gal. v. 1. Possibly in Jer. v. 5 reference is made to the yoke of the law, but *Psalms of Solomon*, vii., 8, cf. xvii., 32, present undoubted instances of the metaphorical use of the term "the yoke" for the service of Jehovah. In *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, iii., 8 (Taylor, second edition, p. 46), we have a definite and twice repeated reference to the yoke of Thorah, cf. *Apocalypse of Baruch*, xli., 3 (Charles' edition, p. 66 and note), and also *Psalms of Solomon*, Ryle and James, p. 72, note. It would seem therefore that St. Peter uses an almost technical word in his warning to the first Christians.—*τῶν μαθητῶν*, i.e., of those who had learnt of Christ and knew the meaning of His yoke, Matt. xi. 29.—*λοχ. βαστάσαι*: cf. xiii. 39. St. Peter no less than St. Paul endorses the charge made by St. Stephen, vii. 53.—*οὔτε ἡμεῖς*: a remarkable confession on St. Peter's lips: the conversations with Paul and Barnabas, Gal. ii. 7, may well have confirmed the attitude which he had taken after the baptism of Cornelius (Zöckler).

Ver. 11. *διὰ τῆς χάριτος*: twice in his First Epistle St. Peter speaks of the grace of God, of the God of all grace; so also of the grace prophesied beforehand, of the grace brought to them, cf. also iii. 7 and 2 Pet. iii. 18. The exact phrase here is not found elsewhere in St. Peter, although common in St. Paul, but see Plumptre (*Cambridge Bible*) on 1

Pet. v. 12. In R.V. *σωθῆναι* is joined more clearly with *διὰ* than in A.V.—*κἀκεῖνοι*, i.e., the Gentile Christians, not *οἱ πατέρες* (as St. Aug. and Calvin). For points of likeness between these, the last words of St. Peter in Acts, and his previous utterances, with characteristic idioms and expressions, see Alford on Acts xv. 7 ff., cf. Schmid, *Bibl. Theol. des N. T.*, p. 427.

Ver. 12. *ἐσίγησε*: may mean "became silent," "itaque antea non tacuerant" (Blass), cf. Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, 21, A. and R.V., "kept silence".—*πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος*: implying a general assembly of the Church; on the word see ii. 6, iv. 32, etc.—*ἤκουον*: imperfect, marking a continuous hearing; the silence and the audience both testified to the effect produced by St. Peter's words.—*Βαρ. καὶ Π.*, on the order here and in ver. 25 cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 84.—*ἐξηγουμένων*: setting forth in detail; see above on ver. 3, and x. 8.—*ὅσα ἐποίησεν*, cf. xiv. 27 and ver. 4. In each case the appeal is made to what God had done, and to the further answer to the prayer of iv. 30 by the miracles wrought among the Gentiles: it was an answer which a Jewish audience would understand, John iii. 2. The historical truthfulness of Paul and Barnabas thus recounting the facts, and leaving the actual proof of the rightfulness of their method of working to Peter and James, is to Zeller inconceivable—an objection sufficiently answered by the consideration that Luke wished to represent not so much the attitude of Paul and Barnabas, but that of the original Apostles to the Gentile-question; and in Jerusalem it was only natural that Peter and James should be the spokesmen.

Ver. 13. *μετὰ δὲ τὸ σ.*, i.e., after Barnabas and Paul had ceased speaking.—*ἀπεκ. ἰ. λ.*: his speech may be divided into two parts: (1) reference to the prophecy foretelling the reception of the

δι' αὐτῶν. 13. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ συγῆσαι αὐτούς, ἀπεκρίθη Ἰάκωβος λέγων, "Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἀκούσατέ μου· 14. Συμεὼν ἐξηγήσατο, καθὼς πρῶτον ὁ Θεὸς ἐπεσκέψατο λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ· 15. καὶ τούτῳ συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν, καθὼς γέγραπται, 16. "Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαβὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν· καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ, but om. **ABCDE** 61, Vulg., Sah., Syr. P. and H., Arm., Iren., Const. Rebapt., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> κατεσκαμμένα **ACDEHLP**, Const., Chrys., so Lach., Blass in β, and Hilg.; κατεστραμμένα **N(B)** 13, 33, 34, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss. Similar variation in the passage in **LXX**.

Gentiles; (2) his opinion on the conditions of that reception. ἂ. ἀκούσατέ μου: only here and in James ii. 5.

Ver. 14. Συμεὼν: Peter so named only here and in 2 Pet. ii. 1. The use of the word here in its old Hebrew form by James is exactly what we should expect, cf. Luke ii. 25, 34, W.H.; probably therefore the form current in Jerusalem, a form which reappears in the list of the successors of St. James in the bishopric of the Holy City, Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv., 5, cf. Luke xxiv. 34, from which also it would appear that the Hebrew name of Peter, in the contracted or uncontracted form, was current in Jerusalem.—πρῶτον like ἀπ' ἄρ. ἡμ. in ver. 7.—ἐπισκέψατο, cf. James i. 27, and above on vii. 23, Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 105.—λαβεῖν: infinitive of purpose, ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαὸν, *ex gentibus populum*, "egregium paradoxon" Bengel; the converts from among the Gentiles were no less than Israel the people of God. On ἔθνος and λαός see iii. 25.—τῷ ὀνόματι, i.e., who should bear His Name as a people of God, or may mean simply "for Himself," God's name being often so used. On the "pregnant use" of the word cf. James ii. 7, v. 10, 14. St. James thus in his address agrees with St. Peter.

Ver. 15. καὶ τούτῳ, "and to this agree," A. and R.V., i.e., to the fact just stated (so Wendt, Weiss, Blass, Ramsay); if the pronoun referred to St. Peter, as some take it, we should have had οἱ προφήται, not as in text, οἱ λ. τῶν π. The quotation Amos ix. 11, 12, is freely cited from the **LXX**, and indeed the chief point made by St. James depends upon that version.—τῶν προφ., plural, as including those prophets whose words of prophecy had been of similar import.

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Ver. 16. Μετὰ ταῦτα: both Hebrew and **LXX**, ἐν τῇ ἐκεῖ. τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, i.e., in the Messianic times, after the predicted chastisement of Israel: the house of David is in ruins, but it is to be re-erected, and from the restoration of its prosperity the Messianic blessings will flow: "the person of the Messiah does not appear in this prophecy, but there is the generic reference to the house of David, and the people of Israel," Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, p. 163, Delitzsch, *Messianische Weissagungen*, second edition, p. 94. St. James sees the spiritual fulfilment of the prophecy in the kingdom of Christ erected on the Day of Pentecost, and in the ingathering of the Gentile nations to it. On the Messianic interpretations of the passage amongst the Jews see Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 734.—ἀναστρέψω καὶ ἀνοί.: like Hebrew **בָּרַשׁ**=I will return and do, i.e., I will do again—but not in **LXX** or Hebrew. In the latter we have simply **בָּרַשׁ**, and in **LXX** ἀναστήσω, where St. James has ἀνοικοδομήσω: the idea of restoration is fully contained in the twice repeated ἀνοί. and in ἀνορθώσω.—τὴν σκ. Δ. πεπτ.: the noun is used to show how low the house of David (2 Sam. vii. 12) had fallen—it is no longer a palace but a hut, and that in ruins: the Hebrew word might be used for a temporary structure of the boughs of trees as at the Feast of Tabernacles. We may compare the way in which this hope of restoration asserted itself in *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii., 23, where Ryle and James, p. 137, compare the words with Amos ix. 11, Jer. xxx. 9, etc. From the passage before us the Messiah received the name of Bar Naphli, "Son of the fallen".—κατεσκαμμένα, see critical note. In **LXX B** has κατεσκαμ., A κατεστρ.



ἀνοικοδομήσω, καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν · 17. ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατὰλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν Κύριον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτούς · λέγει Κύριος ὁ<sup>1</sup> ποιῶν ταῦτα πάντα." 18.<sup>2</sup> γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνός ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. 19. διὸ ἐγὼ<sup>3</sup> κρίνω μὴ παρενοχλεῖν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐπιστρέφουσιν

<sup>1</sup> ο ποιων, art. om. B, Vulg., Irint, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt. ταυτα, om. παντα ABCD 61, Vulg., Boh., Aeth., Irint, Rebapt., Const., so Lach., Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, and Hilg. (παντα ταυτα ELP, Syr. H.). Amos ix. 12 ο ποιων ταυτα.

<sup>2</sup> γνωστα απ' αιωνος, om. rest, so BBC 61, 180, Sah., Boh., Arm., so also Tisch., Alford, W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; see W.H., App., p. 96, and for the same explanation Wendt, 1888 and 1899, *in loco*. The quot. in Amos ix. does not contain γνωστα απ' αιωνος, so that the words were separated from the clause and formed into an independent sentence. T.R. is supported by EHL P, Syr. H., Const., Chrys.; whilst AD, Vulg., Syr. H. mg., Irint, Blass in both texts, and Hilg. read γνωστον απ' αιωνος εστι τῷ κυριῷ το εργον αυτον.

<sup>3</sup> After εγω Iren. adds το κατ' εμε "secundum me," cf. Rom. i. 15; may be translator's paraphrase; retained by Blass in β.

Ver. 17. ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητ. οἱ κ. τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν Κ.: LXX and Hebrew are here considerably at variance. Hebrew: "that they may possess the remnant of Edom". In LXX: "that the rest of men may seek after (the Lord)" (so also Arabic Version, whilst Vulgate, Peshitto, and Targum support the Massoretic text, see Briggs, u. s., p. 162). In LXX Α τὸν Κ. is found, but not in B. In LXX rendering ἄδς,

men, takes the place of ἄδς, Edom,

and יְרֵשׁוּ instead of יִירָשׁוּ, i.e.,

יְרֵשׁוּ, to seek, instead of יִירָשׁוּ, to possess.—καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: explicative,

"the rest of men," i.e., the heathen: "sine respectu personarum et operum".

—ὅπως ἂν, Winer-Moulton, xlii., 6; Burton, N. T. Moods and Tenses, p. 85; cf. Luke ii. 35, Acts iii. 19, Rom. iii. 4, and in no other instances, three of these quotations from LXX.—ἐφ' οὓς ἐπικέκ. . . . ἐπ' α.: "upon whom my name is called [pronounced]": Hebraistic formula, cf. LXX, Jer. xli. 15; and Deut. xxviii. 10, Isa. lxiii. 19, 2 Macc. viii. 15. In James ii. 7, and only there in the N.T. does the same formula recur (see Mayor, *Introd.*, and Nösgen, *Geschichte der Neutest. Offb.*, ii., 51).

Ver. 18. In R.V. the phrase ἀπ' αἰῶνος is connected closely with the preceding clause, see critical notes: "who maketh these things known from the beginning of the world" ("of

time," Ramsay), or margin, "who doeth these things which were known" etc. St. James may perhaps have added the words freely to the LXX to emphasise his argument that the call of the Gentiles was a carrying out of God's eternal purpose, but there is nothing corresponding to the words in the Hebrew, although at the end of ver. 11 we have

כִּימֵי עוֹלָם: LXX, καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι ἀπ' αἰῶνος, and somewhat similar phrase in Isa. xlv. 21, see Zöckler, *in loco*, for different authorities, and for further discussion of the words, Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, p. 128. ἀπ' αἰῶνος is peculiar to Luke in N.T., cf. Luke i. 70, Acts iii. 21; it may simply = "of old time," see Plummer, *St. Luke*, l. c., but here it may intimate that St. James refers to that purpose of God revealed by all the prophets, as in iii. 21. In *Psalms of Solomon*, viii., 7, ἀπ' αἰῶνος seems to be equivalent to "from the creation of the heaven and earth," cf. Ps. cxviii. 52. If the conference was held in Greek, as we may reasonably conclude from the fact that Gentile interests were at stake, and that many of the Gentiles, as of the Hellenistic Jews, would probably be present, it is very significant that St. James, a Hebrew of the Hebrews, quotes the rendering of the LXX so apposite for his purpose, and that he should see the spiritual restoration of the house of David in the kingdom of Jesus, and the fulfilment of prophecy in the reception of the Gentiles into the kingdom of the Messiah, so exclusively guarded by the Jews.

ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν· 20. ἀλλὰ ἐπιστεῖλαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων καὶ τῆς πορνείας καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ καὶ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἀπο om. **NBD** 61, 180, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ om. art. AB 13, 61, so W.H., Weiss. D, Gig., Iren. omit καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ (see also ver. 29). Wendt (1888) accounts for the omission partly by the fact that no such command was precisely given in Lev. xvii. 13 (so Meyer, Alford), and partly from the laxer views of the Western Church; but (1899, *Introd.*, p. 50) he now gives in his adherence to Corssen's view (*G. G. A.*, p. 442; 1896), with which compare for similarity Zahn's explanation, *Einleitung*, ii., pp. 344, 345 (1899), Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 198, that the omission, as also the addition following (see below), were intended to do away with the Judaic and ceremonial character of the decree, and to substitute the comprehensive moral prescription of the Sermon on the Mount; so too recently Harnack. τοῦ πνικ. being eliminated αἷμα can be referred to *homicidium*, Tert., *De Pud.*, xii., so that the decree means that they should abstain from pollutions, viz., idolatry, fornication, bloodshed (*cf.* the punctuation in β), and that they should love their neighbours (the negative injunction of the Golden Rule); see below. See further in favour of the omission Blass, *Præf.*, *Evang. sec. Lucam*, p. xxv. (1897); *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 250; but for a very different reason; as against the interpretation given above by Harnack and others to αἷμα, see also Blass, *Studien und Kritiken*, i., 1900; Hilgenfeld, also Corssen, *C. G. G.*, p. 445 ff., remark on the probability of Montanistic influences in the Bezan text of the passage before us, and in reply to their strictures see Blass, *Evang. sec. Lucam*, *Præf.*, p. xxiv. ff. At the end of the clause we have καὶ ὅσα μὴ θελουσιν εαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι ἑτεροῖς μὴ ποιεῖν, so D, 11 minuscules, Sah., Aeth., Iren. (*cf.* also ver. 29). Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., pp. 31, 32, points out that the addition was known to Aristides (Seeberg, *Die Apologie des A.*, p. 213), and that therefore the Acts was known and used and interpolated by the middle of the second century. But he refrains from speaking positively as to the source of this variant in Acts, as "the negative precept turns up everywhere in the early Church, having been absorbed in the first instance from Jewish ethics"; *cf.* also Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 109. So Theophilus, *Didache*, *Const. Apost.* and Ephrem on *Rom.* iii. 21 and vii. 7; see Harris, *u. s.*; Resch, *Agrapha*, p. 95; W.H., *App.*, 96. Zahn unhesitatingly refers the addition to the *Didache*, but it is very doubtful how far the *Didache* enjoyed the high and wide credit which Zahn attaches to it: about 110-140 the words were interpolated in the text in the East, and soon after, but by no means with universal acceptance, they found their way into the Western text. Blass in *Studien und Kritiken*, *u. s.*, replies further to Harnack. Harnack asks why the "golden rule," if genuine, is not found in xxi. 25. Blass replies that Luke kept a rough draft for himself in which were both πνικτα and the rule, and thus omitted πνικτα in β, and in α the rule "brevitati consensens".

Ver. 19. διδὲ ἔγω κρίνω: "wherefore my judgment is". St. James apparently speaks as the president of the meeting, Chrysostom, *Hom.*, xxxiii., and his words with the emphatic ἐγώ (Weiss) may express more than the opinion of a private member—he sums up the debate and proposes "the draught of a practical resolution" (see however Hort, *Ecclesia*, 79; Hackett, *in loco*; and on the other hand Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 147). If a position of authority is thus given to St. James at the conference, it is very significant that this should be so in Jerusalem itself, where the Twelve would naturally carry special weight. But this presidency and Apostolic authority of St. James in Jerusalem is exactly in accordance with the remarkable order of the three names referred to by St. Paul

in Gal. ii. 9 (*cf.* Acts xii. 17, xxi. 18). At the same time ver. 22 shows us that neither the authority of St. James nor that of the other Apostles is conceived of as overriding the general consent of the whole Church.—μὴ παρενοχλεῖν: only here in N.T.; "not to trouble," A. and R.V.; it may be possible to press the παρά, "not to trouble further," i.e., by anything more than he is about to mention, or in their conversion to God. The verb is found with dative and accusative in LXX; for the former *cf.* Judg. xiv. 17, 1 Macc. x. 63 SR, xii. 14; and for the latter Jer. xxvi. (xlvi.) 27, 1 Macc. x. 35. Bengel takes παρά as = *præter*, but whilst it is very doubtful how far the preposition can be so rendered here, he adds *fides quieta non obturbanda*. —τοῖς ἑπὶ. *cf.* xi. 21, "who are turn-



αἵματος· 21.<sup>1</sup> Μωσῆς γὰρ ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς κηρύσσοντας αὐτὸν ἔχει ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς κατὰ πᾶν σάββατον ἀναγινωσκόμενος.

<sup>1</sup> Blass in β brackets whole verse on the ground of its omission by Irenæus, but the latter may easily have omitted it as superfluous or irrelevant to his argument, whilst the obscurity of the verse has been well noted as a reason for its retention.

ing to God"; present participle, as in acknowledgment of a work actually in progress.

Ver. 20. ἐπιστεῖλαι (xxi. 25), Heb. xiii. 22; the verb is used of a *written* injunction, Westcott, *l. c.* (so Wendt here and in xxi. 25, and so Klostermann), and so often in ecclesiastical writers; here it may mean to write or enjoin, or may well include both, *cf.* Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 70, Westcott, *u. s.*, Weiss, *in loco*; in classical Greek it is used in both senses. In LXX it is not used, except in a few passages in which the reading is doubtful, ἀπ. for ἐπ., see Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.*—τοῦ ἀπέχεσθαι: Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 159, *cf.* Jer. vii. 10, 1 Pet. ii. 11, 1 Tim. iv. 3; generally without ἀπό.—τῶν ἀλισγημάτων: from Hellenistic verb, ἀλισγεῖν, LXX, Dan. i. 8, Mal. i. 7, 12, Ecclus. xl. 29 (S, al); may mean the pollution from the flesh used in heathen offerings = εἰδωλοθύτων in ver. 29 (xxi. 25), *cf.* 1 Cor. viii. 1, x. 14 ff., but see further Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltexte*, p. 144 ff., and Wendt, 1888 and 1899, *in loco*. The phrase stands by itself, and the three following genitives are not dependent upon it. If St. James's words are interpreted more widely than as = εἰδωλοθύτων, ver. 29, they would involve the prohibition for a Christian not only not to eat anything offered to idols, or to share in the idolatrous feasts, but even to accept an invitation to a domestic feast of the Gentiles or at least to a participation in the food on such an occasion. That it was easy for Christians to run these risks is evident from 1 Cor. viii. 10 when St. Paul refers to the case of those who had not only eaten of the flesh offered to idols, but had also sat down to a feast in the idol's temple.—τῆς πορνείας: the moral explanation of this close allocation of idolatry and uncleanness is that the former so often involved the latter. But Dr. Hort whilst pointing out that such an association is not fanciful or accidental, reminds us that we ought not to lay too much stress on the connection, since many forms of idolatry might fairly be regarded as free from that particular

stain. The language, however, of St. James in his Epistle shows us how imperative it was in the moral atmosphere of the Syria of the first century to guard the Christian life from sexual defilement, and the burning language of St. Paul in 1 Cor. vi. 15 and 1 Thess. iv. 3, etc., shows us the terrible risks to which Christian morality was exposed, risks enhanced by the fact that the heathen view of impurity was so lax throughout the Roman empire, *cf.* Horace, *Sat.*, i., 2, 31; Terence, *Adelphi*, i., 2, 21; Cicero, *Pro Calio*, xx.; and on the intimate and almost universal connection between the heathen religious guilds and societies and the observance of nameless breaches of the Christian law of purity, see Loening, *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, and his references to Foucart, p. 12 ff. Without some special prohibition it was conceivable that a man might pass from some scene of licentious indulgence to the participation in the Supper of the Lord (Plumptre, *Felten*). An attempt has been made to refer the word here to the sin of incest, or to marriage within the forbidden degrees, rather than to the sin of fornication, so Holtzmann, Ritschl, Zöckler, Wendt, Ramsay; but on the other hand Meyer, Ewald, Godet, Weiss, and others take the word in its general sense as it is employed elsewhere in the N.T. From what has been said above, and from the way in which women might be called upon to serve impurely in a heathen temple (to which religious obligation, as Zöckler reminds us, some have seen a reference in the word here, *cf.* also Wendt, p. 332 (1888)), we see the need and the likelihood of such a specific enjoiner against the sin of fornication. Bentley conjectured χοιρείας or πορκείας.—τοῦ πνικτοῦ: "from that which has been strangled," lit., such beasts as had been killed through strangling, and whose blood had not been let out when they were killed. For this prohibition reference is usually made to Lev. xvii. 13, Deut. xii. 16, 23, so Weiss, Wendt, Zöckler, Plumptre, *Felten*, Hackett. But on the other hand Dr. Hort

22. Τότε ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν σὺν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Βαρνάβᾳ, Ἰούδαν τὸν<sup>1</sup> ἐπικαλούμενον Βαρσαβάν, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπικ., but καλ. *ΣΑΒCDEL*, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt. Βαρσαβαν Vulg., Arm., Chrys.; βαρσαββαν *ΣΑΒCΕΗLP* 61, Sah., Boh., Const., Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt; see on the word Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 56, 57; βαρββαν D, so Hilg.

contains that all attempts to find the prohibition in the Pentateuch quite fail, although he considers it perfectly conceivable that the flesh of animals strangled in such a way as not to allow of the letting out of blood would be counted as unlawful food by the Jews, cf. Origen, *c. Cels.*, viii., 30; *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 73, and Appendix, p. 209. But his further remark, that if such a prohibition had been actually prescribed (as in his view it is not) we should have a separate fourth precept referring only to a particular case of the third precept, viz., abstinence from blood, is probably the reason why in D, cf. Irenæus, *Hær.*, iii., 12, 14; Cyprian, *Testim.* iii., 119; Tertullian, *De Pudicitia*, xii., the words καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ are omitted here and in the decree, ver. 29, although it is also possible that the laxer views on the subject in the West may have contributed to the omission (see Zöckler and Wendt). Dr. Hort leaves the difficulty unsolved, merely referring to the "Western" text without adopting it. But in xxi. 25 the words are again found in a reference to, and in a summary of, the decree, although here too D consistently omits them (see critical notes).—τοῦ αἵματος: specially forbidden by the Jewish law, Lev. xvii. 10, cf. iii. 17, vii. 26, xix. 26, Deut. xii. 16, 23, xv. 23, and we may refer the prohibition, with Dr. Hort, to the feeling of mystery entertained by various nations of antiquity with regard to blood, so that the feeling is not exclusively Jewish, although the Jewish law had given it such express and divine sanction. "The blood is the life," and abstinence from it was a manifestation of reverence for the life given by and dedicated to God. This was the ground upon which the Jews based, and still base, the prohibition. Nothing could override the command first given to Noah, Gen. ix. 4, together with the permission to eat animal food, and renewed in the law. αἷμ. cannot refer (so Cyprian and Tertullian) to homicide, as the collocation with πνικτοῦ (if retained) is against any such interpretation. See additional note (2) at end of chapter.

Ver. 21. ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων: pointing back to the first days when the Diaspora had first spread to any considerable extent in heathen lands: see on ver. 7. The exact phrase (ἀπὸ) γενεῶν ἀρχ. occurs in *Psalms of Solomon*, xviii., 14—from the generations of old the lights of heaven have not departed from their path. For the custom referred to here, see Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 55, E.T. The words seem closely connected in sense with the preceding in this way, viz., that the Gentile proselytes could long ago in the synagogues have been acquainted week by week with the spirit and enactments of the Mosaic law, and they would thus be the more easily inclined to take upon themselves the few elementary precepts laid down in the decree of the Jerusalem Church, so as to avoid any serious cause of offence to their Jewish-Christian brethren. Others however take the meaning to be that, as the Jewish Christians in their continual association with the synagogue would still hear the law read every Sabbath, there would be no intercourse between them and the Gentile Christians, unless the latter observed the necessary restrictions enjoined by the decree for brotherly intercommunion. There is no occasion to interpret the meaning to be that it is superfluous to write the decree to the Jewish Christians, since they knew its contents already from the law (so St. Chrysostom, and Blass), for a decree for the Jewish Christians is not in question, see ver. 23. Others again interpret: there is no fear that the Mosaic law should be neglected or despised "for Moses, etc.". See further, Wendt, Weiss, McGiffert, Knabenbauer.

Ver. 22. ἔδοξε: the word is often found in public resolutions and official decrees, Herod., i., 3; Thuc., iv., 118 L) and S.).—τοῖς ἀποσ. . . . ἐκλεξ. . . . γράψ.: on the irregular construction see Page and Rendall, and instances in Alford and Lumby; and further, Burton, *N. T. Moods and Tenses*, p. 173.—σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλ., cf. ver. 12, πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος, cf. Iren., *Hær.* iii., 12.—



Σίλαν, ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, 23. γράψαντες διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν τὰδε· Οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν ἀδελφοῖς τοῖς ἐξ ἐθνῶν,

<sup>1</sup> καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί N<sup>c</sup>EHL P, Syrr. P. and H., ArmZoh., Aethut., Chrys., so Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 57; om. καὶ οἱ N<sup>a</sup> ABCD, 13, 61, Armusc., Irnt., Ath., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt. Blass, following Sah., Orig., reads ἀδελφοῖς here and brackets the same word after Κιλ., so Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 171, rejecting the word as an accidental corruption; "The Apostles and the Elders unto the brethren," etc., R.V. renders "The Apostles and the elder brethren," a title which the Jerusalem Church might use in addressing younger Churches (Rendall), but see commentary.

ἐκλεξ. ἄνδρας πέμψαι: "to choose men out of their company, and send," R.V. In A.V. we lose sight of the fact that the choice was thus made in the rendering "chosen men," a rendering which takes ἐκλεξ. middle as if passive (see Wendt's just criticism, and cf. ver. 40 ἐπιλεξ.).—Ιουδαν τὸν ἐπικ. B., see critical note, sometimes regarded as a brother of Joseph Barsabbas in i. 23. Ewald thinks that he was actually identical with him. Nothing further is known of him, but if he was a brother of Joseph Barsabbas, he too may have been amongst the personal followers of the Lord; hence his leading position, see also B.D.<sup>2</sup> "Judas," p. 1830.—Σίλαν, cf. ver. 40, xvi. 19, 25, 29, xvii. 4, 10, 14, xviii. 5, 2 Cor. i. 19, 1 Thess. i. 1, 2 Thess. i. 1, 1 Pet. v. 12. The name may have been contracted for Silvanus, but it may also have been a Greek equivalent for a Hebrew name שִׁלְשִׁי = Tertius, or תְּרִישִׁי, Gen. x. 24,

see especially Winer-Schmiedel, p. 143, note, and Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 23,

who prefers תְּרִישִׁי, „bitten, erfragen". Paul always used the form Σιλουανός (so 1 Pet. v. 12), Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 70, 71, Winer-Schmiedel, u. s., and also pp. 74, 75. On the supposed identity of Silas with Titus, who is never mentioned in Acts, see above; and Wendt, *in loco*. If the two passages, 2 Cor. i. 19 and viii. 23, on which the advocates of this view rely make the identity possible, the description of Titus, Gal. ii. 3, is completely at variance with the description of Silas in this chapter ("perversa, ne quid durius dicam, conjectura" Blass, in commenting on the supposed identity).—ἡγουμένους, cf. ver. 32, προφῆται ὄντες: the word is also used in Heb. xiii. three times, once of those who had passed away, ver. 7, and in vv. 17 and 24 of actual authorities to be obeyed. The word is applied in the LXX to

various forms of authority and leadership (see also references to the word in classical Greek, Grimm-Thayer), and cf. Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, i., 3 (xxi., 6), with v. 7, xxxvii. 2, lv. 1, lx. 4. It is quite possible that it may have essentially = διδάσκαλοι, xiii. 1 (cf. xiv. 12, ἡγούμε. τοῦ λόγου), cf. Heb. u. s., with *Didaché*, iv., 1, and see Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 249; Harnack, *Proleg. to Didaché*, p. 95; or the mere fact that Judas and Silas may both have been personal followers of Jesus would have conferred upon them a high degree of authority (Plumptre); or the term ἡγου. may be used as a general one, and we cannot say to what particular office or qualification it may have extended besides that involved in ver. 32. For use of the word in sub-apostolic times see Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, p. 322, etc., Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, pp. 166, 186. The word may be called characteristic of St. Luke (Friedrich, p. 22, cf. Luke xxii. 26, Acts vii. 10 (of civil rule), xiv. 12).

Ver. 23.—οἱ ἀπόστ. καὶ οἱ πρεσβ. καὶ οἱ ἀδελ., but in R.V. "the Apostles and the elder brethren," see critical notes. The phrase as it stands in R.V. has been called meaningless (Page), but Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 71, while admitting that the phrase is unusual, defends it as indicating that they who held the office of elder were to be regarded as bearing the characteristic from which the title itself had arisen, and that they were but elder brethren at the head of a great family of brethren (cf. Knabenbauer *in loco*). It is of course quite possible that ἀδελ. is merely to be taken as in apposition to ἀπόστ. and πρεσβ., meaning that as brethren they sent a message to brethren (Wendt, Felten, Page).—τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀ. κ.τ.λ., see below.—χαίρειν: amongst the Epistles of the N.T. only that of St. James thus commences, as has been often pointed out by Bengel and others. The

χαίρειν. 24. ἐπειδὴ ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐξεληθόντες ἐτάραξαν ὑμᾶς λόγοις, ἀνασκευάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν,<sup>2</sup> λέγοντες περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον, οἷς οὐ διεστέλαμεθα. 25. ἔδοξεν ἡμῖν γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδόν,<sup>3</sup> ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, σὺν τοῖς

<sup>1</sup> ἐξεληθόντες *om.* N<sup>8</sup>B, Arm., Aethro., Const., Ath., Chrys., so W.H., R.V. marg., Weiss, Wendt; but retained N<sup>c</sup>ACDEP, Vulg., Syrr. P. and H., Sah., Boh., Aethpp., Iren., so Tisch., Blass, Hilg. It might have been introduced (*cf.* ver. 1, κατέλ.) to guard against the appearances that τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν belonged to the senders of the letter (see Wendt's note, 1888).

<sup>2</sup> λεγ. . . . τον νομον *om.* NABD 13, 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Aethro., Or., Const., Ath., so Tisch., W.H., Blass., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; but Blass retains in β, following CEHLP, Gig., Iren. (Chrys.), so Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκλεξαμένους N<sup>c</sup>DEHP, Const., Iren., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H. marg., Blass, Weiss and Hilg.; -οις ABL 61, Lach., W.H. text. Wendt unable to decide whether acc. after ver. 22 or dat. for gram. was the later reading.

coincidence may be a chance one, but it is the more remarkable, since the letter may well have been written and dictated by St. James in his authoritative position. On the phrase in letters see Mayor's interesting note on James i. 1. It occurs again in Acts xxiii. 26, but nowhere else in N.T.

Ver. 24. On the similarity of this verse in phraseology to St. Luke's preface, Luke i. 1, Schwegler, Zeller, Weiss, Friedrich, Hilgenfeld, and others have commented. But, after all, in what does the likeness consist? Simply in the fact that here as there we have ἐπειδὴ introducing the antecedent clause, and ἔδοξεν the subsequent clause. Friedrich (p. 46) considers this as too striking to be a matter of chance, but strangely he writes each of the two passages as if they commenced with the same word, see below on ver. 28—ἐπειδὴ περ. This word is a curious one, and is only found in Luke i. 1 (not in LXX), but there is no authority for reading it in the passage before us in Acts. Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 45, refers to instances of a similar formula and phraseology as in use in Jewish writings, *cf.* Jost, *Jüd. Gesch.*, i., 284.—τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν, *cf.* for the expression Gal. ii. 12.—ἐξελ., see critical notes.—ἐτάραξαν ὑμᾶς, *cf.* Gal. i. 7, v. 10. λόγοις may mean with words only, words without true doctrine.—ἀνασκευάζοντες, "subverting," A. and R.V.; not in LXX, and only here in N.T., in classical Greek, primarily *colligere vasa*, to pack up, and so to carry away; or to dismantle a place; to destroy, overthrow, and so trop. as in text—of destroying an opponent's arguments (Arist.). Nösgen and Felten note it amongst the non-

Lucan words in the decree, so βάρος, τὸ ἐπάναγκες, διὰ λόγον, ἀπαγγέλλειν, εὐ πράττειν, ἐβρώσθη, ἀγαπητός.—οἷς οὐ διεστέλαμεθα: "to whom we gave no commandment," R.V., omitting "such," not in text, and weakens; in Tyndale, Crammer, and Genevan Version; *cf.* Gal. ii. 12, and Acts xxi. 20; only used once in passive in N.T., Heb. xii. 20, often in LXX in middle voice, meaning to warn, *cf.* also its meaning in Judith xi. 12 with Mark v. 43, etc.

Ver. 25. γενομ. ὁμοθυμαδόν: "having come to one accord," "einmütig geworden," Weiss: ὁμοθ., though frequent in Acts, see i. 14, only here with γεν. For the form of the phrase as indicating mutual deliberation on the part of the Church collectively see "Council," *Dict. of Chr. Ant.*, i., 474.—ἐκλεξ. ἄνδρας: "to choose out men and send them unto you," R.V., whether we read accusative or dative see critical note, and *cf.* ver. 22.—ἀγαπητοῖς: very frequent in St. Paul's Epistles; used three times by St. James in his Epistle, twice by St. Peter in his First Epistle, four times in the Second, *cf.* iii. 15, where the word is used by St. Peter of St. Paul, ten times by St. John; it was therefore a very natural word to occur in the letter, and we may compare it with the right hand of fellowship given by the three Apostles just named to Barnabas and Paul, Gal. ii. 9.—B. καὶ Π.: this order because in Jerusalem Church; see above on ver. 12. Meyer, Bleek, Nösgen, Wendt, all note its truthful significance.

Ver. 26. παραδεδωκόσι τὰς ψ. α.: "hazarded their lives," A. and R.V.; so in classical Greek, and in LXX, Dan. iii. 28 (95). The sufferings of the mission-



ἀγαπητοῖς ἡμῶν Βαρνάβα καὶ Παύλῳ, 26. ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκόσι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.<sup>1</sup> 27. ἀπεστάλκαμεν οὖν Ἰούδαν καὶ Σίλαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ λόγου ἀπαγγέλλοντας τὰ αὐτά. 28. ἔδοξε γὰρ τῷ Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν, μηδὲν πλέον ἐπιτίθεσθαι ὑμῖν βάρος πλὴν τῶν ἐπάναγκες

<sup>1</sup> At end of verse, DE 137, Syr. Harcl. mg. add εἰς πάντα πειρασμον, so Blass in β, Hilg. Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., pp. 85, 86, describes this as the best example extant of a Syriac assimilation in the text of Acts; παραδεδωκασιν in D, ambiguous, but in *Sirach*, ii., 1, Syriac had rendered "thou hast surrendered thy soul to all temptations" (ετοιμασον την ψυχην σου εἰς πειρασμον, LXX); gloss added here for clearness. Weiss, Codex D, p. 82, refers the words to a reminiscence of Acts xx. 19.

aries in their first journey were evidently well known, and appeal was fittingly made to them in recognition of their self-sacrifice, and in proof of their sincerity.

Ver. 27. Ἴ. καὶ Σ. καὶ αὐτοὺς: "who themselves also shall tell you the same things by word of mouth," R.V. Judas and Silas were sent to confirm personally the contents of the letter, as they could speak with authority as representing the Church at Jerusalem, while Barnabas and Saul alone would be regarded as already committed to the conciliatory side (Alford). The present participle, as the writer thinks of Judas and Silas as actually present with the letter at its reception, cf. ἀπεστάλκαμεν, "we have sent" by a common idiom, and also xxi. 16; Blass compares Thuc., vii., 26, ἔπεμψαν ἀγγέλλοντας, *Gram.*, p. 194.—τὰ αὐτά: not the same things as Barnabas and Paul had preached, but, as διὰ λ. intimates, the same things as the letter contained, see critical notes.

Ver. 28. ἔδοξε γὰρ τῷ Ἀ. Π. καὶ ἡμῖν: "causa principalis" and "causa ministerialis" of the decree. The words of Hooker exactly describe the meaning and purpose of the words, *E. P.*, iii., 10, 2, cf. viii., 6, 7, and cf. St. Chrysostom's words, *Hom.*, xxxiii., "not making themselves equal to Him [*i.e.*, the Holy Ghost]—they are not so mad—the one to the Holy Ghost, that they may not deem it to be of man; the other to us, that they may be taught that they also themselves admit the Gentiles, although themselves being in circumcision". On other suggested but improbable meanings see Alford's and Wendt's notes. The words became a kind of general formula in the decrees of Councils and Synods, cf. the phrase commonly prefixed to Councils: *Sancto Spiritu suggerente* (*Dict. Chr. Ant.*, i., 483). On this classical construction of ἔδοξε τῷ with the infinitive see Nestle's note, *Expository*

*Times*, December, 1898. Moreover it would seem that this ἔδοξε is quite in accordance with the manner in which Jewish Rabbis would formulate their decisions.—μηδὲν πλέον . . . βάρος: the words indicate authority on the part of the speakers, although in ver. 20 we read only of "enjoining". St. Peter had used the cognate verb in ver. 10, cf. Rev. ii. 24, where the same noun occurs with a possible reference to the decree, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 309, and Plumptre, *in loco*.—ἐπάναγκες, *i.e.*, for mutual intercourse, that Jewish and Gentile Christians might live as brethren in the One Lord. There is nothing said to imply that these four abstinences were to be imposed as necessary to salvation; the receivers of the letter are only told that it should be well with them if they observed the decree, and we cannot interpret εὖ πράξετε as = σωθήσεσθε. At the same time the word was a very emphatic one, and might be easily interpreted, as it speedily was, in a narrower sense, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 172; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 310. Rendall compares the use of ἀναγκαῖος in Thuc., i., 90.

Ver. 29. ἀπέχ.: preposition omitted as in ver. 20, W.H.; so usually in classical Greek, but in N.T. ἀπέχ. ἀπό, 1 Thess. iv. 3, v. 22; so in LXX, Job i. 1, 8, ii. 3, etc. On the difference in meaning in the two constructions, see Alford and Wendt, *in loco*.—ἐδωλοθύτων, see ver. 20.—πικτοῦ: omitted in Western text; see critical notes.—διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς: verb, only in Luke, cf. Luke ii. 51 (in LXX with ἐκ or ἀπό, Ps. xi. 7, Prov. xxi. 23). In Jas. i. 27 we have a somewhat striking similarity of expression (cf. also John xvii. 15).—εὖ πράξετε: "it shall be well with you," R.V.; *viz.*, through the peace and concord established in the Christian community, cf. 2 Macc. ix. 19, so in classical Greek. The reading in A.V. is somewhat ambiguous, but the Greek signifies

τούτων, 29. ἀπέχεσθαι εἰδωλοθύτων καὶ αἵματος καὶ <sup>1</sup> πνικτοῦ καὶ πορνείας. ἐξ ὧν διατηροῦντες ἑαυτοὺς εὐ <sup>2</sup> πράξετε. ἔρρωσθε.

30. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπολυθέντες <sup>3</sup> ἦλθον εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν· καὶ συναγαγόντες τὸ πλῆθος, ἐπέδωκαν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν. 31. ἀναγνόντες δὲ ἐχάρησαν ἐπὶ τῇ παρακλήσει. 32. Ἰούδας δὲ καὶ Σίλας, καὶ αὐτοὶ προφήται ὄντες, <sup>4</sup> διὰ λόγου πολλοῦ παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἀδελφούς, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ πνικτοῦ *om.* D, Iren., Tert., Cypr., Amb., Pac., Aug., so Blass in β; see above on ver. 20, and Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 353; πνικτοῦ  $\aleph^c A^2 E H L P$ , Vulg., Syrr. P. and H., Arm., Aeth., Const., Chrys., etc.; πνικτων  $\aleph^* A^* B C$  61, 137, Sah., Boh., Clem., Or., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt (πνικτων introduced after ver. 20). After πορνείας D, Par., Wer.<sup>2</sup>, Syr. Harcl. mg., Sah., Aeth., Irint., Cypr. (with many variations) read καὶ οσα μὴ θέλετε εαυτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ετερῶ μὴ ποιεῖν, so Blass in β, and Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> πράξετε  $\aleph A B$ , Vulg., all edd.; πραξατε CDHL; πραξητε E; see Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 354. After πραξ. D, Iren., Tert. (Ephrem) add φερομενοι ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, so Blass in β. Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 77, thinks that the gloss has been misplaced, and declining all references to Montanus or Marcion or to N.T. parallels, regards it as simply an expansion or explanation of ἀπολυθέντες, ver. 30; *cf.* xiii. 4. Weiss also declines all Montanist influence, but takes the words after ἐν πραξ. as meaning that they would fare well being guided by the Holy Spirit, by Whom the decree, ver. 28, had been inspired. *ερρωσθε*, Blass brackets in β, *om.* by Irenæus; see also Zahn, *u. s.*, p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> ἦλθον, but κατηλθον  $\aleph A B C D$  61, Vulg., Arm., Aeth., Theophyl., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt. After ἀπολυθέντες D\* adds ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, so Blass in β, and Hilg. Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 72, speaks of the addition as more valuable than much gold, as showing their eagerness to bring the good news to Antioch, and the speed of their travelling, contrasted with ver. 3. Weiss however would connect it (p. 82), not with the time consumed in the journey, but with the time of their departure, *i.e.*, they set off a few days after the Council to put an end to the disquietude at Antioch.

<sup>4</sup> After ὄντες D adds πληρεῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου, so Blass and Hilg., no Montanistic source; either explanation of προφ. (unnecessary), or may be connected with διαλογον implying that their oral words no less than the written letter were spoken in the Holy Ghost (Weiss, p. 82). Mr. Page, *Classical Review*, p. 320 (1897), refers this addition, with similar ones in vv. 7 and 29 of this chap., to the characteristic of D "to emphasise words and actions as inspired".

prosperity. For D, see critical notes.—ἔρρωσθε, see critical notes, 2 Macc. xi. 21 and 33, 3 Macc. vii. 9, etc., and often in classics; a natural conclusion of a letter addressed to Gentile Christians, see additional note (2) at end of chapter.

Ver. 30. οἱ μὲν οὖν . . . ἀναγνόντες 61: two parties are presented as acting in concert as here (or in opposition), see Rendall, *Acts*, Appendix on μὲν οὖν, p. 161.—ἦλθον, but κατηλθον R.V., Jerusalem is still the centre from which Barnabas and Paul go down. See reading in D, critical note.—τὸ πλῆθος=ἡ ἐκκλησία, *cf.* xiv. 27; Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 59, especially refers to this passage: τὸ πλ.=Christengemeinde at Antioch, *cf.* plebs, populus in Lat. Chr. authors.—ἐπέδωκαν τὴν ἐπιστ., see instances in Wetstein of same phrase in same sense.

Ver. 31. παρακλήσει: A. and R.V. "consolation" ("exhortation" margin, R.V.). The former rendering seems suitable here, because the letter causes rejoicing, not as an exhortation, but as a message of relief and concord. Ramsay and Hort render "encouragement". Barnabas was a fitting bearer of such a message, *cf.* iv. 36.

Ver. 32. καὶ αὐτοὶ προφ. ὄντες: Wendt, so Meyer, takes καὶ αὐτοὶ not with προφ. ὄντες (these words in commas), but with the words which follow, indicating that Judas and Silas gave encouragement to the brethren personally (*cf.* ver. 27), as the letter had verbally; but punctuation of T.R. in R.V., W.H., Weiss, etc. On καὶ αὐτοὶ and its frequency in St. Luke, Friedrich, p. 37; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae* (1899), p.



ἐπεστήριξαν. 33. Ποιήσαντες δὲ χρόνον, ἀπελύθησαν μετ' εἰρήνης  
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους.<sup>1</sup> 34.<sup>2</sup> ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλα

<sup>1</sup> ἀποστόλους EHL<sup>p</sup>, Syrr. P. and H., Bohwi., Arm., Chrys.; but ἀποστείλαντας αὐτοὺς  $\aleph$ ABCD, Vulg., Sah., Bohboett., Aethro., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass and Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> Om.  $\aleph$ ABEHL<sup>p</sup> 61, Vulg. (am. fu. demid.), Syr. Pesh., Syr. H. text, Bohboett., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V. text, Weiss, Wendt. In CD 13, Vulg.clem. + tol., Sah., Bohwi., Syr. Harcl. mg., Arm., Aethut., so Blass and Hilg. Also D, Gig., Wern., Prov., Vulg.clem., Cassiod. add *μονος δε λουδας επορευθη* (Wern. adding "reversus est Hierosolyma," cf. also Vulg.cl.). It is difficult to see why if 34<sup>a</sup> was genuine it should have been omitted, but the sentence may have been introduced to account for the presence of Silas at Antioch in ver. 40; so Weiss and Corssen. (In C and D αὐτοὺς instead of αὐτον, and in a few mins. αὐτοθι.) Ver. 34<sup>a</sup> is defended as genuine by Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 174, 175; Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 148 (whilst both regard 34<sup>b</sup> as a gloss); cf. Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 73, on the same ground, viz., that ver. 33 does not declare that Judas and Silas actually departed, but only that they were free to depart. The Bezan reviser found the first part of the verse in his text and added the second. Blass retains both parts of the verse in  $\beta$ . If the first clause was introduced to explain a supposed difficulty about Silas, it must be remembered that the difficulty was more fanciful than real, since Barnabas takes Mark from Jerusalem, xiii. 13 (see Ramsay, *u. s.*). W.H., *App.*, p. 96, considers the first clause as probably Alexandrian, as well as Western, while Corssen regards them both as Western.

33.—*παρέκάλεισαν*: A. and R.V. "exhorted"; R.V. margin, "comforted," Ramsay, "encouraged" (so Hort; or "exhorted"). Possibly the word may include something of all these meanings (see also Alford's note).—*ἐπιστήριξαν*, cf. xiv. 22.

Ver. 33. *ποιήσαντες δὲ χρόνον*, cf. xviii. 23, and xx. 3, only in Acts in N.T., cf. 2 Cor. xi. 25, James iv. 13. For the phrase both in LXX and classical Greek (so in Latin), see Wetstein, Blass, Grimm. In LXX cf. Prov. xiii. 23, Eccl. vi. 12 (Tob. x. 7), so Hebrew  $\text{תָּיַיִן}$ .—*μετ' εἰρή-*

*νης*: exact phrase only Heb. xi. 31 in N.T.; in LXX several times; in Apocrypha, in 1 and 3 Macc.—*πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστ.*: but if as in R.V., "unto those that had sent them" (see critical notes and Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 73), i.e., the whole synod at Jerusalem, not only the Apostles.

Ver. 34. Omitted in R.V. text, but not in margin. See critical notes.

Ver. 35. *διέτριβον*, cf. xii. 19, and see also on xvi. 12. In LXX cf. Lev. xiv. 8, Jer. xlii. (xxxv.) 7, Judith x. 2, 2 Macc. xiv. 23. So also in classics with or without *χρόνον*.—*διδάσ. καὶ εὐαγγ.*: possibly the first may refer to work inside the Church, and the second to work outside, but the distinction can scarcely be pressed. Within this time, according to Wendt, falls the incident between Paul and Peter, Gal. ii. 11. On the other hand, see Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 194, who thinks that the *τινας ἡμέρας*

excludes, Gal. ii., etc., but the phrase is very indefinite, and may have included months as well as days, cf. xvi. 12, and ix. 23. On the incident referred to see additional note at end of chapter.

Ver. 36. *μετὰ δέ*: second missionary journey commences, ending xviii. 22.—*ἐπιστρέψαντες, reversi*, cf. Luke ii. 39, W.H., xvii. 31. The word is so used in LXX, and in modern Greek (Kennedy, p. 155).—*δὴ*, see on xiii. 2.—*ἐπισκεψ.*, see above on vi. 3. The word was characteristic of a man like St. Paul, whose heart was the heart of the world, and who daily sustained the care of all the churches.—*πὺς ἔχουσι*: "in fide, amore, spe . . . nervus visitationis ecclesiasticæ" Bengel.

Ver. 37. *ἐβουλεύσατο*, but *ἐβούλετο* see critical note, "wished," *volebat*; R.V., "was minded" almost too strong. Possibly owing to his kinship, Barnabas may have taken a more lenient view than Paul.

Ver. 38. *ἤξιον*, cf. xxviii. 22 (Luke vii. 7), and cf. 1 Macc. xi. 28, 2 Macc. ii. 8, etc.—*ἐβούλ.* is a mild word compared with this.—*συμπαράλαβεῖν*, cf. xii. 25, used also by Paul in Gal. ii. 1 of taking Titus with him to Jerusalem, and nowhere else in N.T. except in this passage, cf. Job i. 4, 3 Macc. i. 1, so in classical Greek.—*τὸν ἀποστάντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν*: the neutral word *ἀποχωρεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν*, xiii. 13, is not used here, but a word which may denote not disloyalty in the sense of apostasy from Christ, but to the mission,

ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ. 35. Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων πολλῶν, τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου.

1 Tim. iv. 1 (Rendall); it is doubtful, however, whether we can press this (see Weiss, *in loco*).—τοῦτον: significant at the end of the verse, and note also decisive contradiction between συμπαρ., ver. 37, and μὴ συμπαρ. here.

Ver. 39. παροξυσμός, Heb. x. 24, in different sense, nowhere else in N.T. The verb is found twice, Acts xvii. 16, 1 Cor. xiii. 5; in the former passage of Paul's righteous provocation in Athens, and in the latter of irritation of mind as here; the noun twice in LXX of God's righteous anger, Deut. xxix. 28, Jer. xxxix. (xxxii.) 37 (*cf.* also the verb, Deut. ix. 7, 8, etc.), so too in Dem. Both noun and verb are common in medical language (Hobart); παροξυσμός, φησὶν, ἐγένετο οὐχ ἔχθρα οὐδὲ φιλονεικία; in the result good, for Mark was stirred up to greater diligence by Paul, and the kindness of Barnabas made him cling to him all the more devotedly, *cf.* Oecumenius, *in loco*.—ἀποχωρισθῆναι: "they parted asunder," R.V., *cf.* διαχωρῖσθαι ἀπὸ, Gen. xiii. 11, 14, *cf.* Luke ix. 33.—παρалаβόντα: not the compound verb, because Barnabas alone takes Mark.—ἐκπλεῦσαι: with εἰς also in xviii. 18, with ἀπὸ in xx. 6; on πλέω and the number of its compounds in St. Luke, *cf.* xvii. 4, etc.—εἰς K.: where he could be sure of influence, since by family he belonged to the Jews settled there, iv. 36. Barnabas is not mentioned again in Acts, and it is to be noted that St. Paul's friendship was not permanently impaired either with him or with Mark (see Chrysostom, *in loco*, and *cf.* 1 Cor. ix. 6). In Gal. ii. 13 St. Paul in speaking of Barnabas marks by implication his high estimate of his character and the expectations he had formed of him; καὶ B. "even Barnabas" (Lightfoot, *Gal.*, *in loco*, and Hackett). According to tradition Barnabas remained in Cyprus until his death, and the appearance of Mark at a later stage may point to this; but although possibly Mark's rejoining Paul may have been occasioned by the death of Barnabas, the sources for the life of Barnabas outside the N.T. are quite untrustworthy, "Barnabas," B.D.<sup>3</sup>; Hackett, *Acts*, p. 192. Whatever his fortunes may have been, St. Luke did not estimate his work in the same category as that of Paul as a main factor in the development

of the Church, although we must never forget that "twice over did Barnabas save Saul for the work of Christianity".—Μάρκον: In his two imprisonments St. Paul mentions Mark in terms of high approval, Col. iv. 10, 11, Philem. 24, 2 Tim. iv. 11. In the first imprisonment St. Paul significantly recommends him to the Colossians as being the cousin of Barnabas, one of his own fellow-labourers unto the kingdom of God, one amongst the few who had been a παρηγορία, a comfort unto him. In such words as these St. Paul breaks the silence of the years during which we hear nothing of the relations between him and Mark, although the same notice in *Colossians* seems to indicate an earlier reconciliation than the date of the letter, since the Churches of the Lycus valley had already been instructed to receive Mark if he passed that way, *Expositor*, August, 1897, "St. Mark in the N.T." (Dr. Swete), p. 85.

Ver. 40. Π. δὲ ἐπιλεξ. Σ.: not in the place of Mark, but in the place of Barnabas, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 171; having chosen, *i.e.*, for himself: *sibi eligere*; only in N.T. in this sense, but in classical Greek and in LXX, 1 Sam. ii. 28 A, 2 Sam. x. 9 R, Eccus. vi. 18, 1 Esdras ix. 16, 1 Macc. i. 63 R, v. 17, etc.; "elegit ut socium, non ut ministrum" (Blass). If Silas had not returned to Jerusalem, but had remained in Antioch (see above on ver. 35), he had doubtless recommended himself to Paul by some special proof of fitness for dealing sympathetically with the relations of the Jewish Christians and the Gentile converts. This sympathy on the part of Silas would be the more marked and significant as he was himself almost certainly a Hebrew; otherwise we cannot account for his high position in the Jerusalem Church, ver. 22, although his Roman citizenship is implied in xvi. 37; perhaps this latter fact may account for his freedom from narrow Jewish prejudices. If we may identify, as we reasonably may, the Silas of Acts with the Silas (Silvanus) of the Epistles, 2 Cor. i. 19, 1 Thess. i. 1, 2 Thess. i. 1, 1 Pet. v. 12, the last mention of him by St. Peter becomes very suggestive. For St. Peter's First Epistle contains the names of the two men, Mark and Sil-



36. ΜΕΤΑ δέ τινας ἡμέρας εἶπε Παῦλος πρὸς Βαρνάβαν, Ἐπιστρέψαντες δὴ ἐπισκεψώμεθα τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν, ἐν

<sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν *om.* with  $\Sigma$  ABCDE, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syrr. P. and H., Arm., Chrys., Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, and Hilg.

vanus, who had originally been members of the Jerusalem Church, Acts xii. 12, xv. 22, and moreover the two oldest of St. Paul's associates, whose brotherly Christian concord had been broken for the time (when Paul chose the latter in the place of Barnabas, and rejected Mark's services altogether), but who are now both found at St. Peter's side in Rome (assuming that Babylon is Rome), evidently at one with him and with each other; the one the bearer of a letter, the other the sender of greetings, to *Pauline Churches*. If St. Paul had passed to his rest, and the leader had thus changed, the teaching was the same, as the names of Silvanus and Mark assure us, and St. Peter takes up and carries on the work of the Apostle of the Gentiles, see Dr. Swete, *u. s.*, pp. 87, 88.—ἐξῆλθε, *cf.* Luke ix. 6, 3 John, ver. 7, where the word is used of going forth for missionary work.—παράδοθεις, *cf.* xiv. 26. Possibly we may infer that the Church took Paul's view of the point at issue between himself and Barnabas, but on the other hand we cannot prove this, because the writer's thoughts are so specially fixed upon Paul as the great and chief worker in the organisation and unification of the Church.

Ver. 41. διήρχετο, see above on xiii. 6.—Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν: as Barnabas had turned to Cyprus, the scene of his early labours in the Gospel, and perhaps also his own home, so Paul turned to Syria and Cilicia, not only because his home was in Cilicia, but also because he had worked there in his early Christian life and labours, *Gal.*, i., 21, 23. It is a coincidence with the notice in *Gal.* that St. Luke here and in ver. 23 presupposes the existence of Churches in Syria and Cilicia, although nothing had been previously said of their foundation, whilst the presence of Saul at Tarsus is twice intimated, ix. 30, xi. 25. Moreover the commencement of the letter, vv. 22, 23, indicates that these regions had been the centre of the teaching of the Judaizers, and St. Paul's presence, together with the fact that Silas, a prominent and leading member of the Jerusalem Church, was his colleague, would doubtless help to prevent further disquiet. On the ad-

dition to the verse in the Bezan text see critical note.

Additional note (1).

Amongst recent writers on the *Acts*, Mr. Rendall has stated that the evidence for the identification of Acts xv. with Gal. ii. 1-10 is overwhelming, *Appendix to Acts*, pp. 357, 359. If we cannot fully endorse this, it is at all events noticeable that critics of widely different schools of thought have refused to regard the alleged differences between the two as irreconcilable; in this conservative writers like Lechler, Godet, Belser, Knabenbauer and Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 627, 628; scientific critics, as we may call them, like Reuss, B. Weiss; and still more advanced critics like Lipsius and H. Holtzmann are agreed. This general agreement is recognised and endorsed by Wendt, p. 255 (1899), see also K. Schmidt, "Apostelkonvent," in *Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theol.* (Hauck), p. 704 ff. Amongst English writers Lightfoot, Hort, Sanday, Salmon, Drummond, Turner may be quoted on the same side (so too McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 208), (see for the points of agreement, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 123; Drummond, *Galatians*, p. 73 ff.; Salmon, "Galatians," B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Reuss, *Geschichte des h. S. des N. T.*, p. 60, sixth edition, and very fully in Belser, *Die Selbstverteidigung der h. Paulus im Galaterbriefe*, p. 83 ff., 1896; for the difficulty in identifying Gal. ii. with any other visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem, *cf.* Salmon, Lightfoot, *u. s.*, and Zahn, *u. s.*, Felten, *Introd. to Apostelgeschichte*, p. 46). But the recent forcible attempt of Professor Ramsay to identify Gal. ii. 1-10 with St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, and not with the third visit, Acts xv., has opened up the whole question again (see on the same identification recently proposed from a very different point of view by Völter, *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 231, and also by Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 184). At first sight it is no doubt in favour of this conclusion that according to Acts the journey, xi. 30, is the second made by St. Paul to Jerusalem, and the journey in xv. the third, whilst Gal. ii. 1 also describes a journey which the Apostle

αἶς κατηγγέλαμεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου, πῶς ἔχουσι· 37.<sup>1</sup> Βαρνάβας  
δὲ ἐβουλευσατο συμπαραλαβεῖν τὸν Ἰωάννην τὸν καλούμενον Μάρκον·

<sup>1</sup> After πῶς ἔχουσι and at commencement of verse Syr. Harcl. mg. prefixes "placuit autem cogitatio Barnabæ," so Blass in β. ἐβουλευσατο, but with  $\aleph$ ABCE 13, 61, Vulg. verss., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, ἐβουλετο; D, Gig. ἐβουλευετο, so Hilg.

himself represents as his second to the mother-city. We cannot fairly solve this difficulty by cutting the knot with McGiffert, who regards Acts xi. 30 and xv. as = Gal. ii. 1-10, and thinks that Luke found two independent accounts of the same journey, and supposed them to refer to separate events (*Apostolic Age*, p. 171); or by concluding with Drummond, *Galatians*, p. 78, that the writer of Acts made a mistake in bringing St. Paul to Jerusalem at the time of the famine, so that Gal. ii. and Acts xv. both refer to his second visit (*cf.* to the same effect, Wendt, p. 218 (1899), who looks upon the visit described in xi. 25 as a mistake of the author, at all events as regards Paul). But McGiffert and Drummond are both right in emphasising one most important and, as it seems to us, crucial difficulty in the way of the view advocated by Ramsay; if he is correct, it is difficult to see any object in the visit described in Acts xv. After the decision already arrived at in Gal. ii. 1-10: Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, the question then *ex hypothesi* at issue could scarcely have been raised again in the manner described in Acts xv. Moreover, whilst Ramsay admits that another purpose was achieved by the journey to Jerusalem described in Gal. ii. 1-10, although only as a mere private piece of business, *St. Paul*, p. 57, he maintains that the special and primary object of the visit was to relieve the poor. But if the pillars of the Church were already aware, as *ex hypothesi* they must have been aware, that St. Paul came to Jerusalem bringing food and money for the poor (Acts xi. 29, 30), we may be pardoned for finding it difficult to believe that the "one charge alone" (Gal. ii. 10) which they gave him was to do the very thing which he actually came for the purpose of doing. If, too, Barnabas and Saul had just been associated in helping the poor, and if the expression  $\delta$  καὶ ἑσπούδασα, Gal. ii. 10, refers, as Professor Ramsay holds, to this service, we should hardly have expected Paul to use the first person singular, but rather to have associated Barnabas with himself in his reference

to their work of love and danger. Professor Ramsay emphasises the fact (*Expositor*, p. 183, March, 1896) that Luke pointedly records that the distribution was carried out to its completion by Barnabas and Saul in person (Acts xii. 25). Why then does Paul only refer to his own zeal in remembering the poor in Acts xi. 29, and xii. 25 = Gal. ii. 1-10? (On the force of the aorist as against Professor Ramsay's view, see *Expositor*, March, 1899, p. 221, Mr. Vernon Bartlett's note.) Gal. ii. 10 should rather be read in the light of 1 Cor. xvi. 1-3; if the first-named Epistle was also the first in point of time, then we can understand how, whilst it contains no specific and definite mention of a collection for the Church at Jerusalem, which is so emphasised in 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 Cor. viii. 9, etc., yet the eager desire of the pillars of the Church that the poor in Judæa should be remembered, and the thought of a fund for supplying their needs, may well have been working in St. Paul's mind from the earlier time of the expression of that desire and need, Gal. ii. 10, *Expositor*, November, 1893, "Pauline Collection for the Saints," and April, 1894, "The Galatians of St. Paul," Rendall Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 67.

For reasons why St. Paul did not refer to his second visit to Jerusalem when writing to the Galatians see on xi. 30, and Salmon, "Galatians," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, p. 1111; Sanday, *Expositor*, February, 1896, p. 92; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 61; "Acts of the Apostles," p. 30, Hastings' B.D. and "Chron. of the N.T.," *ibid.*, p. 423; Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 629. Further: Dr. Sanday has emphasised the fact that at the time of St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem the state of things which we find in Acts xv. (the third visit) did not exist; that a stage in the controversy as to the terms of admission of Gentile converts had been reached by the date of Acts xv. which had not been reached at the date of xi. 30; that at this latter date, *e.g.*, there was no such clear demarcation of spheres between St. Peter and St. Paul, and that it is not until Acts xiii. 46 that the turning-point is actually



38. Παῦλος δὲ ἡξίου,<sup>1</sup> τὸν ἀποστάντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Παμφυλίας, καὶ μὴ συνελθόντα αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἔργον,<sup>2</sup> μὴ συμπαραλαβεῖν τοῦτον.

<sup>1</sup> For ἡξiou D reads οὐκ ἐβουλετο λεγων.

<sup>2</sup> For μὴ συμπ. τοῦτον D reads τοῦτον μὴ εἶναι συν αὐτοῖς; see on the passage Weiss, Codex D, p. 83; but if Weiss is correct, it has been well asked, how came Paul to take Silas? Hilg. reads ιεναι for ειναι. συμπαραλαβειν, cf. ver. 37, but pres. infin.  $\Sigma$ ABC 61, 180, Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Wendt, Weiss.

reached: henceforth St. Paul assumes his true "Apostleship of the Gentiles," and preaches a real "Gospel of the uncircumcision"; see especially *Expositor*, July, 1896, p. 62. Of course Professor Ramsay's theory obliges us to place Gal. ii. 1-10 *before* the Apostolic Conference, and to suppose that when the events narrated in Gal. ii. took place, the journey of Acts xiii., xiv. was still in the future. But is not the whole tone and attitude of St. Paul in Gal. ii. 1-10, placing himself, *e.g.*, before Barnabas in ver. 9 and evidently regarding himself as the foremost representative of one sphere of missionary work, as St. Peter was of the other, ver. 8, more easily explained if his first missionary journey was already an accomplished fact and not still in the future?

In the two short references to Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, it is still "Barnabas and Saul," so too in xiii. 1, 2, 7; not till xiii. 9 does the change come: henceforth Paul takes the lead, vv. 13, 16, 43, 45, 50, etc., with two exceptions as Professor Ramsay pointedly describes them (see above on xiii. 9), and in the account of the Conference and all connected with it St. Luke and the Church at Antioch evidently regard Paul as the leader, xv. 2 (2), 22 (although the Church at Jerusalem places Barnabas first, vv. 12, 25). But in xi. 30, xii. 25 the historian speaks of "Barnabas and Saul". The whole position of St. Paul assigned to him by St. Luke in Acts xv. is in harmony with the Apostle's own claims and prominence in Gal. ii. 1-10; it is not in harmony with the subordinate place which the same St. Luke assigns to him in the second visit to Jerusalem. In other words, if Gal. ii. 1-10 = Acts xv., then St. Paul's claim to be an Apostle of the Gentiles is ratified by the Gentile Luke; but if Gal. ii. 1-10 = Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, then there is no hint in Acts that Luke as yet regarded Paul in any other light than a subordinate to the Hebrew Barnabas; he is still Saul, not Paul. For the points of discrepancy between Gal. ii. 1-10 and Acts xv. see

same authorities as above; one point upon which Ramsay strongly insists, *viz.*, that a visit which is said to be "by revelation," Gal. ii. 2, cannot be identified with a visit which takes place by the appointment of the Church, Acts xv. 2, is surely hypercritical; it would not be the first occasion on which the Spirit and the Church had spoken in harmony; in Acts xiii. 3, 4 the Church ἀπέλυσαν sent away Paul and Barnabas, and yet in the next verse we read οἱ ἐκπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 125; Drummond, *Galatians*, p. 75; Turner, "Chronology of the N.T.," Hastings' B.D., p. 424; cf. also Wendt, p. 258 (1899), and Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 632, who both point out that the statements referred to are by no means mutually exclusive. On the whole question see Wendt's 1899 edition, p. 255 ff., and *Expositor*, 1896 (February, March, April, July) for its full discussion by Dr. Sanday and Professor Ramsay.

A further question arises as to the position to be assigned to the incident in Gal. ii. 11-14. Professor Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 157 ff., supposes that it took place *before* the Apostolic Conference, and finds a description of the occasion of the incident in Acts xv. 1, Acts xv. 24, Gal. ii. 12, *i.e.*, in the words of three authorities, St. Luke, the Apostles at Jerusalem, and St. Paul himself; the actual conflict between St. Peter and St. Paul took place after the latter's second visit to Jerusalem, but before his third visit. The issue of the conflict is not described by Paul, but it is implied in the events of the Jerusalem Conference, Acts xv. 2, 7. Barnabas had wavered, but had afterwards joined Paul; Peter had been rebuked, but had received the rebuke in such a way as to become a champion of freedom in the ensuing Conference, employing to others the argument which had convinced himself, cf. Acts xv. 10, Gal. ii. 14. Mr. Turner, "Chronology of the N.T.," Hastings' B.D., i., 424, is inclined to adopt this view, which identifies the two Judaizing missions from Jerusalem to Antioch, Gal.

39. ἐγένετο οὖν παροξυσμός, ὥστε ἀποχωρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων,  
τὸν<sup>1</sup> τε Βαρνάβαν παραλαβόντα τὸν Μάρκον ἐκπλεῦσαι εἰς Κύπρον.

<sup>1</sup> D amplifies after ἀλλήλων τότε B. παραλαβ. τον Μ. ἐπλευσεν εἰς Κ., so Blass and Hilg. Weiss sees in τότε a characteristic of D; cf. ii. 37.

ii. 12 and Acts xv. 1, while he still maintains the ordinary view that Gal. ii. 1-10 = Acts xv. This, as he points out, we may easily do, whilst Gal. ii. 11-14 may be allowed to precede Gal. ii. 1-10 in order of time, and in the absence of the *ἔπειτα* in Gal. i. 18, 21, ii. 1 there is nothing to suggest that the chronological series is continued. It may be noted that Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, v., 9, had remarked that there is nothing to hinder us from supposing that the dispute at Antioch was prior to the Conference at Jerusalem. Moreover it may be fairly urged that this view puts a more favourable construction on the conduct of St. James and St. Peter in relation to the compact which they had made with Paul at the Jerusalem Conference. But on the attitude of St. James and the expression *ἐλθεῖν τινὰς ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου*, see Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 79; Lightfoot on Gal. ii. 12; Drummond, *Galatians*, p. 85; and with regard to the conduct of St. Peter, see Hort, *u. s.*, p. 76; Lightfoot on the collision at Antioch, *Galatians*, p. 125 ff.; and Salmon, "Galatians," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, p. 1114; Drummond, *u. s.*, p. 78.

On Zahn's position that the dispute between Peter and Paul took place before the Apostolic Conference, when the former betook himself to Antioch after his liberation, Acts xii. 5 ff., a view put forward also by Schneckenburger, *Zweck der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 109 ff., see *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.*, p. 435 ff., 1894, and Belser's criticism, *Die Selbstvertheidigung des h. Paulus im Galaterbriefe*, p. 127 ff., 1896 (*Biblische Studien*).

Wendt, pp. 211, 212 (1899), while declining to attempt any explanation either psychological or moral of St. Peter's action in Gal. ii. 11-14, points out with justice how perverse it is to argue that Peter could not have previously conducted himself with reference to Cornelius as Acts describes when we remember that in the incident before us Barnabas, who had been the constant companion of St. Paul in the Gentile mission, shared nevertheless in St. Peter's weakness.

Additional note (2), cf. ver. 29.

A further question arises as to why the particular prohibitions of the Decree are

mentioned. According to a very common view they represented the Seven Precepts of Noah, six of which were said to have been given by God to Adam, while the seventh was given as an addition to Noah. The Seven Precepts were as follows: (1) against profanation of God's name; (2) against idolatry; (3) against fornication; (4) against murder; (5) against theft; (6) to obey those in authority; (7) against eating living flesh, *i. e.*, flesh with the blood in it, see Schürer *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 318, E.T.; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 69. No doubt there are points of contact between these Precepts and the four Prohibitions of the Decree, but at the same time it would seem that there are certainly four of the Precepts to which there is nothing corresponding in the Decree. The Precepts were binding on every *Gēr Toshav*, a stranger sojourning in the land of Israel, but it has been erroneously supposed that the *Gēr Toshav* = *σεβόμενος*, and thus the conclusion is drawn that the idea of the four prohibitions was to place Gentiles on the footing of *σεβόμενοι* in the Christian community. Against this identification of the *Gēr Toshav* and the *σεβόμενος* Schürer's words are decisive, *u. s.*, pp. 318, 319. But if this view was valid historically, the position of the Gentile Christians under such conditions would have been far from satisfactory, and we cannot suppose that Paul would have regarded any such result as a success; still circumcision and the keeping of the law would have been necessary to entitle a man to the full privilege of the Christian Church and name. Ritschl, who takes practically the same view as Wendt below, admits that in a certain degree the Gentile Christians would be regarded as in an inferior position to the Jewish Christians, *Altkatholische Kirche*, pp. 131, 133, second edition.

It seems even more difficult to trace the prohibitions of the Decree to the Levitical prohibitions, Lev. xvii., xviii., which were binding on strangers or sojourners in Israel (*LXX προσήλυτοι*), since, if the written law was to be the source of the Jerusalem prohibitions, it is inexplicable that the variations from it both in matter and number should be



40. Παῦλος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος Σίλαν ἐξῆλθε, παραδοθεὶς τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. 41. διήρχετο δὲ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν,

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ, cf. xiv. 26, but best τοῦ Κ. with B<sup>4</sup>AB(D), Vulg. (am. fu. demid. tol.), Sah., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg.

so observable (Hort, *u. s.*, p. 70); and although Wendt (so Ritschl, Overbeck, Lipsius, Zöckler, Holtzmann, and others; see on the other hand, Weiss, *Biblische Theol.*, p. 145; Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 297; Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 306; Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, i., 72, 73, 1896) adopts the view that in the four prohibitions of the Jerusalem Decree we have the form in which prohibitions binding upon proselytes in the wider sense, *i.e.*, upon the uncircumcised φοβούμεν. or σεβ. τὸν Θεόν, existed in the Apostolic days, he can only say that this is "very probable": of direct historical evidence, as Zöckler admits, there is none. The difficulty is so great in supposing that Paul and Barnabas could have submitted to the distinction drawn between the Jewish Christians and Gentile Christians that it has led to doubts as to the historical character of the decree. Weizsäcker and McGiffert maintain that the decree was formulated after Paul's departure, when James had reconsidered the matter, and had determined that some restriction should be put upon the complete Gentile liberty which had been previously granted. But this view can only be maintained by the sacrifice of xvi. 4, where Paul is distinctly said to have given the decrees to the Churches to keep.

Ramsay, agreeing with Lightfoot, calls the Decree a compromise, and although, as he points out, it seems impossible to suppose that St. Paul would have endorsed a decree which thus made mere points of ritual compulsory, it is probable, he thinks, that after the exordium in which the Jewish party had been so emphatically condemned, the concluding part of the Decree would be regarded as a strong recommendation that the four points should be observed in the interests of peace and amity (*St. Paul*, p. 172). In a previous passage, p. 167, he seems to take a very similar view to Wendt, who answers the question as to how the Precepts of the Decree were to be observed by the Gentile converts by maintaining that they were an attempt to make intercourse more feasible between the Jewish Christians and their Gentile brethren, p. 265 (1899).

We naturally ask why the Decree apparently fell so quickly into abeyance, and why it did not hold good over a wider area, since in writing to Corinth and Rome St. Paul never refers to it. But, to say nothing of the principle laid down in the reading of Codex D (see above on p. 323), St. Paul's language in 1 Cor. viii. 1-13, x. 14-22, Rom. xiv., may be fairly said to possess the spirit of the Decree, and to mark the discriminating wisdom of one eager to lead his disciples behind the rule to the principle; and there is no more reason to doubt the historical truth of the compact made in the Jerusalem Decree, because St. Paul never expressly refers to it, than there is to throw doubt upon his statement in Gal. ii. 10, because he does not expressly refer to it as an additional motive for urging the Corinthians to join in the collection for the poor saints, 2 Cor. viii. 9. But further, there is a sufficient answer to the above question in the fact that the Decree was ordained for the Churches which are specifically mentioned, *viz.*, those of Antioch (placed first as the centre of importance, not only as the local capital of Syria, but as the mother of the Gentile Churches, the Church from which the deputation had come), Syria and Cilicia. In these Churches Jewish prejudice had made itself felt, and in these Churches with their constant communication with Jerusalem the Decree would be maintained. The language of St. James in xxi. 25 proves that some years later reference was naturally made to the Decree as a standard still regulating the intercourse between Jewish and Gentile Christians, at least in Jerusalem, and we may presume in the Churches neighbouring. St. Paul's attitude towards the Decree is marked by loyal acceptance on the one hand, and on the other by a deepening recognition of his own special sphere among the Gentiles as the Apostle of the Gentiles, Gal. ii. 9. Thus we find him delivering the Decrees to the Churches of his first missionary journey, xvi. 4, although those Churches were not mentioned in the address of the Decree (no mention is made of the same action on his part towards the Churches in Syria

and Cilicia, xv. 41, doubtless because they were already aware of the enactments prescribed). It may well be that St. Paul regarded himself as the missionary-Apostle of the Church at Antioch, sent forth from that Church for a special work, and that he would recognise that if the Antiochian Christians were to be loyal to the compact of Jerusalem, he as their representative and emissary must enforce the requirements of that compact in revisiting those regions in which the converts had been so instrumental in causing the Decree to be enacted.

But the work upon which he had been specially sent forth from Antioch had been fulfilled, xiv. 27; the Conference at Jerusalem had assigned a wider and a separate sphere to his labours; henceforth his Apostleship to the Gentiles ἐς τὰ ἔθνη was more definitely recognised, and more abundantly fulfilled; and in what may be called strictly Gentile Churches, in Churches not only further removed from Palestine, but in which his own Apostleship was adequate authority, he may well have felt that he was relieved from enforcing the Decree. In these Churches the stress laid upon such secondary matters as "things strangled and blood" would simply have been a cause of perplexity, a burden too heavy to bear, the source of a Christianity maimed by Jewish particularism, see Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 127, 305; Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 88, 89; *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 74; *Speaker's Commentary*, Acts, p. 325; Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 254; "Apostelkonvent," K. Schmidt in *Real-Encyclopädie für protest. Theol.* (Hauck), pp. 710, 711 (1896); Wendt, p. 269 (1899); and for the after-history of the Decree, K. Schmidt, *u. s.*, Lightfoot, *u. s.*, Plumptre, Feltgen, and cf. also Hooker's remarks, *Eccles. Pol.*, iv., 11, 5 ff.

On the attempt to place the Apostolic Conference at Jerusalem before chaps. xiii. and xiv., see *Apostelgeschichte*, Wendt (1899), pp. 254, 255, and McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 181. Weizsäcker adopts this view because no mention is made in Gal. i. 21 of the missionary journey in Acts xiii., xiv., and he therefore maintains that it could only have taken place after the Conference, but the Epistle does not require that Paul should give a complete account of all his missionary experiences outside Judæa; he is only concerned to show how far he was or was not likely to have received his Gospel from the older Apostles.

Moreover, it is very difficult to find a place for the close companionship of

Paul and Barnabas, and their mutual labours in xiii., xiv. subsequent to the incident described in Gal. ii. 13, whether that incident took place just before or just after the Jerusalem Conference; in either case a previous mutual association between Paul and Barnabas in mission work amongst the Gentiles, such as that described in Acts xiii., xiv., accounts for the expectations Paul had evidently formed of Barnabas, Gal. ii. 13, and also for the position which the latter holds in Gal. ii. 1-10.

Space forbids us to make more than a very brief reference to the attempts to break up chap. xv. into various sources. Spitta, who places the whole section xv. 1-33 before chap. xiii., refers vv. 1-4, 13-33 to his inferior source B, which the reviser has wrongly inserted here instead of in its proper place after xii. 24, and has added vv. 5-12. Clemen in the same section, which he regards as an interpolation, assigns vv. 1-4, 13-18, 20-22, to his Redactor Judaicus, and vv. 5-12, 19, 23-33 to Redactor Antijudaicus. Clemen, like Spitta, holds that ver. 34 simply takes up again xiv. 28; further, he regards xxi. 17-20<sup>a</sup> as the source of xv. 1-4, but Jüngst cautiously remarks that there is nothing strange in the fact that an author should use similar expressions to describe similar situations (p. 146)—a piece of advice which he might himself have remembered with advantage on other occasions. Hilgenfeld's "author to Theophilus" plays a large part in the representation of the negotiations at Jerusalem in respect to the Conference and the Decree, and this representation is based, according to Hilgenfeld, upon the narrative of the conversion of Cornelius which the same author had formerly embellished, although not without some connection with tradition (*Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, p. 59 ff., 1896). Still more recently Wendt (1899) credits the author of Acts with a tolerably free revision of the tradition he had received, with a view of representing the harmony between Paul and the original Apostles in the clearest light: thus the speeches of Peter and James in xv. are essentially his composition; but Wendt concludes by asserting that it seems in his judgment impossible to separate exactly the additions made by the author of Acts from the tradition, another note of caution against hasty subjective conclusions.

CHAPTER XVI.—Ver. 1. καθήντης: only in Luke and Paul, nine times in Acts, four times in Paul, xviii. 19, 24, xx.



ἐπισηρρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας.<sup>1</sup> XVI. 1.<sup>2</sup> Κατήνησε δὲ εἰς Δέρβην καὶ Λύστραν· καὶ ἰδοὺ, μαθητὴς τις ἦν ἐκεῖ ὀνόματι Τιμόθεος, υἱὸς γυναικὸς τινος Ἰουδαίας πιστῆς, πατρὸς δὲ Ἑλλήνος· 2. ὃς ἐμαρ-

<sup>1</sup> At end of verse D, Gig., Vulg., Syr. H. mg. add παραδίδους τε καὶ ἐντολας τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ (ἀποστ. καὶ om. D, Cassiod) πρεσβυτέρων, so Blass in β and Hilg. (cf. vv. 5, 12 for omission of ἀποστολοὶ in β). The words look like an obvious addition, cf. xvi. 4, but Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 73, defends as "very interesting," as showing that whilst the mission of Judas and Silas was limited to Antioch, Paul was afterwards in person the bearer of the decree to the Churches in Syria and Cilicia; see however Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 173, 174; *C. R. E.*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Before εἰς Δ. καὶ with AB, Boh., Syr. Harcl. text, so W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, R.V. NAB 61 insert εἰς before Λ., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt. τινος om. with NABCD E 61, Vulg., many verss., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. After γυν. 25 (Gig., Prov., Wern.) has χήρας—Blass rejects. At beginning of verse D, Syr. Harcl. mg. (Gig., Cassiod.) prefix διελθὼν δε τα εθνη ταυτα, to show that Lystra and Derbe were not included in Syria and Cilicia, so also the καὶ in AB may point to the same reason; see Ramsay, *C. R. E.*, p. 87.

15, xxi. 7, xxv. 13, xxvi. 7, xxvii. 12, xxviii. 13, 1 Cor. x. 11, xiv. 36, Ephes. iv. 13, Phil. iii. 11. But whilst in St. Paul it is used in a figurative sense, it is used eight times by St. Luke of arriving at a place and making some stay there, cf. 2 Macc. iv. 21, 44. The fact that the verb is thus used frequently in the second part of Acts and not in i.-xii. is surely easily accounted for by the subjects of the narrative (Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 147).—εἰς Δέρβην καὶ Λ.: if we read εἰς before Λ., also (see critical note): "he came also to Derbe and to Lystra". The purpose was implied in xv. 36, but here places mentioned in the inverse order of xiv. 6 since coming from Cilicia through the "Cilician Gates" St. Paul would visit Derbe first, see Hastings' B.D., "Derbe" (Ramsay). The two places are grouped together as a *region* according to the Roman classification (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 110, 179). The second εἰς before Λ. marks that while Derbe is mentioned as a place visited, Lystra is the scene of the events in the sequel.—καὶ ἰδοὺ: indicating the surprising fact that a successor to Mark was found at once (so Weiss); whilst Hort still more significantly marks the form of the phrase by pointing out that St. Luke reserves it for sudden and as it were providential interpretations, *Ecclesia*, p. 179, cf. i. 10, viii. 17, x. 17, xi. 7: but however disheartening had been the rupture with Barnabas, in Timothy Paul was to find another "son of consolation," cf. Hort's comment on 1 Tim. i. 18 in this connection, *u. s.*, pp. 179-185. It must not however be forgotten that there are good reasons for seeing in Timothy not

the successor of Barnabas (this was Silas), but of Mark. It could hardly be said of one in the position of Silas that he was like Mark a ὑπηρέτης, on a mere subordinate footing, whereas on the other hand the difference of age between Barnabas and Timothy, and their relative positions to St. Paul would have naturally placed Timothy in a subordinate position from the first.—ἐκεῖ, i.e., at Lystra, most probably. The view that reference is made not to Lystra but to Derbe arises from supposing that in xx. 4 the word Δερβαῖος refers to Timothy and not to Gaius, the truth being that Timothy is not described because already well known. Certainly the fact that his character was testified of by those of Lystra, as well as St. Paul's reference to Lystra in 2 Tim. iii. 11, seems to favour Lystra as being at all events the home of Timothy, if not his birthplace. There is no reason why the Gaius mentioned as of Macedonia, xix. 29, should be identified with the Gaius of xx. 4. Gaius was a very common name, and in the N.T. we have apparently references to four persons bearing the name. Blass however refers Δερβαῖος in xx. 4 to Timothy.—υἱὸς γυναικὸς τ. Ἰουδ. πιστῆς π. δὲ Ε.: such marriages although forbidden by the law, Ezra x. 2, were sanctioned under certain conditions, cf. xxiv. 24 in the case of Drusilla, wife of Aziz, king of Emesa (see also C. and H., p. 203), who became a proselyte and actually accepted circumcision. In the Diaspora such marriages would probably be more or less frequent, especially if the husband became a proselyte. In this case even if he were ranked as one,

τυρεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Λύστροις καὶ Ἰκονίῳ ἀδελφῶν. 3. τοῦτον ἠθέλησεν ὁ Παῦλος σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξελθεῖν, καὶ λαβὼν περιέτεμεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τοὺς ὄντας ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις· ἤδεισαν

it could only have been as a "proselyte of the gate," otherwise Timothy would surely have been circumcised. We cannot argue from the fact that the boy had been trained in the Jewish Scriptures that his father was a proselyte, for the early training of the child was evidently the work of the mother, 2 Tim. iii. 15. But such a duty according to Jewish law rested primarily upon the father, and the fact that the father here is described as a Greek, without any qualifying adjective as in the case of the wife, indicates that he was a heathen, see Weiss, *in loco*; Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 115. The mother, Eunice (on spelling see Hastings' B.D.), may conceivably have been a proselyte, as the name is Greek, as also that of Lois, but Ἰουδ. seems to indicate that she was a Jewess by birth. Whether she was a widow or not we cannot say, although there is some evidence, see critical note, which points to the influence of some such tradition. On the picture of a Jewish home, and the influence of a Jewish mother, see Edersheim, *u. s.*—πιστῆς: Lydia uses the same term of herself in ver. 15. Both mother and son were probably converted in St. Paul's former visit, and there is no reason to suppose with Nösgen that the conversion of the latter was a proof of the growth of the Church in the Apostle's absence.

Ver. 2. ἐμαρτυρεῖτο, cf. vi. 3, x. 22, xxii. 12. The good report which may well have been formed to some extent by the aptitude and fitness which Timothy had shown in the Church during St. Paul's absence may also have helped the Apostle in the selection of his future companion. The union of Lystra and Iconium is quite natural for common intercourse, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 178. There is no reason to suppose with Rendall that Iconium would be the home of Eunice, as the synagogue and principal Jewish colony were there, see Edersheim, *u. s.*

Ver. 3. περιέτεμεν αὐτὸν: the act might be performed by any *Israelite*; cf. Gen. xvii. 23 for a similar phrase which may indicate that St. Paul performed the act himself. See also Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii., 674; the marriage and the exemption of Timothy from the Mosaic law may be regarded as typical of a relaxation of the exclusive Jewish standard in

Lycaonia and Phrygia, and an approximation of the Jew to the pagan population around him, confirmed as it is by the evidence of inscriptions.—διὰ τοὺς Ἰ.: the true answer to the objection raised against Paul's conduct may be found in his own words, 1 Cor. ix. 20 (cf. 1 Cor. vii. 19). As a missionary he would have to make his way amongst the unbelieving Jews in the parts which were most hostile to him, viz., Antioch and Iconium, on his road into Asia. All along this frequented route of trade he would find colonies of Jews in close communication, and the story of Timothy's parentage would be known (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 180). But if so, his own usefulness and that of Timothy would be impaired, since his Jewish countrymen would take offence at seeing him in close intercourse with an uncircumcised person (a reason which McGiffert admits to be conceivable, *Apostolic Age*, p. 232), and Timothy would have been unacceptable to them, since with a Jewish mother and with a Jewish education he would be regarded as one who refused to adhere to the Jewish rule: "partus sequitur ventrem" (see Wetstein and Nösgen), and to remedy the one fatal flaw which separated him from them: see, however, B. Weiss, *Die Briefe Pauli an T.*, Introd., p. 2, who disagrees with this reason, whilst he lays stress on the other reason mentioned above. On the other hand, both among unbelieving and Christian Jews alike the circumcision of Timothy would not fail to produce a favourable impression. Amongst the former the fact that the convert thus submitted even in manhood to this painful rite would have afforded the clearest evidence that neither he nor his spiritual father despised the seal of the covenant for those who were Jews according to the flesh, whilst the Christian Jews would see in the act a loyal adherence to the Jerusalem decree. It was no question of enforcing circumcision upon Timothy as if it were necessary to salvation; it was simply a question of what was necessary under the special circumstances in which both he and Paul were to seek to gain a hearing for the Gospel on the lines of the Apostolic policy: "to the Jew first, and also to the Greek"; "neque salutis æternæ causa Timotheus circumciditur, sed utilitatis,



γὰρ ἅπαντες<sup>1</sup> τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, ὅτι Ἑλλήν ὑπῆρχεν. 4.<sup>2</sup> ὥς δὲ διεπορεύοντο τὰς πόλεις, παρεδίδουν αὐτοῖς φυλάσσειν τὰ δόγματα τὰ κεκριμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ. 5. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι ἐστερεοῦντο τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἐπερίσσευον τῷ ἀριθμῷ καθ' ἡμέραν.

<sup>1</sup> NABC 13, 31, 180, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Aethwi.; W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt read ὅτι Ἑλλήν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρχεν; Blass, Hilg., Tisch. follow T.R. (DEHLP).

<sup>2</sup> D, Gig. read διερχόμενοι δε τὰς πόλεις; D, Syr. Harcl. mg. continue ἐκρυσσον αὐτοῖς μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, and D adds ἀμα παραδίδοντες καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς τῶν ἀποστ. . . ., see Weiss, Codex D, p. 85, who regards the addition as made to account for the growth of the Church described in ver. 5, but also cf. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 158.

Blass, cf. Godet, *Épître aux Romains*, i., pp. 43, 44; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 85-87; Knabenbauer, *in loco*. "There is no time in Paul's life when we should suppose him less likely to circumcise one of his converts," says McGiffert, *u. s.*, p. 233, but there were converts and converts, and none has pointed out more plainly than McGiffert that the case of Titus and that of Timothy stood on totally different grounds, and none has insisted on this more emphatically than St. Paul himself: ἄλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος, *Gal.* ii. 3. The case of Titus was a case of principle: Titus was a Greek, and if St. Paul had yielded, there would have been no need for the Apostle's further attendance at the conference as the advocate of freedom for the Gentile Churches. In the words Ἑλλήν ὢν, *Gal.* ii. 3, there may have been a tacit allusion to the different position of Timothy, whose parentage was different, and not wholly Gentile as in the case of Titus. For a defence of the historical nature of the incident as against the strictures of Baur, Zeller, Overbeck, Weizsäcker, see Wendt, 1898 and 1899, who regards St. Paul's action as falling under the Apostle's own principle, 1 Cor. ix. 19.—ὑπῆρχεν: Blass translates *fuera*, and sees in the word an intimation that the father was no longer living, otherwise we should have ὑπάρχει, cf. Salmon, *Hermathena*, xxi., p. 229.

Ver. 4. A proof of St. Paul's loyalty to the Jerusalem compact. The decree had not been delivered in Syria and Cilicia (where the letter had been already received), but in Galatia St. Paul delivers it. Wendt regards vv. 4 and 5 as interpolated by the author, who desires to give a universal importance to the decree which had previously been read to a few specified Churches (so too Spitta, Jüngst, Hilgenfeld, Clemen, who refers

the verses to his Redactor Antijudaicus). But St. Paul might well feel himself bound to deliver the decree to the Churches evangelised by him before the conference in Jerusalem. Weiss, therefore, is probably right in pointing out that as no mention is again made of any similar proceeding, the action was confined to the Pauline Churches which had been previously founded, Churches which were, as it were, daughter Churches of Antioch.—δόγματα: in the N.T. only in Luke and Paul (cannot be supported in Heb. xi. 23), and only here of the decrees of the Christian Church relative to right living, cf. Ignat., *Magnes.*, xiii., 1; *Didaché*, xi., 3. In 3 Macc. i. 3 it is used of the rules and requirements of the Mosaic Law, cf. its use by Philo, see further Plummer on Luke ii. 1, and Grimm, *sub v.* Dr. Hort refers the word back to xv. 22, ἔδοξεν, and so κεκρ. to κρίνω, xv. 19 (cf. xxi. 25), used by St. James. In these expressions he sees "more than advice," but "less than a command," and so here he regards "resolutions" as more nearly expressing the force of this passage, *Ecclesia*, pp. 81, 82; see however above on xv. 19.

Ver. 5. αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκ.: the last time ἐκκλησία is used by St. Luke, except of the Jerusalem Church, and in the peculiar case of the elders at Ephesus, Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 95. Rendall, *Appendix*, μὲν οὖν, p. 165, connects this verse with the following paragraph, cf. ix. 31, so apparently Blass in β.—ἐστερεοῦντο: only used in N.T. in Acts, cf. iii. 7, 16, and only here in this figurative sense, and it is very possible that St. Luke as a medical man might thus employ the verb which he had twice used in its literal sense, cf. similar instances in Hobart's *Introd.*, p. xxxii.; here as in vi. 7, ix. 31, we have the outward growth of numbers and the inward in the stead-

6.<sup>1</sup> Διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀγίου Πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, 7.<sup>2</sup> ἔλθοντες κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπείραζον κατὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν πορεύεσθαι· καὶ οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> διελθόντες HLP, . . . Chrys.; διελθον ᝲABCDE 61, Syrr. Pesh.-Harcl., Sah., Boh., Arm., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. This latter has therefore overwhelming evidence in its favour, however the passage may be interpreted. τὴν Γαλ., om. τὴν ᝲABCD 13, 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. Par. reads "Phrygiam et Galatie regiones," and so Blass in β: τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ τὰς Γαλατικὰς χώρας (i.e., "vicos Galatiæ"). Belser, following Blass, sees in the expression sufficient to destroy the South Galatian theory. cf. *Beiträge*, p. 74. But it can scarcely be said that this reading in Par. is of any special value.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλθόντες κατὰ, but δε after ἐλθ. in ᝲABC(D)E 13, 61, Vulg., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss. Blass and Hilg. read γενομενοι for ἐλθόντες. κατὰ τὴν B., but εἰς in ᝲABCD, Epiph., Did., Cyr., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. πορεύεσθαι CDHLP, so Hilg., but -θῆναι ᝲABE 31, 61, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt, Weiss. πνεῦμα, add Ἰησοῦ ᝲABC<sup>2</sup>DE, Vulg., Syrr. Pesh.-Harcl., Boh., Armcodd. 3, Aethut., Did., Cyr., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; for a gloss one would have added τὸ ἅγιον, cf. ver. 6, but the expression πνεῦμα I. is not found elsewhere in N.T. For ἐπείραζον D reads ἠθέλαν, so Blass in β, and Hilg.; see Ramsay, *C. R. E.*, p. 88.

fast holding of the faith, extensive and intensive.

Ver. 6. διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Φ. καὶ τὴν Γ. χώραν, see critical notes, and also additional note at the end of chap. xviii. If we follow R.V. text and omit the second τὴν, and regard both Φ. and Γ. as adjectives with Ramsay and Lightfoot (so Weiss and Wendt, cf. adjective Πισιδίαν, xiii. 14; but see also xviii. 23), under the *vinculum* of the one article we have one district, "the Phrygo-Galatic country," i.e., ethnically Phrygian, politically Galatian; see also Turner, "Chronology of the N.T.," Hastings' B.D., i., 422, and "The Churches of Galatia," Dr. Gifford, *Expositor*, July, 1894. But Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., 134, objects that if Ramsay sees in ver. 6 a recapitulation of the journey, and action in vv. 4 and 5, and includes under the term Phrygo-Galatia the places visited in the first missionary journey, we must include under the term not only Iconium and Antioch, but also Derbe and Lystra. But the two latter, according to xiv. 6, are not Phrygian at all, but Lycaonian. Ramsay, however, sufficiently answers this objection by the distinction which he draws between the phrase before us in xvi. 6 and the phrase used in xviii. 23: τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν. In the verse before us reference is made to the country traversed by Paul after he left Lystra, and so we have quite correctly the territory about Iconium and Antioch described as Phrygo-Galatic; but in xviii. 23 Lystra and Derbe are also included,

and therefore we might expect "Lycaono-Galatic and Phrygo-Galatic," but to avoid this complicated phraseology the writer uses the simple phrase: "the Galatic country," while Phrygia denotes either Phrygia Galatica or Phrygia Magna, or both, and see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 77 and 91-93, and *Expositor*, August, 1898. Dr. Gifford, in his valuable contribution to the controversy between Prof. Ramsay and Dr. Chase, *Expositor*, July 1894, while rejecting the North-Galatian theory, would not limit the phrase "the Phrygian and Galatian region" to the country about Iconium and Antioch with Ramsay, but advocates an extension of its meaning to the borderlands of Phrygia and Galatia northward of Antioch.—κωλυθέντες: a favourite word in St. Luke, both in Gospel and Acts, six times in each, cf. viii. 36, x. 47. How the hindrance was effected we are not told, whether by inward monitions, or by prophetic intimations, or by some circumstances which were regarded as providential warnings: "wherefore they were forbidden he does not say, but that they were forbidden he does say—teaching us to obey and not ask questions," Chrys., *Hom.*, xxxiv. On the construction of κωλυθ. with διήλθον (see critical notes) cf. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 89; *St. Paul*, p. 211; *Expositor* (Epilogue), April, 1894, and Gifford, *u. s.*, pp. 11 and 19. Both writers point out that the South Galatian theory need not depend upon this construction, whether we render it according to A.V. or R.V.,



εἶασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα. 8.<sup>1</sup> παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν, κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα. 9. καὶ ὄραμα διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὤφθη τῷ Παύλῳ<sup>2</sup>. ἀνὴρ τις ἦν Μακεδὼν ἐστὼς, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν καὶ λέγων, Διαβὰς εἰς

<sup>1</sup> For *παρελθόντες* D, Gig., Vulg. read *διελθόντες*, so Blass ("recte") in *α* and *β*. But the meaning of *παρελ.* is disputed. In its ordinary sense of "passing alongside" it can hardly stand, or even "passing along Mysia," i.e., on border of Mysia and Bithynia (Weiss, Codex D, p. 26), as the travellers to reach Troas would pass through Mysia, see below in comment. It seems unlikely that *διελθ.*, a common word, should be changed to *παρελθ.*—the converse is far more probable; see also Harris, *Four Lectures, etc.*, p. 83, note. For *κατέβησαν* D has *κατηντήσαν*: "nos venimus," Iren., iii., 14, 1; see especially Harris, *u. s.*, pp. 64, 65.

<sup>2</sup> In R.V. (ἀνὴρ) Μακεδὼν τις ἦν, so *ΞABCD*<sup>2</sup> 13, 31, 61, Vulg., so Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt; Μακ. τις, *om.* ἦν DE; so D reads also *εν οραματι*, and before ἀνὴρ D, Syr.-Pesh., Sah. insert *ὡσει*. After *ἐστὼς* D, Syr. Harcl. mg., Sah. add *κατα προσῶπον αὐτον*. Belser points out that the phrase occurs only in Luke, Luke ii. 31, Acts iii. 13, xxv. 16, and regards it as original; but see also Corssen, *u. s.*, pp. 436, 437, who compares *α* and *β*, and holds that in the latter the reviser has purposely added words for clearness in the description. Blass in *β* and Hilg. both read these additions.

see further Askwith, *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 46, 1899.

Ver. 7. *κατὰ τὴν Μ.*: "over against Mysia," R.V., i.e., opposite Mysia, or perhaps, on the outskirts of Mysia, cf. xxvii. 7, and Herod., i., 76, *κατὰ Σινώπην*, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 194, Wendt, p. 354 (1888), and Gifford, *u. s.*, p. 13. If we read *εἰς* for *κατὰ* (2), it means that they endeavoured to go out of Asia into the Roman province Bithynia on the north, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 195.—*ἐπε-ραζόν*: for a similar use of the verb cf. ix. 26, xxiv. 6.—τὸ Πνεῦμα, add Ἰησοῦ, see critical note. Doctrinally, the expression shows that the Spirit may be called the Spirit of Christ, *Rom.* viii. 9, or of Jesus, no less than the Spirit of God, *Rom.*, i. c., Matt. x. 20; see Westcott, *Historic Faith*, p. 106.

Ver. 8. *παρελθόντες*: "passing by Mysia." Ramsay renders "neglecting Mysia," cf. *St. Paul*, pp. 194, 196, 197, i.e., passing through it without preaching. McGiffert, p. 235, so Wendt (1899), following Ramsay. Rendall, p. 278, explains "passing along or alongside of Mysia," i.e., skirting it, the southern portion of it. The words cannot mean passing by without entering. Mysia was part of Asia, but there was no disobedience to the divine command, which, while it forbade them to preach in Mysia did not forbid them to enter it. Troas could not be reached without crossing Mysia; Blass sees this clearly enough (but note his reading): "non prætereunda sed transeunda erat Mysia, ut ad Ægæum mare venirent," Blass, *in loco*, cf. also

Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 76; Wendt (1899), *in loco*.—*Τρωάδα*: a town on the sea coast (Alexandria Troas, in honour of Alexander the Great), a Roman colony and an important port for communication between Europe and the north-west of Asia Minor, opposite Tenedos, but not to be identified with *New Ilium*, which was built on the site of ancient Troy, considerably further north. It was not reckoned as belonging to either of the provinces Asia or Bithynia, cf. also xx. 5, 2 Cor. ii. 13, 2 Tim. iv. 13; C. and H., pp. 215 and 544, Renan, *St. Paul*, p. 128, Zöckler, *in loco*.

Ver. 9. *καὶ ὄραμα*: used by St. Luke eleven times in Acts elsewhere (in N.T. only once, Matt. xvii. 19), three times in i.-xii., and eight times in xii.-xxviii. (see Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 144). But St. Luke never uses *ὄρα*; sometimes *ὄρ.* διὰ νυκτός as here, sometimes *ὄρ.* alone. It is quite arbitrary on the part of Baur, Zeller, Overbeck to interpret this as a mere symbolical representation by the author of the Acts of the eagerness of the Macedonians for the message of salvation; see as against this view not only Wendt and Zöckler but Spitta, p. 331. Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, ii., p. 189, 1896, thinks that the "author to Theophilus" here used and partly transcribed an account of one of the oldest members of the Church of Antioch who had written the journey of St. Paul partly as an eye-witness, and see for the question of the "We" sections Introduction.—ἀνὴρ τις ἦν M.: Ramsay,

Μακεδονίαν βοήθησον ὑμῖν. 10.<sup>1</sup> ὥς δὲ τὸ ὄραμα εἶδεν, εὐθέως ἐζητήσαμεν ἐξελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, συμβιβάζοντες ὅτι προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοὺς. 11. Ἀναχθέντες οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Τρωάδος, εὐθυδρομήσαμεν εἰς Σαμοθράκην, τῇ τε

<sup>1</sup> D, Sah. read διεγερθεὶς οὖν διηγήσατο τὸ ὄραμα ἡμῖν, and D continues καὶ ἐνοήσαμεν ὅτι προσκεκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ κ. εὐαγγελίσασθαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ, so Blass in β, and Hilg. Wendt (1899) refers to Corssen, *u. s.*, and regards addition as simply elaboration of the vision.

here in agreement with Renan, identifies this man with St. Luke, *St. Paul*, pp. 202, 203. But it can scarcely be said that anything in the narrative justifies this identification. Ramsay asks: Was Luke already a Christian, or had he come under the influence of Christianity through meeting Paul at Troas? and he himself evidently sympathises entirely with the former view. The probability, however, of previous intercourse between Luke and Paul has given rise to some interesting conjectures—possibly they may have met in student days when Luke studied as a medical student in the university (as we may call it) of Tarsus; in the passage before us the succeeding words in ver. 10 lead to the natural inference that Luke too was a preacher of the Gospel, and had already done the work of an Evangelist. Ramsay admits that the meeting with Luke at Troas may have been sought by Paul on the ground of the former's professional skill, p. 205. He further maintains that Paul could not have known that the man was a Macedonian unless he had been personally known to him, but surely the man's own words sufficiently implied it (Knabebauer), even if we do not agree with Blass, *in loco*, that Paul must have recognised a Macedonian by his dress. At all events it is quite unnecessary with Grotius (so Bede) to suppose that reference is made to the angel of Macedonia, "angelus Macedoniam curans," Dan. x. 12. On the importance of this verse in the "We" sections see Introduction: Ramsay, p. 200, Blass, *Proleg.*, p. x.

Ver. 10. εἰς Μ.: It is easy to understand St. Paul's eagerness to follow the vision after he had been twice hindered in his purpose, although it may well be that neither he nor St. Luke regarded the journey from Troas to Philippi as a passage from one continent to another continent—Macedonia and Asia were two provinces of the Roman empire, Ramsay, p. 199. But in the good Providence of Him Who sees with larger other eyes

than ours St. Paul's first European Church was now founded, although perhaps it is venturesome to say that the Gospel was now first preached on the continent of Europe, as the good tidings may have reached Rome through the Jews and proselytes who heard St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, *cf.* Acts ii. 9; see McGiffert's remarks, pp. 235, 236, on the providential guidance of St. Paul at this juncture, and Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays* "The Churches of Macedonia". —συμβιβάζοντες, see on ix. 22.

Ver. 11. ἀναχθέντες, see on xiii. 13. —εὐθυδρομήσαμεν: only in Acts here and in xxi. 1, nowhere else in N.T., not in LXX or Apocrypha but used by Philo, *cf.* St. Luke's true Greek feeling for the sea, Ramsay, p. 205. Strabo used εὐθύδρομος, p. 45, and elsewhere St. Luke's language may point to the influence of the great geographer; see Plumptre's *Introduction* to St. Luke's Gospel.—Σαμοθράκην: an island of the Ægean sea on the Thracian coast about half-way between Troas and Neapolis, but with adverse winds or calms the voyage from Philippi to Troas takes five days, xx. 6. Samothracia, with the exception of Mount Athos, was the highest point in this part of the Ægean, and would have been a familiar landmark for every Greek sailor, see C. and H., pp. 220, 221.—Νεάπολιν: modern *Cavalla*, the harbour of Philippi, lying some miles further north: Thracian, but after Vespasian reckoned as Macedonian; opposite Thasos, C. and H., p. 221; Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 139.—τῇ τε ἐπιούσῃ, *sc.*, ἡμέρᾳ, *cf.* xx. 15, xxi. 18, with ἡμέρᾳ added, vii. 26, xxiii. 11, so too in classical Greek, Polyb., Jos.; in N.T., phrase only found in Acts: mark the exact note of time.

Ver. 12. ἐκεῖθεν τε εἰς Φ.: on or near the site of Krenides (*Wells* or *Fountains*), so called from its founder Philip, the father of Alexander the Great. Near Philippi, Octavius and Anthony had decisively defeated Brutus and Cassius,



ἐπιούση εἰς<sup>1</sup> Νεάπολιν, 12. ἐκεῖθεν τε εἰς Φιλίππους, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη<sup>2</sup> τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις κολωνία.

Ἦμεν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει διατρίβοντες ἡμέρας τινάς, 13. τῇ τε ἡμέρᾳ τῶν σαββάτων ἐξήλθομεν ἔξω τῆς<sup>3</sup> πόλεως παρὰ ποταμόν, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι, καὶ καθίσαντες ἐλαλοῦμεν ταῖς συνελθούσαις

<sup>1</sup> Νεάπολιν, but Νεαν Πολιν  $\Sigma$ ABD<sup>2</sup>, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss; see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 37; D 137, Syr. Harcl. mg. prefix τῇ δε εἰς, so Blass and Hilg. If this is a revision, it is a further proof of the oft-recurring fact that the Western reviser takes nothing for granted.

<sup>2</sup> πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μ. πόλις κολωνία; om. τῆς before M.  $\Sigma$ ACE 31, 40, 61, 180, Tisch., W.H., R.V., but retained in BDHLP, so by Weiss; B has the article before M. instead of before μερίδος.  $\Sigma$ AC read πρώτη τῆς μερίδος Μακεδονίας π. κ.; B has πρώτη μερίδος τῆς Μακ.; D has κεφαλὴ τῆς Μακ. (so Hilg.). Blass in  $\beta$  (so Prov.) (see p. xx.) inserts πρώτης μερίδος τῆς Μακ. and rejects κεφαλὴ, which is read in D and Syr.-Pesh., Lat. *caput*, while μερίδος is omitted by D 137, Syr. Pesh. and Harcl.; see W.H., App., for Hort's conjecture, Πιερίδος; Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 50; Wendt, 1888 and 1899; and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 100, and *C. R. E.*, p. 156; see additional note at end of chapter.

<sup>3</sup> πόλεως, but πόλης  $\Sigma$ ABCD 13, 40, 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., W.H., R.V., Weiss, so Blass and Hilg.; πολ. may have been a marginal expl. of πόλης (see Alford and Wendt). ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι, so EHLP, Amm., Chrys., Theophyl., but Ramsay and Wendt both follow T.R.—Tisch., W.H., Weiss, R.V. prefer ἐνομίζομεν προσευχῇ, following  $\Sigma$ C 13, 40, 61, Boh., Aethro. ( $\Sigma$  ἐνομίζειν)—AB have ἐνομίζομεν προσευχῇ, but this may testify to the originality of the nom., so D ἐδοκεν προσευχῇ (Blass in  $\beta$ , so Hilg.); cf. Vulg., "videbatur oratio". In a text Blass conjectures οὐ ἐνομίζον ἐν προσευχῇ εἶναι. Weiss maintains that in AB the  $\nu$  in προσευχῇ has dropped out, and regards  $\Sigma$ C as unquestionably correct.

and to that event it owed the honour of being made a Roman colony with the *jus Italicum* (R.V., "a Roman colony"), or in other words, "a miniature likeness of the great Roman people," cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 51. Hence both in St. Luke's account of the place, and in St. Paul's Epistle we are constantly face to face with the political life of Rome, with the power and pride of Roman citizenship. But its geographical position really invested Philippi with its chief importance, thoroughfare as it was on the great Egnatian Way for the two continents of Europe and Asia. At Philippi we are standing at the confluence of the stream of Europe and Asiatic life; we see reflected in the evangelisation of Philippi as in a mirror the history of the passage of Christianity from the East to the West, Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 49; Renan, *St. Paul*, p. 140; McGiffert, *Apostolic Christianity*, p. 239; *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. iii., 580; C. and H., p. 202 ff.—πρώτῃ τῆς μερίδος, see Additional note. — κολωνία: "a Roman colony," R.V., there were many Greek colonies, ἀποικία or ἐποικία, but κολ. denoted a Roman colony, i.e., a colony enjoying

the *jus Italicum* like Philippi at this time, governed by Roman law, and on the model of Rome; see "Colony" in B.D.<sup>2</sup> and Hastings' B.D.—ἡμεν . . . διατρ., see above on i. 10; characteristic Lucan construction.

Ver. 13. πόλεως, see critical notes, and C. and H., p. 226, note.—παρὰ ποταμόν: "by a river side," A. and R.V., see critical notes; here Ramsay sees in the omission of the article a touch of local familiarity and renders "by the river side". On the other hand Weiss holds that the absence of the article merely denotes that they supposed they should find a place of prayer, since a river provided the means for the necessary purifications.—οὗ ἐνομ. προσευχῇ εἶναι, see critical notes: "where there was wont to be held a meeting for prayer" (Ramsay); on the nominative see above. A further difficulty lies in the word ἐνομίζετο. Can it bear the above rendering? Rendall, p. 103, thinks that it hardly admits of it; on the other hand Wendt and Grimm compare 2 Macc. xiv. 4, and see instances of the use of the passive voice in L. and S., Herod., vi., 138. Thuc., iv., 32. Wendt renders

γυναιξί. 14. Καί τις γυνή ὀνόματι Λυδία, πορφυρόπωλις πόλεως  
Θυατείρων, σεβομένη τὸν Θεόν,<sup>1</sup> ἤκουεν· ἥς ὁ Κύριος διήνοιξε τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἤκουεν, D\*E, Vulg., Chrys. read ἤκουσεν; Blass rejects.

"where there was according to custom a place for prayer". The R.V. reads οὐ ἐνομιζομεν προσευχὴν εἶναι, "where we supposed there was a place of prayer". There is very good authority for rendering προσευχή, "a place of prayer," cf. 3 Macc. vii. 20; Philo, *In Flacc.*, 6; Jos., *Vita*, 54, cf. also Juvenal, iii., 295, and Tertullian, *Adv. Nat.*, i., 13, etc. To these instances we may add a striking use of the word in an Egyptian inscription, possibly of the third century B.C., Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 49, 50, see also Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii. 542. No doubt the word occurs also in heathen worship for a place of prayer, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 69, E.T., cf. also Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 214. Where there were no synagogues, owing perhaps to the smallness of the Jewish believers or proselytes, there may well have been a προσευχή, and St. Luke may have wished to mark this by the expression he chooses (in xvii. 1 he speaks of a συναγωγή at Thessalonica), although on the other hand it must not be forgotten that προσευχή might be used of a large building capable of holding a considerable crowd (Jos., *u. s.*), and we cannot with certainty distinguish between the two buildings, Schürer, *u. s.*, pp. 72, 73. That the river side (not the Strymon, but a stream, the Gangas or Gangites, which flows into the larger river) should be chosen as the place of resort was very natural for the purpose of the Levitical washings, cf. also Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii., 11, and long before Tertullian's day the Decree of Halicarnassus, Jos., *Ant.*, xv., 10, 23, cf. Ps. cxxxvii. 1, Ezra vii. 15, 21, cf. Plumptre's note on Luke vii. 12.—ταῖς συναθροούσιν γυν.: "which were come together," R.V., *i. e.*, on this particular occasion; A.V. "resorted". It is noticeable that in the three Macedonian towns, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, women are specially mentioned as influenced by the Apostle's labours, and, as in the case of Lydia, it is evident that the women of Philippi occupied a position of considerable freedom and social influence. See this picture fully borne out by extant Macedonian inscriptions, which assign to women a higher social position in Macedonia

than was the case for instance in Athens, Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 55, 56; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 224, 227, 252. In this lies an answer to the strictures of Hilgenfeld, who regards the whole of ver. 13 as an interpolation of the "author to Theophilus," and so also the expression πορ. ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν, whereas it was quite natural that Paul should go frequently to the Jewish house of prayer.

Ver. 14. Λυδία: she may have taken her name "a solo natali," as Grotius and others have thought, like many of the *libertinae*, Afra, *Græca*, Syra; but the name was a popular one for women, cf. its frequent use in Horace. Renan takes it as meaning "the Lydian," and compares Κορινθία in inscriptions, *St. Paul*, p. 116, cf. also Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., 375, but on the other hand, Nösgen, *in loco*.—πορφυρόπωλις: a seller of purple at Philippi of the purple dyed garments from Thyatira, which formed the finest class of her wares. It is evident that she must have possessed a considerable amount of capital to carry on this trade, and we may note that she was thus in a position to help Paul in the expenses connected with his trial, without endorsing Renan's view that she was his wife, *St. Paul*, p. 148; see below on xxiv. 26. The expression σεβ. τὸν Θεόν shows that she was "a proselyte of the gate"; she could easily have gained her knowledge of the Jewish religion as she was πόλεως Θυατείρων where a Jewish colony had been planted, and there is reason to believe that the Jews were specially devoted to the dyeing industry for which Thyatira and the Lydian land in general were noted. Thus the inscriptions make it certain that there was a guild of dyers οἱ βαφεῖς at Thyatira, cf. Spohn, *Miscell. erud. ant.*, p. 113; Blass *in loco*; Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i., p. 145; Renan, *St. Paul*, p. 146, note; Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 376. According to Strabo, Thyatira was a Mysian town, but Ptolemy, v. 2, describes it as belonging to Lydia.—ἤκουεν: imperfect, denoting continuous hearing; the baptism would naturally follow after a period of hearing and instruction, "quod evenit aor. διήνοιξεν declaratur" Blass, see also Bengel.—διήνοιξε τὴν καρδίαν, cf. xvii. 3, Eph. i. 18; in LXX, cf. Hos. ii.



καρδίαν, προσέχειν τοῖς λαλουμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου. 15. ὥς δὲ ἐβαπτίσθη, καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς, παρεκάλεσε λέγουσα, Εἰ κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ Κυρίῳ εἶναι, εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου<sup>1</sup> μένιντε· καὶ παρεβιάσατο ἡμᾶς. 16. Ἐγένετο δὲ πορευομένων ἡμῶν εἰς προσευχήν,<sup>2</sup> παιδίσκην τινὰ ἔχουσαν<sup>3</sup> πνεῦμα Πύθωνος ἀπαντήσαι ἡμῖν, ἣτις ἐργασίαν πολλὴν παρέιχε τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτῆς μαντευομένη.

<sup>1</sup> μένιντε—μενετε NABDE 13, 61, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς π., but NABCE 13, 18, 40, 61, 180, Or. insert art. before π., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt (not Hilg.).

<sup>3</sup> πνευμα Πυθωνος, but acc. NABC<sup>2</sup>D\* 13, 33, 61, Vulg., Or., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; T.R. has in its favour C<sup>3</sup>D<sup>2</sup>EHL<sup>2</sup>P, tol., Syr. H. mg. gr., Chrys., Eustath., Lucif., Gig.

15 (17), 2 Macc. i. 4. The verb is frequent in St. Luke, Luke xxiv. 31, 32, 45, and in ii. 23 quotation, Acts vii. 56, xvii. 3; only once elsewhere in N.T., Mark vii. 34. "To open is the part of God, to pay attention that of the woman," Chrysostom: ὥστε καὶ θεῖον καὶ ἀνθρώπινον ἦν.—τοῖς λ. ὑπὸ τοῦ Π.: C. and H. see an indication of St. Luke's own modesty: "we spake" in ver. 13, but now only Paul is mentioned.

Ver. 15. ὁ οἶκος: as in the case of Cornelius, so here, the household is received as one into the fold of Christ, cf. ver. 33 and xviii. 8. We cannot say whether children or not were included, although we may well ask with Bengel: "quis credat in tot familiis nullum fuisse infantem?" but nothing against infant baptism, which rests on a much more definite foundation, can be inferred from such cases, "Baptism," Hastings' B.D., p. 242. Possibly Euodia and Syntyche and the other women, Phil. iv. 2, 3, may have been included in the familia of Lydia, who may have employed many slaves and freed women in her trade.—εἰ κεκρίκατε: almost=since you have judged me, viz., by my baptism; or εἰ if instead of ἐπεὶ chosen with delicate modesty.—μένιντε: this has been called the first instance of the hospitality which was afterwards so characteristic of the early Church, and enforced by the words of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. John alike; 1 Pet. iv. 9, Rom. xii. 13, 1 Tim. v. 10, etc., 3 John 5, cf. Clement, Cor., i. 17, and see Westcott on Heb. xiii. 2, Uhlhorn, *Charity in the Early Church*, pp. 91, 325, E.T.; "Hospitality" in B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* Another trait is thus marked in the character of Lydia, the same generosity which afterwards no doubt

made her one of the contributors to the Apostle's necessities, as a member of a Church which so frequently helped him.—παρεβιάσατο: only used by St. Luke, once in Luke xxiv. 29, in the same sense as here, cf. LXX, 1 Sam. xxviii. 23, Gen. xix. 9, 2 Kings ii. 17, v. 16 (A omits). The word expresses urgency, but not compulsion (in classical Greek it is used of violent compulsion). The word may imply that Paul and his companions at first declined, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9 (so Chrys., Bengel), although on occasion he accepted the aid of Christian friends, Phil. iv. 15, and the hospitality of a Christian host, Rom. xvi. 23; or it may refer to the urgent entreaty of Lydia in expression of her thankfulness.

Ver. 16. If we add the article τὴν, see critical note: "to the place of prayer," R.V.—πνεῦμα Πυθωνος: in R.V., accusative, see critical note, "a spirit, a Python," margin, i.e., a ventriloquist (Ramsay). The passage most frequently quoted in illustration is Plutarch, *De defectu Orac.*, ix., from which it appears that ventriloquists who formerly took their name from Εὐρυκλῆς a famous ventriloquist (cf. Arist., *Vesp.*, 1019) were called Πύθωνες. The word ἐγγαστριμύθος, ventriloquist (Hebrew בִּינִי), of which Πύθων is thus used as an equivalent, is the term employed in the LXX, Lev. xix. 31, xx. 6, 27, 1 Sam. xxviii. 7, etc., for those that have a familiar spirit (cf. also the use of the two words ἐγγαστρ. and Πύθων amongst the Rabbis, R. Salomo on Deut. xviii. 11, and instances in Wetstein), i.e., a man or a woman in whom is the spirit of divination; Gesenius uses בִּינִי for the divining spirit, the python, supposed to be present in the body of a sorcerer or conjurer,

17. αὕτη<sup>1</sup> κατακολουθήσασα τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ ἡμῖν, ἔκραζε λέγουσα,  
οὕτω οἱ ἄνθρωποι δούλοι τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου εἰσίν, οἵτινες

<sup>1</sup> κατακολουθουσα is read by  $\aleph$ BD 180, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Hilg.; but Blass in  $\beta$  follows T.R. ἡμῖν (2)— $\nu\mu\iota\nu$  is best supported,  $\aleph$ BDE, Vulg., Syrr. P. and H., Arm., Aethrr., Theodt., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; Meyer and Lach. follow T.R. (AC<sup>2</sup>HLP, Sah., Boh., Aethro., Or., Chrys., Eusth.). ἡμῖν would have been easily changed, as it seemed unfitting for the demons.

and illustrates from this passage in Acts, and adds that the LXX usually render  $\nu\beta\eta$  correctly by ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, *ventriloquists*, since amongst the ancients this power of ventriloquism was often misused for the purposes of magic. But in addition to ventriloquism, it would certainly seem from the narrative in Acts that some prophetic power was claimed for the maiden, *μαντευομένη*, so Blass in describing the ἐγγαστρ. "credebatur daemon e ventre illorum loqui et vaticinari," cf. τὴν Εὐρυκλέους *μαντεῖαν*, Arist., *u. s.*); so too Suidas explains Πύθων as δαυμόνιον *μαντικόν*, connecting the word directly with the Pythian serpent or dragon, the reputed guardian of the oracle at Delphi, slain by Apollo, the successor to the serpent's oracular power. If therefore the girl was regarded as inspired by the Pythian Apollo, the expression in T.R. simply expresses the current pagan estimate of her state; this is the more probable as the physicians of the time, *e.g.*, Hippocrates, spoke of the way in which some symptoms of epilepsy were popularly attributed to Apollo, Neptune, etc.; article "Divination," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., 490; C. and H., p. 231, smaller edition; Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 54; Plumptre and Wendt, *in loco*, and Page on the derivation of the word.—ἐργασίαν: only in Luke and Paul; A. and R.V. "gain," although primarily the word denotes work done, so Rendall, "business"; Wisdom xiii. 19 well illustrates its use here. The word is used of gain (*quæstus*), Xen., *Mem.*, iii., 10, 1.—τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτῆς, ver. 19, seems to imply not successive but joint owners (on the plural in Luke see Friedrich, p. 21).—μαντεν.: if Luke had believed in her power he would more probably have used *προφητεύειν*. *μαντεν.* used only here in N.T., but it is significant that in LXX it is always employed of lying prophets or of divination contrary to the law, *e.g.*, Deut. xviii. 10, 1 Sam. xxviii. 8 (9), Ezek. xiii. 6, xxi. 29 (34), Micah iii. 11, etc. The Greeks themselves distinguished

between the two verbs and recognised the superior dignity of *προφητεύειν*; *e.g.*, Plato contrasts the *μάντις* who more or less *rages* (cf. derivation *μανία, μανίωμα*, thus fitly used of Pythonesses, Sibyls, and the like) with the *προφήτης*, *Timæus*, 71 E, 72 A, B, Trench, *Synonyms*, i., 26.

Ver. 17. κατακολουθήσασα, but if we follow R.V. the present participle denotes that she continuously followed after (κατά), and kept crying (ἐκραζε). The verb is only used by St. Luke in N.T., cf. Luke xxiii. 35; in LXX, Jer. xvii. 16, Dan., LXX, ix. 10, 1 Esd. vii. 1, Jud. xi. 6, 1 Macc. vi. 23, but not in same literal sense as here; used by Polyb., Plut., Jos.—οὗτοι: placed emphatically first (see also Friedrich, pp. 10, 89). If we turn to the Gospel narratives of those possessed with evil spirits, as affording an analogy to the narrative here, we recall how Jesus had found recognition, cf. Mark i. 24, iii. 11, Luke iv. 41 (where the same verb, κράζω, is used of the ἐκάθαρτα πνεύματα καὶ δαυμόνια).—τοῦ Θ. τοῦ ὑψ.: similar title used by the demoniacs in Mark v. 7, Luke viii. 28; see Plumptre's note on former passage. Both Zeller and Friedrich note that Luke alone employs δ ὑψ. of God without any word in apposition, Luke i. 32, 35, 76, vi. 35, Acts vii. 48, and that we have the title with τοῦ Θεοῦ, both in his Gospel and Acts. (Heb. vii. 1, probably from Gen. xiv. 18.)—ἡμῖν— $\nu\mu\iota\nu$  very strongly supported, see critical note. But ἡμῖν might easily have been altered into  $\nu\mu\iota\nu$ , as the former would appear to be an unfitting expression for the evil spirit: but ἡμῖν may point to that disturbed and divided consciousness which seems to have been so characteristic of the possessed (Ederheim); at one time the girl was overmastered by the evil spirit who was her real Κύριος, at another she felt a longing for deliverance from her bondage, and in ἡμῖν she associates herself with those around her who felt a similar longing for some way of salvation, for we must by no means regard her as a mere impostor (Ramsay).



καταγγέλλουσιν ὑμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας. 18. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίει ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας. διαπονηθεὶς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος, καὶ ἐπιστρέψας, τῷ πνεύματι εἶπε, Παραγγέλλω σοι ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐξελεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἀπ' αὐτῆς. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ. 19. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ κύριοι αὐτῆς,<sup>2</sup> ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἐλπὶς τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτῶν, ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὸν Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σίλαν ἐλκυσαν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of ἐξελ. D has ἵνα ἐξελεθῆς; instead of ἐξ. αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ D has εὐθεως; so Blass in β, and Hilg. Belser strongly supports D, see his remarks, *Beiträge*, p. 77; Blass retains changes in β.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of ὅτι ἐξῆλθεν ἡ ἐλπὶς Blass and Hilg. read ὅτι ἀπεστερηνται τῆς ἐργ. αὐτῶν, and adds with D τῆς εἶχον δι' αὐτῆς; but this spoils the play on the ἐξῆλθεν, see below.

<sup>3</sup> ἀρχοντας, but Gig., Lucif. (not D), Blass ("recte"), read στρατηγους, omitting στρατηγοὺς in ver. 20.

Ver. 18. διαπονηθεὶς, only here and in iv. 2 in N.T.; its use in LXX in two passages only does not help us much, see iv. 2, and in classics it is not used in the sense required here. Aquila uses it four times of the Hebrew צַרַּר in passages

which show that the word may combine the ideas of grief, pain, and anger, Gen. vi. 6, xxxiv. 7, i Sam. xx. 3, 34. It may be noticed that the word and other compounds of πονεῖν are frequent in medical writers.—Παραγγέλλω, see on i. 4. The same strong word is used of our Lord, Luke viii. 29, where He charged another unclean spirit to come out.—ὀνόματι, see above on iii. 6, "Demonology," Hastings' B.D., where reference is made to Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.*, pp. 302-347, as to the belief in the powerful efficacy of the name, the name meaning to an ancient Semite personal power and existence.—ἐξελεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς: the phrase occurs in Luke much more frequently than in any other N.T. writer; nine times in his Gospel of the coming out of evil spirits, as here. Rendall sees in the phrase the medical accuracy of the writer in describing the process of the cure; the evil spirit must not only come out, but depart, pp. 104, 280; it must however be remembered that St. Matthew uses the same phrase twice of the departure of evil spirits from men, xii. 43, xvii. 18. Paul charges the evil spirit to depart; it departed, and with it departed the master's hope of gain (see also Weiss, *in loco*).—αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ: "that very hour," R.V., cf. xxii. 13, *eo ipso tempore*; peculiar to Luke, cf. Luke ii. 38, x. 21, xii. 12, xx. 19, xxiv. 33 (so too Friedrich, p. 37). We are not told anything further of the history of

the girl, but we may well believe that she too would partake of the generous help of Lydia, and of the other Christian women at Philippi, who would see in her no longer a bondservant to the many lords who had had dominion over her, but a sister beloved in the One Lord.

Ver. 19. ὅτι ἐξ. ἡ ἐλπὶς κ.τ.λ.: "The most sensitive part of 'civilised' man is his pocket," Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 237, and we can see how bitter was the hostility excited both here and at Ephesus when the new faith threatened existing pecuniary profits.—ἐπιλαβ.: here with hostile intent, see above on ix. 27 and further on xvii. 19.—ἐλκυσαν: with violence, so *ἔλκω* in James ii. 4 (Acts xxi. 30), cf. Saul before his conversion, viii. 3, *σύρων*. "Everywhere money the cause of evils: O that heathen cruelty! they wished the girl to be still a demoniac, that they might make money by her!" Chrys., *Hom.*, xxx., 5.—εἰς τὴν ἀγ.: where the magistrates would sit, as in the Roman *forum*.—ἄρχοντας . . . στρατηγούς: it is of course possible that the two clauses mean the same thing, and that the expressions halt, as Lightfoot and Ramsay maintain, between the Greek form and the Latin, between the ordinary Greek term for the supreme board of magistrates in any city *ἄρχοντες*, and the popular Latin designation *στρατηγοί*, *prætores* ("non licet distinguere inter *ἀρχ.* et *στρατ.*," Blass, so O. Holtzmann, Weiss, Wendt). But the former may mean the magistrates who happened to be presiding at the time in the *forum*, whereas the milder verb *προσαγαγόντες* may imply that there was another stage in the case, and that it was referred to the *στρατηγοί*, the *prætores* (as they

20.<sup>1</sup> καὶ προσαγαγόντες αὐτοὺς τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, εἶπον, Οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐκταράσσουσιν ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν, Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπάρχοντες·  
 21. καὶ καταγγέλλουσιν<sup>2</sup> ἔθῃ ἃ οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν παραδέχεσθαι οὐδὲ ποιεῖν, Ῥωμαίοις οὖσι. 22. καὶ συνεπέστη ὁ ὄχλος κατ' αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ στρατηγοί, περιβῶντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια, ἐκέλευον ῥαβδίξ-

<sup>1</sup> Gig., Lucif. read at beginning of verse καὶ προσηνεγκαν αὐτους λεγοντες; see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 217.

εθῇ, D reads τα εθνη, but Blass and Hilg. reject.

called themselves), because they were the chief magisterial authorities, and the accusation assumed a political form. Meyer and Zöckler, H. Holtzmann distinguish between the two, as if ἀρχ. were the local magistrates of the town, cf. πολιτάρχης, xvii. 6. In the *municipia* and *coloniae* the chief governing power was in the hands of *duoviri* who apparently in many places assumed the title of praetors, cf. Cicero, *De Leg. Agr.*, ii., 34, where he speaks with amusement of the *duoviri* at Capua who showed their ambition in this way, cf. Horace, *Sat.*, i., 5, 34. A *duumvir* of Philippi is a title borne out by inscriptions, Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 51, note; Felten, p. 315.

Ver. 20. οὗτοι, contemptuously Ἰουδ. ὄντες: If the decree of Claudius expelling the Jews from Rome had been enacted, it would have easily inflamed the minds of the people and the magistrates at Philippi against the Jews (cf. xviii. 2, so Holtzmann). Of the bad odour in which the Jews were held we have also other evidences, cf. Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, xxviii.; Juvenal, xiv., 96-106. On the attitude of the Romans towards the Jews see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xix. ff. It was of this intense feeling of hatred and contempt felt by Romans and Greeks alike that the masters of the maiden availed themselves: "causa autem alia atque praetextus caussae," Blass; the real cause was not a religious but a social and mercenary one, see above on ver. 19, and Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 131; where the accusation was brought on purely religious grounds, as, e.g., at Corinth, xviii. 13, the Roman governor declined to be judge of such matters.—ἐκταράσσουσιν: "exceedingly trouble" (ἐκ), cf. LXX, Ps. xvii. 4, lxxvii. 16, Wisd. xvii. 3, 4, see Hatch and Redpath, xviii., 7; Plut., *Cor.*, xix., more often in classical Greek, συνταράσσει.

Ver. 21. ἔθῃ: religious customs here; the charge ostensibly put forward was

really that of introducing a *religio illicita*, *licita* as it was for the Jews themselves. No doubt the fact that they were Jews presented in itself no ground of accusation, but their Jewish nationality would suggest the kind of customs with the introduction of which it would be easy to charge them, e.g., circumcision. The introduction of Jewish habits and mode of life included under ἔθῃ, cf. vi. 14, xxi. 21, would upset the whole social system, so that here, as on other occasions, the missionaries suffered from being identified with their Jewish countrymen.—οὐκ ἔξ. παραδέχεσθαι: Wetstein, *in loco*; Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, iii., 70, and see preceding verse, cf. xv. 5, xxi. 21. In LXX, cf. Exod. xliii.—Ῥωμαίοις οὖσι: in natural contrast (at the end of the sentence) to the despised Jews: as inhabitants of a Roman *colonia* they could lay claim to the proud title. On the force of ὑπάρχοντες and οὖσι see Alford's note *in loco*.

Ver. 22. συνεπέστη: only here in N.T., cf. xviii. 12, not in LXX, but cf. Num. xvi. 3, used in classical Greek, but not in same sense. No reason is given, but the ὄχλος would have been easily swayed by hatred of the Jews, and further incensed perhaps at finding an end put to their love of the revelations of fortune-telling.—περιβῶντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια, i.e., they rent off the garments of Paul and Silas; just as there is no change of subject before ἐπιθ., so here probably what was done by the lictors is said to have been done by the magistrates. There is no need to suppose with Bengel that the praetors tore off the prisoners' clothes with their own hands. Grotius (but see on the other hand Calvin's note *in loco*) takes the words as meaning that the praetors rent off their own clothes (reading αὐτῶν); so Ramsay speaks of the praetors rending their garments in horror at the ἀσέβεια, the impiety. But not only would such an act be strange on the part of Roman magistrates, but also



ειν· 23. πολλὰς τε ἐπιθέντες αὐτοῖς πληγὰς, ἔβαλον εἰς φυλακὴν, παραγγέιλαντες τῷ δεσμοφύλακι ἀσφαλῶς τηρεῖν αὐτούς· 24. ὃς παραγγελίαν τοιαύτην εἰληφώς, ἔβαλεν αὐτούς εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν φυλακὴν, καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἡσφαλίσατο εἰς τὸ ξύλον. 25. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον Παῦλος καὶ Σίλας προσευχόμενοι ὕμνουν τὸν Θεόν·

the verb seems to make against the interpretation; it means in classical and in later Greek to rend all round, tear off, *cf.* the numerous instances in Wetstein, and so it expresses the rough way in which the lictors tore off the garments of the prisoners. In 2 Macc. iv. 38 the word is used of tearing off the garments of another, see Wendt's (1888) note *in loco*.—*ραβδίσειν*: to beat with rods: thrice St. Paul suffered this punishment, 2 Cor. xi. 25, grievous and degrading, of a Roman scourging, *cf.* his own words in 1 Thess. ii. 2, *ὑβρισθέντες ὡς οἶδατε ἐν Φιλιπποῖς*. Nothing can be alleged against the truthfulness of the narrative on the ground that Paul as a Roman citizen could not have been thus maltreated. The whole proceeding was evidently tumultuary and hasty, and the magistrates acted with the high-handedness characteristic of the fussy provincial authorities; in such a scene St. Paul's protest may well have been made, but would very easily be disregarded. The incident in xxii. 25, which shows us how the Apostle barely escaped a similar punishment amidst the tumult and shouts of the mob in Jerusalem, and the instances quoted by Cicero, *In Verr.*, v., 62, of a prisoner remorselessly scourged, while he cried "inter dolorem crepitumque plagarum" "*Civis Romanus sum*", enables us to see how easily Paul and Silas (who probably enjoyed the Roman citizenship, *cf.* ver. 37) might have protested and yet have suffered.

Ver. 23. *δεσμοφύλακι*, Lucian, *Tox.*, 30; Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 5, 1, LXX *ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξ*, Gen. xxxix. 21-23, xl. 3 A, xli. 10 A (*cf.* the word *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ*, Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 93). Chrysostom and Oecumenius identify him with Stephanus, but he was the first-fruits of Achaia, 1 Cor. xvi. 15.

Ver. 24. *ἐσωτέραν*: comparative for superlative, as often in N.T. (Blass). Not necessarily underground, but a part of the prison which would have been further from such light and air as could be had.—*τὸ ξύλον*, Hebrew *יָד*, Job xxxiii. 11 (A *κυκλώματι*), *cf.* Arist., *Eq.*, 367, 393, 705; Herod., vi., 75; ix., 37; and

instances in Wetstein, Liv., viii., 28, Plaut., *Capt.*, iii., 70, Latin *pernus*. So Eusebius uses the word of the martyrs in Gaul (see Alford). In Jeremiah's case another and equivalent word is used in the Heb. xxix. 26=LXX *ἀπόκλεισμα*. The same Hebrew is used in 2 Chron. xvi. 10, where LXX has simply *φυλακή*.—*ἡσφαλίσατο*: only elsewhere in N.T. in Matt. xxvii. 64, 65, 66; in LXX and Polyb., *cf.* critical note, ver. 30 in β.

Ver. 25. *κατὰ δὲ τὸ μεσονύκτιον*: neuter of the adjective *μεσονύκτιος*, *cf.* xx. 7, Luke xi. 5, elsewhere only in Mark xiii. 35, often in medical writers, also in Arist., Strabo, Plutarch; in LXX, Judg. xvi. 3 A, Ruth iii. 8, Ps. cxviii. 62 (Isaiah lix. 10).—*προσευχόμενοι*, see on chap. xii. 12.—*ὑμνοῦν* with accusative Heb. ii. 12 only, *cf.* Ephes. v. 19, Col. iii. 16, Trench, *Syn.*, ii., 129. "Hoc erat gaudium in Spiritu sancto: in carcere ubi nec genua flectere, nec manus tollere poterant" Wetstein, *cf.* too the often-quoted words of Tertullian *Ad Martyres*, ii.: "Nihil crux sentit in nervo quum animus in celo est," and Chrys., *Hom.*, xxxvi., "This let us also do, and we shall open for ourselves—not a prison, but heaven. If we pray, we shall be able even to open heaven. Elias both shut and opened heaven by prayer."—*ἐπηκροῶντο*: used by Plato (Comicus), and referred to by Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 73, as one of the rare words mainly colloquial common to N.T. and the comic poets; it occurs also in Lucian, and in *Test.*, xii., *Patr.* Not found in LXX (but the cognate noun of hearing so as to obey in 1 Sam. xv. 22). But it is peculiar to St. Luke in N.T., and it was the technical word in medical language for auscultation; the word might therefore naturally be employed by him to denote attentive hearing as God "gave songs in the night". Both verbs *ὑμν.* and *ἐπηκ.* are in the imperfect; they were singing, and the prisoners were listening, when the earthquake happened.

Ver. 26. *ἄφνω*, see on ii. 2.—*σεισμός*, *cf.* iv. 31, where the divine nearness and presence were manifested in a similar manner; the neighbourhood and the period were conspicuous for such con-

ἐπηκροῶντο δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ δέσμιοι. 26. ἄφνω δὲ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο μέγας, ὥστε σαλευθῆναι τὰ θεμέλια τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου<sup>1</sup>. ἀνεψῆχθησαν τε παραχρῆμα αἱ θύραι πᾶσαι, καὶ πάντων τὰ δεσμὰ<sup>2</sup> ἀνέθη. 27. ἔξυπνος δὲ γενόμενος ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ, καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνεωγμένας τὰς θύρας τῆς φυλακῆς, σπασάμενος<sup>3</sup> μάχαιραν ἔμελλεν ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖν, νομίζων ἐκπεφευγῆναι τοὺς δεσμίους. 28. ἐφώνησε δὲ φωνῇ μεγάλῃ ὁ Παῦλος λέγων, Μηδὲν πράξεῖς σεαυτῷ κακόν· ἅπαντες γὰρ ἔσμεν ἐνθάδε.

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεψῆχθησαν, but BCD 31, 33, 40, 180; so Lach., Alford, W.H., Blass, Weiss Hilg. have ἠνεψῆχθησαν, whilst NA<sup>26</sup> 13, 54, 61, Or., Tisch have ἠνοιχθησαν; Wendt cannot decide. παραχρῆμα om. B, Lucif., Gig., so Blass; Hilg. retains

<sup>2</sup> ἀνέθη, NA<sup>1D1</sup> ἀνελυθη, so Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> μάχαιραν, BCD 61\* prefix την, so Lach., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Blass, Hilg.

vulsions of nature, cf. Plumptre on Matt. xxiv. 7, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 221.— παραχρῆμα, see critical notes.—ἀνεψῆχθησαν τε . . . αἱ θύραι πᾶσαι: any one who has seen a Turkish prison, says Prof. Ramsay, will not wonder at this; "each door was merely closed by a bar, and the earthquake, as it passed along the ground, forced the door-posts apart from each other, so that the bar slipped from its hold, and the door swung open," and see further description on same page.—ἀνέθη, cf. xxvii. 40, nowhere else in N.T. in same sense; in LXX we have the same collocation of words in Mal. iv. 2. See also for the phrase, Plut., *Alex.*, 73; see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 101. If we ask, Why did not the prisoners escape? the answer is that a semi-Oriental mob would be panic-stricken by the earthquake, and there is nothing strange in the fact that they made no dash for safety; moreover, the opportunity must have been very quickly lost, for the jailor was not only roused himself, but evidently called at once to the guard for lights; see Ramsay's description, *u. s.*, and the comments of Blass, *in loco*, and Felten, note, p. 318, to the same effect as Ramsay, that the prisoners were panic-stricken, and had no time to collect their thoughts for flight.

Ver. 27. ἔξυπνος: only here in N.T., once in LXX, 1 Esd. iii. 3, of Darius waking from sleep.—μάχαιραν: article omitted in T.R., see critical note. Weiss thinks that the omission occurs since in xii. 2, and five times in Luke, no article is found with μάχαιρα. την = his sword, cf. Mark xiv. 47.—ἤμελλεν, cf. iii. 3, v. 35, xii. 6, etc., characteristic Lucan word, see Friedrich, p. 12. The act was quite natural, the act of a man who had lost in his terror his self-control (Weiss).—

ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖν: to avoid the disgraceful fate which would be allotted to him by Roman law, according to which the jailor was subjected to the same death as the escaped prisoners would have suffered (Wetstein, *in loco*), cf. xii. 19, xxvii. 42.—νομίζων, see on vii. 25. It seems hypercritical to ask, How could Paul have seen that the jailor was about to kill himself? That there must have been some kind of light in the outer prison is evident, otherwise the jailor could not have even seen that the doors were open, nor is there any difficulty in supposing that Paul out of the darkness of the inner prison would see through the opened doors any one in the outer doorway, whilst to the jailor the inner prison would be lost in darkness. Moreover, as Blass notes, Paul may have heard from the jailor's utterances what he meant to do: "neque enim tacuisse putandus est" (see also Ramsay, Felten, Hackett, Lumby, *in loco*).

Ver. 28. μηδὲν πράξ. σεαυτῷ κακόν: Blass remarks that the distinction between πράσσειν and ποιεῖν is not always precisely observed in N.T., and takes it as = Attic, μ. ποιησῆς. πράσσειν is not found in St. Matthew or St. Mark and only twice in St. John, whilst by St. Luke it is used six times in his Gospel, thirteen times in Acts, elsewhere in N.T. only by Paul. Philippi was famous in the annals of suicide (C. and H.); see also Plumptre's note *in loco*.—ἅπαντες γὰρ ἔ: "Multa erant graviora, cur non deberet se interficere; sed Paulus id arripit, quod maxime opportunum erat" Bengel.

Ver. 29. φῶτα: "lights," R.V., plural, and only in plural in later Greek, cf. 1 Macc. xii. 29, of fires in a military encampment; "the prisoners' chains were



29.<sup>1</sup> αἰτήσας δὲ φῶτα εἰσепήδησε, καὶ ἔντρομος γενόμενος προσέπεσε τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ τῷ Σίλᾳ· 30. καὶ προαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἔξω,<sup>2</sup> ἔφη, Κύριοι, τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ; 31. οἱ δὲ εἶπον, Πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου. 32. καὶ ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ. 33. καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς ἔλουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν, καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες παραχρῆμα· 34. ἀναγαγὼν τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, παρέθηκε τράπεζαν, καὶ ἡγαλλιάσατο πανοικί πεπιστευκῶς τῷ Θεῷ.

<sup>1</sup> At beginning of verse Blass in β prefixes ακουσας δε ο δεσμοφυλαξ (*quo auditō cust. carc. Gig., Wer.*).

<sup>2</sup> D, Syr. H. mg. add (καὶ) τοὺς λοιποὺς ασφαλισαμένους after ἔξω, see on this touch Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 222, who accepts it as most prob. genuine, retained by Blass and Hilg.; Syr. H. mg. adds "appropinquavit et" (*προσῆλθεν* in β).

<sup>3</sup> του K., W.H. text, R.V. marg., Blass, Wendt, Weiss, following Ξ<sup>B</sup>, read Θεου; see Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 5.

loosed, and worse chains were loosed from himself; he called for a light, but the true heat was lighted in his own heart" Chrys., *Hom.*, xxxvi.—εἰσепήδησε, cf. xiv. 14, ἐκπ., both verbs only in Luke in N.T. In LXX, cf. Amos v. 19, Sus., ver. 26, especially the latter, found also in classical Greek.—ἐντρομος γεν., see above.—προσέπεσε: he may have known of the words of the maiden, ver. 17, and recognised their truth in the earthquake, and in the calmness and demeanour of Paul; hence too his question.

Ver. 30. Κύριοι, in respect, cf. John xx. 15.—ἵνα σωθῶ; the word of the maiden σωτηρία and the occurrence of the night may well have prompted the question. The context, ver. 31, seems to indicate the higher meaning here, and the question can scarcely be limited to mere desire of escape from personal danger or punishment. On the addition in D see critical note.

Ver. 31. ἐπὶ τὸν K.: "non agnoscunt se dominos" Bengel—they point him to the One Lord.—οἶκος . . . οἰκία: the first word is most frequently used in Attic Greek, and in the N.T. for household, cf. ver. 15, but both words are used in Attic, and in the N.T., for *familia*. σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου: "and thou shalt be saved, thou and thy house," R.V., not as if his faith could save his household, as A.V. might imply, but that the same way was open to him and to them (Alford, see also Meyer-Wendt, and Page).

Ver. 32. καὶ ἐλάλησαν: before baptism instruction.

Ver. 33. ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ τῆς νυκτὸς, cf. ver. 18, "at that hour of the night"; the jailor will not delay for a moment his first Christian duty, Matt. xxv. 36.—ἔλουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν: "and washed them of their stripes," Ramsay; i.e., the stains of the wounds caused by the lictors (for similar construction of λούειν ἀπὸ see Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 54). Hobart, p. 112, compares Galen's words, τὸ αἷμα τοῦ τετραμμένου μέρους ἀποπλύναι.—καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες: for the bearing of the words on Infant Baptism, see on ver. 15. It may of course be said that the expression evidently implies the same persons who are instructed in ver. 32, but it cannot be said that the phrase may not include any other members of the household. The two washings are put in striking juxtaposition: the waters of baptism washed the jailor from deeper stains and more grievous wounds than those of the lictors' rods, Chrys., *Hom.*, xxxvi.—παραχρῆμα, emphatic, see above on p. 106.

Ver. 34. ἀναγαγὼν τε αὐτοὺς: τε closely connects this second proof of his thankfulness with the first ἀναγ.: "he brought them up into," R.V.; Blass thinks that the ἀνά means that he brought them up from underground, but it may simply mean that the house was built over the prison; see also Knabenbauer in loco.—παρέθηκε τράπ.: the phrase is a classical one, so in Homer, also in Polyb.; so in Homer a separate table is assigned to each guest, *Odys.*, xvii., 333; xxii., 74. But the word is also used as implying the meal on the table see L,

35. Ἡμέρας δὲ γενομένης<sup>1</sup> ἀπέστειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς ῥαβδούχους λέγοντες, Ἀπόλυσον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους. 36. ἀπήγγειλε δὲ ὁ δεσμοφύλαξ τοὺς λόγους τούτους πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον, Ὅτι ἀπεστάλκασιν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἵνα ἀπολυθῇτε· νῦν οὖν ἐξελθόντες πορεύεσθε<sup>2</sup> ἐν εἰρήνῃ. 37. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔφη πρὸς αὐτούς,<sup>3</sup> Δείραντες ἡμᾶς δημοσίᾳ, ἀκατακρίτους, ἀνθρώπους Ῥωμαίους ὑπάρχοντας, ἔβαλον εἰς φυλακὴν, καὶ νῦν λάθρα ἡμᾶς ἐκβάλλουσιν; οὐ γάρ· ἀλλὰ ἐλθόντες αὐτοὶ

<sup>1</sup> D, Syr. H. mg., after γεν., add *συνηλθον οι στρατηγοι επι το αυτο εις την αγοραν και αναμνησθεντες τον σεισμον τον γεγονοτα εφοβηθησαν*, so Blass in β, and Hilg. Belser and Zöckler both defend this and subsequent additions in D as valuable in explanation of the sudden change of resolve on the part of the magistrates; but see also Weiss, Codex D, p. 86, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 223. After *εκεινους* D 137, Syr. Harcl. add *ους εχθες παρελαβες*.

<sup>2</sup> After *πορευεσθε* Blass and Hilg. omit *εν ειρηνη*, following D and Gig.

<sup>3</sup> At beginning of verse Blass, following D, prefixes *αναιτιους* (so Hilg.), but brackets *ακατακριτους*.

and S., cf. Tobit ii. 2, *παρετίθη μὲν ἡ τράπεζα*, S. Ps. lxxvii. 20. Paul makes no question about sitting at meat with the uncircumcised (Weiss).—*ἡγαλλιάσατο*: it is suggestive that St. Luke uses the cognate noun of this same verb to describe the intense exulting gladness of the early Church at Jerusalem in their social life, ii. 46—here was indeed an Agape, a Feast of Love, cf. 1 Pet. i. 6, 8, iv. 13 (Matt. v. 12, Rev. xix. 7); in St. Luke the word occurs twice in his Gospel, i. 47, x. 21, and in Acts ii. 26, quotation (see above); not found in classical Greek, but formed probably from *ἀγάλλομαι*, Hellenistic, often in LXX. At the same time the word *πεπιστευκώς*, perfect participle, shows that this fulness of joy was caused by his full profession of belief; it was the joy of the Holy Ghost which followed on his baptism: "rejoiced greatly with all his house, having believed on the Lord," *gaudebat quod crediderat*, Blass (reading imperfect *ἡγαλλιάτο*, see critical note). See also Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 194 (1893).—*πανοικί* (-ει, W.H., App., p. 154), cf. *παραπληθεί*, Luke xliii. 18. In LXX the word is found, Exod. i. 1, but A has -κία 3 Macc. iii. 27, where A has also -κία. On St. Luke's fondness for *πᾶς* and its related forms see Friedrich, p. 6. The form preferred in Attic is *πανοικισίς*. The word in text is found in Jos., Philo, and in Plato, *Eryx.*, p. 392 C., cf. Blass, *in loco*, and *Proleg.*, p. 19.

Ver. 35. *ἀπέρ.* οἱ στρατηγοί: we are not told the reason of this sudden change in the action of the prætors, and no

doubt the omission may fairly account for the reading in D, see critical notes. At the same time it is quite characteristic of St. Luke to give the plain facts without entering upon explanations. Meyer thinks that they were influenced by the earthquake, while Wendt rather inclines to the view that they were incited to this action, so inconsistent with their former conduct, by fresh intelligence as to their own hasty treatment of the missionaries; Ramsay combines both views, and see also *St. Paul*, p. 224, on the contrast brought out by St. Luke, and also on the Bezan text; see to the same effect Zöckler, *in loco*. Blass accounts for the change of front on the part of the prætors by supposing that they saw in the earthquake a sign that they had insulted a foreign deity, and that they had therefore better dismiss his servants at once, lest further mischief should result.—τοὺς ῥαβ.: "the lictors" R.V. margin, apparently as the *duoviri* aped the prætors, so the lictors carried the *fascies* and not the *baculi*, cf. Cicero, *De Leg. Agr.*, ii., 34; Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 493; Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and references in Wetstein: *διὰ τί λικτώρεις τοὺς ῥαβδούχους ὀνομάζουσιν*; Plut., *Quæst. Rom.* 67.

Ver. 36. *νῦν οὖν*, Lucan, cf. x. 33, xv. 10, xxiii. 15.—*ἐν εἰρήνῃ* (omitted by D): the jailor may well have used the words in a deeper sense after the instruction of Paul, and his own admission to citizenship in a kingdom which was "righteousness, peace, joy in the Holy Ghost".

Ver. 37. *Δείραντες ἡμᾶς δ.*: in flagrant violation of the Lex Valeria, B.C. 509, and the Lex Porcia, B.C. 248; see also Cicero,



ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγέτωσαν. 38. ἀνήγγειλαν δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς οἱ ῥαβδοῦχοι τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα. <sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν ἀκούσαντες ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοί εἰσι, 39. καὶ ἔλθόντες παρεκάλεσαν αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐξαγαγόντες ἡρώτων

<sup>1</sup> D reads at beginning of verse καὶ παραγενομενοι μετα φίλων πολλων εἰς τη φυλακην (εις τ. φ. 137, Syr. H. mg.). After ἐξελεῖν the same authorities continue εἰποντες Ἠγνοησαμεν τα καθ' υμας οτι εστε ανδρες δικαιοι. D then continues (137, Syr. H. mg., Ephr.) καὶ ἐξαγαγοντες παρεκαλεσαν αυτοις λεγοντες. Εκ της πολως ταυτης εξελθατε, μηποτε παλιν συστραφωσιν ημιν επικραζοντες καθ' υμων (so practically the other authorities above, followed here by Blass in β, and Hilg.). Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 224, points out that the Bezan text hits off the situation with obvious truth, and the way in which in the Ægean cities the weak municipal government was always a danger to order, "one would gladly think this Lucan". Belser draws attention to the fact that συστραφ. has a parallel in Acts xxiii. 12; see Harris, *Four Lectures, etc.*, pp. 26, 27, for Ephraem's commentary on vv. 35-37, 39, and likenesses to the Bezan text. Schmiedel, *Encycl. Bibl.*, p. 52, regards this passage as plainly derived from a fusion of two texts, and as militating strongly against Blass.

*In Verrem*, v., 57, 66, it was the weightiest charge brought by Cicero against Verres. To claim Roman citizenship falsely was punishable with death, Suet., *Claud.*, xxv. — ἀκατακρίτους: "uncondemned" gives a wrong idea, cf. also xxii. 25, although it is difficult to translate the word otherwise. The meaning is "without investigating our cause," *res incognita*, "causa cognita multi possunt absolvi; incognita quidem condemnari nemo potest," Cicero, *In Verrem*, i., 9, see also Wetstein, *in loco*. The word is only found in N.T., but Blass takes it as = Attic, ἀκριτος, which might be sometimes used of a cause *not yet tried*. The rendering "uncondemned" implies that the flogging would have been legal after a fair trial, but it was illegal under any circumstances, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 224. — δημοσίᾳ contrasted with λάθρα, so a marked contrast between ἔβαλον εἰς φυλ. and ἐκβάλλουσιν. — Ῥωμαῖους ὑπάρχοντας: "Roman citizens as we are," the boast made by the masters of the girl, ver. 21. St. Paul, too, had his rights as a Roman citizen, see below on xxii. 28. The antithesis is again marked in the Apostles' assertion of their claim to courtesy as against the insolence of the prætors — they wish ἐκβάλλειν λάθρα; nay, but let them come in person (αὐτοί), and conduct us forth (ἐξαγαγέτωσαν). — οὐ γὰρ: *non profecto*; Blass, *Grammatik*, pp. 268, 269, "ut sæpe in responsis," see also Page, *in loco*. — ἔξαγ.: not only his sense of justice, but the fact that the public disgrace to which they had been subjected would seriously impede the acceptance of the Gospel message, and perhaps raise a prejudice to the injury of

his Philippian converts, would prompt Paul to demand at least this amount of reparation. Wetstein's comments are well worth consulting.

Ver. 38. ἀνήγγειλαν, see critical notes. — ἐφοβήθησαν, so the chief captain, xxii. 29; and no wonder, for the illegal punishment of Roman citizens was a serious offence. If convicted, the magistrates would have been degraded, and incapable in future of holding office; cf. Cicero, *In Verrem*, v., 66; *Rep.*, ii., 31; and see Blass, note on xxii. 29, Grotius, *in loco*, and O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 99. In A.D. 44 the Rhodians had been deprived by Claudius of their privileges for putting some Roman citizens to death (*Speaker's Commentary, in loco*).

Ver. 39. See addition in D, critical note. The fear of a further riot expressed by the magistrates is exactly what we should expect in the cities of the Ægean lands, which were always weak in their municipal government. D also expresses the naïve way in which the magistrates not only try to throw the blame upon the people, but wanted to get out of a difficulty by procuring the withdrawal from the city of the injured parties, Ramsay, *u. s.*, p. 224. The Greek pointedly and dramatically expresses the change in the whole situation: ἔλθόντες — παρεκάλεσαν — ἐξαγαγόντες ἡρώτων! (Wendt).

Ver. 40. εἰς, see critical notes; they would not leave the city without once more visiting the household out of which grew the Church dearest to St. Paul; see Lightfoot's remarks on the growth of the Church from "the Church in the house," *Philippians*, pp. 57, 58. — ἐξῆλθον: the third person indicates that the narrator of the

ἐξελθεῖν τῆς πόλεως. 40. ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν· καὶ ἰδόντες τοὺς ἀδελφούς,<sup>1</sup> παρεκάλεσαν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐξῆλθον.

<sup>1</sup> After ἀδελφούς D adds διηγήσαντο ὅσα ἐποίησεν Κύριος αὐτοῖς, so Blass in β, and Hilg.

"We" section, xvi. 9, 10, remained at Philippi, Timothy probably accompanying Paul and Silas. In xx. 5 we again have ἡμᾶς introduced, and the inference is that St. Luke remained at Philippi during the interval, or at least for a part of it; and it is reasonable to infer that he laboured there in the Gospel, although he modestly refrains (as elsewhere) from any notice of his own work. The Apostle's first visit to Philippi represented in epitome the universality of the Gospel, so characteristic of St. Luke's record of our Lord's teaching, and so characteristic of the mind of St. Paul. Both from a religious and social point of view the conversions at Philippi are full of significance. The Jew could express his thankfulness in his morning prayer that God had not made him a Gentile—a woman—a slave. But at Philippi St. Paul taught in action the principle which he enforced in his Galatian Epistle, iii. 28, and again in writing to the Colossians, iii. 11: "Christ was all and in all"; in Him the soothsaying slave-girl, the proselyte of Thyatira, the Roman jailor, were each and all the children of God, and fellow-citizens with the saints, Lightfoot, Introduction to *Philippians*; Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 15, 26, 137 (second edition).

The narrative of St. Paul's visit to Philippi has been made the object of attack from various quarters. Most of the objections have been stated and met by Professor Ramsay, and a summary of them with their refutation is aptly given in a recent article by Dr. Giesecke (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1898) described at length in the *Expository Times*, March, 1898, see also Knabenbauer, pp. 292, 293. The view that the narrative is simply a fiction modelled upon the escape of St. Peter in iv. 31 and xii. is untenable in face of the many differences in the narratives (see the points of contrast in Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 315, 316). (Schneckenburger in his list of parallels between Peter and Paul in Acts apparently makes no mention of the supposed parallel here.) Zeller's attempt to connect the narrative with the story in Lucian's *Toxaris*, c. 27, is still more absurd, cf. Zöckler, *Apos-*

*telgeschichte*, p. 262 (second edition), and Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 501, whilst more recently Schmiedel (1898) attempts to find a parallel in Euripides, *Bacchæ*, 436-441, 502, 602-628, see Wendt's note, p. 282 (1899). Weizsäcker boldly refuses to admit even the imprisonment as a fact, and regards only the meeting of Paul with the soothsayer as historical. But it should be noted that he allows the Apostle's intercourse with Lydia and his instruction of the women to be genuine historical incidents, and he makes the important remark that the name of Lydia is the more credible, since the Philippian Epistle seems to support the idea that women received Paul and contributed to the planting of the Church (*Apostolic Age*, i., 284, E.T.). Holtzmann represents in a general manner the standpoint of modern advanced criticism, when he divides the narrative of the events at Philippi into two parts, the one concerned with events transacted under the open heaven, belonging not only to the "We" source but bearing also the stamp of reality, whilst the other part is not guaranteed by the "We" source, and is full of legendary matter. Thus vv. 25-34 are dismissed as a later addition, and Ramsay's fresh and careful explanations are dismissed by Holtzmann as "humbug"! *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, No. 7, 1899.

Additional Note.—Chap. xvi. 12, "which is a city of Macedonia, the first of the district," R.V. This *might* mean, so far as πρώτη is concerned, that Philippi was the city nearest in the district, and the city which they first reached. Neapolis, which actually came first on the route, was not generally regarded as Macedonian but Thracian; so Lightfoot, Rendall, O. Holtzmann. Or it might also mean that it was "the chief" (A.V.), the leading city of its division of Macedonia (Ramsay). Here again Ramsay sees a proof of St. Luke's intimate acquaintance with the rivalries of the Greek cities, and of his special interest in Philippi. In B.C. 167 the province Macedonia had been divided by the Romans into four districts, *μειρά*, and even if this division were obsolete at the time, another would be



XVII. 1. ΔΙΟΔΕΥΣΑΝΤΕΣ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ ἡ Ἀπολλωνίαν, ἦλθον εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην, ὅπου ἦν ἡ συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν before Ἀπολ. ῬABE 13, 40, 61, 180, 80 Tisch., W.H., Weiss. ἡ before συν. om. ῬABD 13, 40, 61, 180, Sah., Boh., Arm., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Zöckler, Blass, Hilg.

likely to succeed to it (so Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 158, as against Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 50, who takes πρώτη as denoting not the political but the geographical position of Philippi.) At this time Amphipolis was the chief (πρώτη) city of the district to which both it and Philippi belonged, but though Amphipolis held the rank, Philippi claimed the same title, a case of rivalry between two or even three cities which often occurred. This single passage Ramsay regards as conclusive of the claims of Philippi, see *St. Paul*, p. 207, and *Cities and Bishopricks of Phrygia*, ii., 429. As to whether μερίς can be used in the sense of a division of a province, cf. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 158, and the instances quoted from Egypt, and also *Expositor*, October, 1897, p. 320, as against Hort's limitation of the term. Hort, W.H., App. 96 (to whose view Rendall inclines, cf. also Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 375), thinks that μερίςδος must be a corruption, and proposes Πιερίδος, Pieria being an ancient name of that part of Macedonia; but he declines to draw any positive conclusion in its favour. Wendt, following Meyer, regards πρώτη as signifying rank, and so far he is in agreement with Ramsay. But as Amphipolis was really the chief town of the district, he contends that πόλις κολωνία might be taken as one phrase (see also Hackett, Overbeck, Weiss, Holtzmann), and so he regards the whole expression as signifying that Philippi is spoken of as the most considerable colony-town in that district of Macedonia, whilst he agrees with Hort and Lightfoot in maintaining that πρώτη is only classical as an absolute title of towns in Asia Minor. This Ramsay allows, but the title was frequent in Asia and Cilicia, and might easily have been used elsewhere, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 156; Holtzmann quite admits that the term may have been applied as in Asian towns to signify the enjoyment of certain privileges. For Ramsay's criticism of Codex D, which substitutes κεφαλὴ τῆς M. and omits μερίςδος altogether, see *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 156, 157, and *Expositor*, u. s., κεφαλὴ being evidently

substituted because the term πρώτη is ambiguous, and so liable to be misunderstood. Blass himself finds fault with D, and also considers πρώτη wrong, not only because Amphipolis was superior in rank, but because Thessalonica was called πρώτη Μακεδόνων, *C. T. Gr.*, 1967. But this would not prevent the rivalry amongst other towns in the various subdivisions of the province. Blass reads in β πρώτης μερίδος (a reading which Lightfoot thinks might deserve some consideration, though unsupported, if the original Roman fourfold division of the provinces were still maintained, see above, p. 355), and takes it as referring to Philippi as a city of the first of the four regiones.

CHAPTER XVII.—Ver. 1. διοδεύσαντες δὲ: "and they went along the Roman road" (Ramsay): verb only found in Luke, Luke viii. 1, and here, but frequent in LXX, and used also by Polyb. and Plut., cf. Gen. xiii. 17, etc., so in 1 Macc. three times. The famous road, the *Via Egnatia*, Horace, *Sat.*, i., 5, 97, extended for a distance of over five hundred miles from the Hellespont to Dyrrhachium; it was really the continuation through Macedonia of the *Via Appia*, and it might be truly said that when St. Paul was on the Roman road at Troas or Philippi, he was on a road which led to the gates of Rome; see some interesting details in C. and H., p. 244. The article "certam atque notam viam designat," Blass, *in loco*, and *Gram.*, p. 149, but see also Weiss, *in loco*.—Ἀμφ., thirty-two or thirty-three miles from Philippi. The *Via Egnatia* passed through it (cf. C. and H., and Hackett, *in loco*). The import of its name may be contained in the term applied to it, Thuc., iv., 102, περιφανής, conspicuous towards sea and land, "the all around [visible] city"; or the name may simply refer to the fact that the Strymon flowed almost round the town, Thuc., u. s. Its earlier name, "Nine Ways," Ἐννία ὁδοί, Thuc., i., 100; Herod vii., 114, indicated its important position, and no doubt this occasioned its colonisation by the Athenians in B.C. 437. In the Peloponnesian War it was famous as the scene of the battle in which both Brasidas

2. κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἰωθὸς τῷ Παύλῳ εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία<sup>1</sup> διελέγετο αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, 3. διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος, ὅτι τὸν Χριστὸν ἔδει παθεῖν καὶ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ νεκρῶν, καὶ ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> διελέξατο (*προ-λέγετο*, which Meyer retains)  $\Sigma$ AB 13, 61, 103, Syrr. P. and H., Boh., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; *διελεχθη*, Hilg. with D.

and Cleon fell, Thuc., v., 6-11, whilst for his previous failure to succour the place Thucydides had himself been exiled (Thuc., i., 26). From the Macedonians it passed eventually into the hands of the Romans, and in B.C. 167 Æmilius Paulus proclaimed the Macedonians free and Amphipolis the capital of the *first* of the four districts into which the Romans divided the province (Liv., xlv., 18, 29). In the Middle Ages *Popolia*, now *Neochori*: B.D.<sup>2</sup> and Hastings' B.D., C. and H. The route may well have been one of the most beautiful of any day's journey in St. Paul's many travels, Renan, *St. Paul*, pp. 154, 155.—*Ἀπολλωνίαν*: to be carefully distinguished from the more celebrated Apollonia in Illyria—apparently there were three places in Macedonia bearing this name. The *Antonine Itinerary* gives it as thirty miles from Amphipolis, and thirty-seven from Thessalonica, but the other authorities, for example, the *Jerusalem Itinerary*, differ a little. The *Via Egnatia* passed through it, and the name is probably retained in the modern *Pollina*. It is quite possible that the two places are mentioned as having formed St. Paul's resting-place for a night, see references above.—*Θεσσαλονίκη*: *Saloniki*; formerly *Therme*; the name had been most probably changed by Cassander in honour of his wife Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great, Polyb., xxiii., 4, 4. Under the Romans it became the capital of the *second* of the four districts of Macedonia Provincia (Liv., xlv., 29), and later it was made the metropolis of the whole when the four districts were united into one. It was the largest as well as the most populous city in Macedonia, and like Ephesus and Corinth it had its share in the commerce of the Ægean. From its geographical position it could not cease to be important; through the Middle Ages it may fairly be described as the bulwark of Christendom in the East, and it still remains the second city in European Turkey. St. Paul, with his usual wisdom, selected it as marking a centre of civilisation and government in the district: "posita in gremio imperii

Romani," as Cicero says. C. and H., p. 247 ff.; Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 151; Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 253 ff.; Schaff-Herzog, *Encycl.*, iv.—*δπου ἦν ἡ συν.*: implying that there was no synagogue at Amphipolis or Apollonia, the former being a purely Hellenic town, and the latter a small place. *δπου* may = *οὐ* simply, but if distinguished from it implies *oppidum tale in quo esset* (as in distinction to the other places named); see Wendt and Blass. In Agrippa's letter to Caligula we have plain evidence of the existence of Jews in Macedonia, O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 180; Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., E.T., pp. 222, 232. As the name remains in the modern *Saloniki*, *manent Judaei quoque* (Blass), C. and H., 250, see also in this connection, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 236.

Ver. 2. κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς: phrase peculiar to St. Luke, only here and in Luke iv. 16. St. Paul follows his usual principle: "to the Jew first".—*ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία*: "for three Sabbath days" or "weeks," R.V., margin, the latter strongly supported by Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., 152. This may be the exact period of work *within* the synagogue. For *ἐπὶ* cf. iii. 1, iv. 15, xiii. 31, xvi. 18, etc.; Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*, p. 152, used in the "We" sections, and also predominantly, though not exclusively, in the rest of Acts or Luke or either of them; see on Acts xxvii. 20, xxviii. 6; Klostermann, *Vindiciae Lucanæ*, p. 53; see also Blass, *Gram.*, p. 133.—*διελέγετο αὐτοῖς*: he reasoned, rather than disputed, as the word is sometimes rendered—ten times in Acts, seven times rendered by R.V., "reasoned," cf. also Heb. xii. 5, and twice "discoursed," xx. 7, 9, once only "disputed," xxiv. 12, cf. Jude 9. Here the word may point to a conversational intercourse between St. Paul and his fellow-countryman (cf. ver. 17 and Mark ix. 34); so Overbeck, Holtzmann, Wendt, on the force of the verb with the dative or *πρός*. That such interchange of speech could take place in the synagogue we learn from John vi. 25, 29, Matt. xii. 9. In classical Greek with the dative or *πρός* the word means to converse with,



οὗτός ἐστιν<sup>1</sup> ὁ Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς, ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. 4. καὶ  
τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπείσθησαν, καὶ προσεκληρώθησαν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ  
τῷ Σίλῳ, τῶν τε<sup>2</sup> σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων πολὺ πλῆθος, γυναικῶν τε τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ο Χρ. l., so HLP and most mins., Theophyl., but B has ο Χρ. ο l., so W.H. text, Weiss, Wendt, R.V., Blass in α; ξ, so Vulg. Clem., Syr. Pesh., Boh., Arm. codd. have l. Χρ.; AD Χρ. l., so Tisch., W.H. marg., so Hilg. with comma after X.; Χρ. ο l., so E 32, 177, 180. Probably the many changes arose from the unusual description in B with the double article.

<sup>2</sup> σεβ. Ελλ., AD 13, 40, 61, Vulg., Boh., Gig. have σεβ. καὶ Ελλ., so Lach. This reading is defended by Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 235, and Hilgenfeld, *Zw. Th.*, 1896, p. 198, so in 1899, *Acta Apost.* (but not by Blass in β text); see notes in comment. Wendt (1899) finds a solution of the reading in the wish to express that Paul won converts amongst other Gentiles than the proselytes. γυναικῶν τε, but D, Gig. καὶ γυναῖκες τῶν πρ. οὐκ ολιγ. Probably the reviser took πρῶτων as referring only to the men, and thought that the expression meant "wives of the chief men" (so too Weiss explains the words), and then altered above to bring out this sense more clearly. πρῶτων of course could be taken as masc., but better to refer it to γυν. = εὐσχ., xiii. 50, xvii. 12 (Wendt, 1899). Belser, however, pp. 81, 82, strongly supports the originality of D; he points out that in Acts we never have the expression τῶν πρ. used of women, and that the reading in D harmonises with the thought that the influence of these women as wives of the leading citizens may account for the mild treatment of the Apostles.

to argue, and thus in Xen., *Mem.*, i., 6, 1, ii., 10, 1, we have the construction διαλ. π. τινι or πρὸς τινα to discuss a question with another, so that the word might easily have the meaning of arguing or reasoning about a question, but not of necessity with any hostile intent; even in Heb. xiii. 5 it is the fatherly παράκλησις which reasoneth with sons. Blass supports the imperfect as in T.R., *Gram.*, p. 186.—ἀπὸ γραφῶν, i.e., drawing his proofs from them, or if a discussion is meant, starting from them; Winer-Moulton, xlvii., Grotius, so Overbeck, Kuinoel, Weiss, Wendt take the word with διανοίων.

Ver. 3. διανοίων, sc., αὐτάς, a favourite word with St. Luke, cf. xvi. 14; here, as in Luke xxiv. 32, 45, he alone uses it of making plain to the understanding the meaning of the Scriptures, "opening their meaning".—καὶ παρατιθ. "and quoting to prove" (Ramsay), i.e., bringing forward in proof passages of Scripture; so often amongst profane writers in a similar way, instances in Wetstein; lit., the word means "to set forth," and this was the older English meaning of *allege*; in middle voice, to set forth from oneself, to explain; to quote in one's own favour, as evidence, or as authority, "Non other auctour *allege* I," Chaucer, *Hours of Fame*, 314.—τὸν Χ. ἔδει παθεῖν: "that it behoved the Christ to suffer," R.V., cf. Luke xxiv. 25, 46; now as ever "to

the Jews a stumbling-block," see above on p. 113, and cf. xxvi. 23; so also in writing to the Thessalonian Church the Apostle insists on the same fundamental facts of Christian belief, 1 Thess. iv. 14.—καὶ ὅτι οὗτος κ.τ.λ.: "and that this Jesus whom, *said he*, I proclaim unto you is the Christ," R.V. adds ὁ before ἰ. The words *said he* are inserted because of the change of construction, cf. i. 4, xxiii. 22, Luke v. 14, specially frequent in Luke. On St. Paul's preaching that "Jesus was the Christ," and what it involved, see *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 307 ff.

Ver. 4. προσεκληρώθησαν: "there were in addition gathered to them" (Ramsay), giving the verb a passive meaning answering to its form; or "these were allotted to them, associated with them, as disciples [by God]," cf. Ephes. i., 11. The verb is often used in Philo, also found in Plutarch, Lucian, but only here in N.T. Mr. Rendall, while pointing out that the A.V. and R.V. "consorted" gives the impression of outward association only, regards the passive aorist as a middle in meaning, and renders "threw in their lot with Paul and Silas". According to A.V. and R.V., W.H., Weiss, and Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 89, two classes seem to be mentioned besides the Jews, viz., devout Greeks, and some of the chief women. According, however, to Ramsay, comparing A and D (see p. 235, *St. Paul*),

πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι. 5. ζηλώσαντες δὲ οἱ <sup>1</sup> ἀπειθοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ προσλαβόμενοι τῶν ἀγοραίων τινὰς ἄνδρας πονηροὺς, καὶ ὄχλοποιήσαντες, ἐθορύβουν τὴν πόλιν· ἐπιστάντες τε τῇ οἰκίᾳ Ἰάσονος,

<sup>1</sup> ἀπειθοῦντες om. **ABE**, Vulg., Syr. P. H., Sah., Boh., Arm., Aethpp., so Tisch., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, W.H.; προσλ. δε οἱ 1. οἱ ἀπειθ. HLP; reading in T.R. very ill supported; and there are other variations. Probably ἀπειθ. is an addition after xiv. 2. D reads οἱ δε ἀπειθ. 1. συνστρεψάντες (συστροφή occurs twice in Acts, not elsewhere in N.T., but not συστρέφω in sense demanded here), so Blass in β, and Hilg. ἀγαγεῖν, but προ- **AB**, Vulg., Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, W.H., R.V., Blass in β; Meyer follows T.R. with HP; προσεγ. in E; ἀναγαγ. in L; ἐξαγαγ. in D, so Hilg.

we have three classes besides the Jews, viz., proselytes, Greeks, chief women (added as a climax), see critical note, but also McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 247. The difficulty in T.R. and authorities first mentioned is that their rendering restricts St. Paul's work not only to three Sabbaths or weeks, but to the synagogue and its worshippers, whereas from 1 Thess. i. 9, ii. 14, it would appear that the Church contained a large number of converted heathens. McGiffert thinks it possible that St. Luke may have only recorded the least important of Paul's labours, just as he only mentions his work in three Macedonian towns, whereas he may easily have laboured over a wider area, 1 Thess. i. 7; but see Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, ix., 6, and on the reading, Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 152. In any case it would seem that a small minority of Jews is contrasted with a large number of born Gentiles, so that the Thessalonian Church may have been spoken of by St. Paul as one of Gentile Christians, who had been opposed not only to Christianity, but earlier still to Judaism, 1 Thess. i. 9, 10.—γυν. τε τῶν πρώτων οὐκ ὀλίγαι: here, as at Philippi and Berea, the three Macedonian towns, the prominence assigned to women quite in accordance with what we know from other sources; see above. The mention both here and in ver. 12 that the women were the leading high-born women intimates that the poorer women would follow the men of the lower orders, ver. 5. Dr. Hort regards the women here as the Jewish wives of heathen men of distinction, as in xiii. 50, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 89, but in xiii. 50 the opposition to the Apostles proceeds from these women of the higher classes, and it seems much more likely that those mentioned here were Macedonian women.

Ver. 5. ἀπειθ., see critical note.—ζηλώσαντες: the jealousy is apparent,

whether the word is read or not (cf. β), a jealousy aroused not only by the preaching of a Messiah, but also by the success of such preaching.—προσλαβ., cf. xviii. 26 for similar sense of the verb, cf. 2 Macc. viii. 1, x. 15.—τῶν ἀγοραίων . . . πον.: "certain vile fellows of the rabble," R.V.; πον. translated in A.V. "lewd" (A.-S. loewede) means simply "people," hence (1) the common people and (2) the ignorant and rude among the people, cf. Spenser, *Shep. Kal. Feb.*, 245: "But little ease of thy lewd tale I tasted" (Skeat); and in the sense of vicious, Ezek. xvi. 27, A. and R.V. (see Lumby's note *in loco*—the German *Leute* is the word nearest akin to it.)—ἀγορ.: hangers-on in the market-place; Blass renders "tabernarii alique in foro versantes," see instances in Wetstein (Aristophanes, Xen., Plut.), who compares "canalicolæ" hodie *canaille*. In Latin, subrostrani, subbasilicani; Germ. Pflastertreter, our *Loafer*, Grimm-Thayer, *Farrar, St. Paul*, i., 513, and Nösgen, *in loco*. On the distinction sometimes but probably fancifully maintained between ἀγοραῖος and ἀγόραιοι, see Alford on xix. 38; Wendt (1888), *in loco*; Winer-Schmiedel, p. 69; Grimm-Thayer, *sub v*. For the accent of πονηρός see also Winer-Schmiedel, *u. s.*—τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἰ. in which the Apostles were lodging, or in which the Christian assemblies were held. We know nothing further for certain of this Jason, cf. Rom. xvi. 21 where a Jason is mentioned as a companion of Paul, and amongst his συγγενεῖς. If he was a Jew, as is most probable, we may infer that his Jewish name was Joshua or Jesus, but that he used the name Jason, the nearest Greek equivalent, in his intercourse with Greeks and Hellenists; cf. for a similar change of the two names 2 Macc. i. 7, iv. 7, and cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xii., 5, 1, where we read that Jason's real name was Joshua, but that he changed it into the



ἐξήτουν αὐτοὺς ἀγαγεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον· β. μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς, ἔσυρον τὸν Ἰάσονα καὶ τινὰς ἀδελφοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας, βοῶντες, Ὅτι οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες, οὗτοι καὶ ἐνθάδε παρέειναι, γ. οὓς ὑποδέδεκται Ἰάσων· καὶ οὗτοι πάντες ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων

former, owing no doubt to his Hellenising; see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 184, note; Wendt and Zöckler express themselves doubtfully, and hold that the name may be here a Greek name, and its bearer not a Jew at all.—ἐπιστάντες, cf. iv. 1, vi. 12, Friedrich, p. 87.—δῆμον: to a public meeting, or to the crowd who shall inflict vengeance on them, there and then (so Weiss, Lumby); C. and H. take it of the free assembly of the people, so Ramsay. A true cause does not need such methods or supporters, "non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis".

Ver. 6. ἔσυρον: the word indicates the violence of the mob.—πολιτάρχας: the word is an excellent instance of the accuracy of St. Luke; it is not used by any classical author of the magistrates of any city (in classical Greek we have only the form *πολιάρχος* and *πολιταρχος*), but an inscription on an arch spanning a street of the modern city has been preserved containing the title (and also containing the names which occur among the names of St. Paul's converts, Sospiter, Gaius, Secundus), see Böckh, *C. I. Gr.*, 1967. The arch is assigned to the time of Vespasian, and the entablature, preserved by the British consul at the instance of Dean Stanley in 1876 is in the British Museum, see Blass, *in loco*, *Speaker's Commentary*, C. and H. (small edition), p. 258, Knabebauer *in loco*, and for other inscription evidence, Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., 151. But more recently Burton (*Amer. Jour. of Theol.*, July, 1898, pp. 598-632) has collected no less than seventeen inscriptions on which the word *πολιτάρχαι* or *πολιταρχοῦντες* (*πολιεταρχ-*), the latter more frequently, occurs: of these thirteen are referred to Macedonia, and of these again five to Thessalonica, extending from the beginning of the first to the middle of the second century, A.D. The number of the politarchs in Thessalonica varies from five to six (see *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1899, 2, for notice of Burton's article by Schürer), and on spelling, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 82 note.—τὴν οἰκουμένην: no doubt in the political sense "the Roman Empire" since the charge was a political one, and was naturally exaggerated through jealousy

and excitement. There is therefore no need for the hypercritical remarks of Baur, Zeller, Overbeck, against the truthfulness or accuracy of the expression.—ἀναστατώσαντες: only in Luke and Paul, xxi. 38, Gal. v. 12, see LXX, Dan. vii. 23 (in a different sense), Deut. xxix. 27, Græc. Venet. (Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*), and several times in the O.T., fragments of Aquila, Symmachus, and in Eustathius, see also Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.* οὗτοι, contemptuous.

Ver. 7. ὑποδέδεκται: no notion of secrecy as Erasmus and Bengel, but as in Luke x. 38, xix. 6; only found in these three passages in Luke, and in James ii. 25, cf. LXX, Tob. vii. 8, Jud. xiii. 13 (see Hatch and Redpath for both instances), 1 Macc. xvi. 15, and 4 Macc. xiii. 17, often in classical Greek without any notion of secrecy.—οὗτοι πάντες: the words may be taken as referring not only to Jason and the accused, but with Alford, "all these people," i.e., Christians wherever found.—ἀπέναντι: only here in N.T. in this sense (common in LXX and Apocrypha, so also Polyb., i., 86, 3), cf. Ecclus. xxxvi. (xxxiii.) 14.—δογματῶν, see on xvi. 4. The word may here refer to the successive decrees of the emperors against treason, and there is no need to refer it in this passage to the decree of Claudius, see on xviii. 2, but rather to the Julian *Leges Majestatis*.—β. λέγοντες ἕτερον εἶναι: this was the charge, the political charge of high treason, brought against our Lord Himself by the Jews, Luke xxiii. 2, John xix. 12, 15. The nature of this charge may fairly point to a Jewish source, for the Jews thought of the Messiah as a king, and in their hostility to Paul they could easily accuse him of proclaiming Jesus or another king, another emperor (Ramsay), instead of Caesar; so McGiffert on this passage, "whose trustworthiness can hardly be doubted" (*Apostolic Age*, p. 246). The Epistles to the Thessalonians contain passages which might be as easily perverted in the same direction, 1 Thess. ii. 12, iv. 14, v. 2, 23; 2 Thess. i. 5-8, or the fact that Jesus was so often spoken of as *Κύριος*, "that deathless King Who lived and died for men," might have given colour to the charge, cf. on the

Καίσαρος πράττουσι, βασιλέα λέγοντες ἕτερον εἶναι,<sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦν. 8. ἐτάραξαν δὲ τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας ἀκούοντας ταῦτα· 9. καὶ λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανὸν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰάσονος καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς. 10. Οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοὶ εὐθέως διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν τε Παῦλον καὶ τὸν Σίλαν εἰς Βέροϊαν· οἵτινες παραγενόμενοι, εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Before Ἰησοῦν Blass reads *τινα ποτε* (*nescio quem*) with Gig., and cod. Lat. Sangermanensis ap. Berger. Cf. xxv. 19.

coincidence and accuracy of the Acts and 1 Thess. ii. 14-16, Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, ix., 5, and McGiffert, *u. s.*

Ver. 8. ἐτάραξαν: the people would be disturbed at intelligence which might point to a revolution, and the politarchs, lest they should themselves be liable to the same charge of treason for not defending the honour of the emperor. No charge would be more subtle in its conception, or more dangerous in the liabilities which it involved, cf. Tacitus, *Ann.*, iii., 38.

Ver. 9. λαβόντες τὸ ἱκανὸν = *satis accipere* (cf. Mark xv. 15, and Wetstein, *in loco*). Blass regards the phrase as a commercial one, due to the frequency of commercial intercourse, and cf. v. 31, xviii. 15, xix. 38 (xxiv. 24, β); properly a pecuniary surety, or sureties, here security for good behaviour from Jason and the others, that nothing illegal should be done by them, and certainly nothing against the majesty of the emperor. The words have been explained as meaning that securities were given for the production of the Apostles, and that thus Jason and his friend, by sending them off at night, ran a risk of their lives (Chrys., Grotius), or that the Apostles should not be sheltered any longer, or that they should be obliged to depart at once. Evidently the magistrates did not consider the evidence very weighty=ἀπέλυσαν αὐτούς.

Ver. 10. εὐθέως . . . ἐξέπεμψαν: there was need of immediate action, either in obedience to the direct charge of the magistrates that Paul should not come again to Thessalonica, or from danger of a revival of the tumult. That St. Paul left Thessalonica with grief and pain is evident from 1 Thess. ii. 17-20, but he felt that the separation was necessary at least for a time. But still he looked back upon Thessalonica and his work with an ungrudging affection, and his converts were his glory and joy. In the opening words of his First Epistle, i. 7 (cf. 2 Thess. i. 4, 2 Cor. viii. 1), he speaks

in a way which not only implies that his own work extended further in and from Thessalonica than the Acts alone enables us to learn, but that the furtherance of the Gospel was due to the Thessalonians themselves. See McGiffert, p. 255, on St. Paul's quiet hand-to-hand work at Thessalonica. For it was not only in the synagogue that St. Paul laboured, as in the message of the Gospel was formal and official, but amongst them who were working like himself for their daily bread, 1 Thess. ii. 9, 2 Thess. iii. 8, see Ramsay's note, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 85, on St. Paul's work at Thessalonica. The phrase "night and day," 1 Thess. ii. 9, need not imply, as the *Speaker's Commentary*, that Paul had only the Sundays for preaching, because his other days were so fully occupied; but the phrase means that he started work before dawn, and thus was able to devote some of the later part of the day to preaching. On the striking parallel between the characteristics of the Thessalonians of St. Paul's Epistles and the Acts and the characteristics which were marked by St. Jerome in his day, see *Speaker's Commentary*, iii., 701.—Βέροϊαν (or Βέρροια): in the district of Macedonia called Emathia, Ptol., iii., 12, originally perhaps Pherœa, from Pheres, its founder (see Wetstein): about fifty miles south-west of Thessalonica. It was smaller and less important than the latter, but still possessing a considerable population and commerce, owing to its natural advantages, now *Verria* or *Kara Feria*, see B.D.<sup>3</sup> and Hastings' B.D., Renan, *St. Paul*, p. 162, and C. and H., small edition, p. 261. According to the Itineraries, two roads led from Thessalonica to Berœa. Wetstein quotes a curious passage from Cicero, *In Pisonem*, xxvi., which may possibly indicate that Paul and Silas went to Berœa on account of its comparative seclusion (so Alford, Farrar, Felten): Cicero calls it "oppidum devium".—εἰς τὴν σιν. The Jewish population was at least considerable



τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπήρσαν. 11. οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν<sup>1</sup> εὐγενέστεροι τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκῃ, οἵτινες ἐδέξαντο τὸν λόγον μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας, τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀνακρίνοντες τὰς γραφάς, εἰ ἔχοι ταῦτα οὕτως. 12. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίστευσαν,<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων

<sup>1</sup> For εὐγενέστεροι D. Par.<sup>1</sup> read εὐγενεῖς, but not Blass or Hilg. Whether τοῖς is to be retained (W.H., Weiss, Blass) before καθ' ἡμέραν or omitted is difficult to decide (Wendt); it may easily have fallen out, or may have been added, cf. Luke xi. 3, and at end of verse καθὼς Π. ἀπαγγέλλει is added by β, after 137, Gig., Syr. H. mg., so Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> After ἐπιστ. D adds τινες δε ἠπιστήσαν, cf. xxviii. 24; see Ramsay, *C. R. E.*, p. 160 (also Corssen, *u. s.*, p. 444, who thinks that the addition proceeded from anti-Jewish feeling). In the same verse D reads καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν εὐσχημόνων α. καὶ γ. ἱκανοὶ ἐπίστευσαν. Here Ramsay holds that D misses a characteristic of Macedonia, viz., the prominent part played by the women, *C. R. E.*, pp. 160, 161. Blass omits καὶ after Ἑλλήν. Hilg. follows D here and above.

enough to have a synagogue, and thither Paul, according to his custom, went first.—ἀπήρσαν: only here in N.T., cf. 2 Macc. xii. 1, 4 Macc. iv. 8; here it may imply that on their arrival Paul and Silas left their escort, and went into the synagogue.

Ver. 11. εὐγενέστεροι: only in Luke and Paul in the N.T., so in classics the word is used of noble birth, Luke xix. 12, 1 Cor. i. 26 (Job i. 3), or of nobility of character as here, cf. also its use in 4 Macc. iii. 5, ix. 23, 27 (and εὐγενῶς in 2 Macc. xiv. 42, and several times in 4 Macc.). We may compare the wide and varying use of the Latin *ingenuus* in accordance with the context, its meaning here is that the Bereans were far from the strife and envy of the Thessalonian Jews; see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 154, 160, 163, on the less favourable attitude of Codex Bezae to the Bereans than the T.R., and critical note; see also above on xiii. 50.—προθ.: another word only in Luke and Paul, cf. 2 Cor. viii. 11, 12, 19, ix. 2; not in LXX, but once in Eccles. xlv. 23, frequent in classical Greek.—τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν: indicates that St. Paul made a lengthy stay at Berea also, cf. Luke xi. 3, xix. 47, but elsewhere without the article, with the article peculiar to Luke (see Plummer's note on Luke xi. 3). On the frequency of καθ' ἡμέραν in Luke's writings see Friedrich, p. 9, and above on Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*, p. 33. If τό is read, see critical note, it particularises the repetition or constancy of the act.—ἀνακρ.: "examining" R.V. (the word in St. John v. 39, which A.V. also renders "search," is ἐρευνᾶω), cf. 1 Cor. x. 25, 27, used elsewhere by

St. Luke of a judicial inquiry or investigation, Luke xxiii. 14, Acts iv. 9, xii. 19, xxiv. 8, xxviii. 18. The word is only found in Luke and Paul, once in LXX, 1 Sam. xx. 12, in a general sense, and in Susannah, vv. 48, 51, where it is connected with a judicial inquiry, as elsewhere in Luke. In classical Greek used also in the general sense of examining closely, questioning, sifting.—τὰς γραφάς: Blass explains "locos a Paulo allatos," but although these were *ipso facto* included, the term can hardly be so limited, cf. xviii. 24, 28, and Lightfoot on Gal. iii. 22. "Character verae religionis, quod se dijudicari patitur," Bengel.—εἰ ἔχοι, Burton, p. 52, cf. Luke i. 29, iii. 15. Wendt rightly points out that the positive praise bestowed on the Jews of Berea tends in itself to contradict the theory that Acts was written to emphasise the unbelief of the Jews, and to contrast their unbelief with Gentile belief.

Ver. 12. See critical note and Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, *u. s.* As at Thessalonica, so here the Apostles' work extended beyond the limits of the synagogue. Ἑλληνίδων: the term relates to the men as well as to the women—the Jewish men had already been included in the first word πολλοί, see Alford, Weiss, Wendt, Zöckler.—εὐσχημόνων, see above on xiii. 50. Blass refers the term to ἀνδρῶν also, and points out that Sopater of Berea alone in Acts is named πατρόθεν according to Greek custom, cf. xx. 4 (R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt). See also Orr, *Neglected Factors in the Early Progress of Christianity*, p. 107.

Ver. 13. οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θ. ἰ.: as before in the first journey, the bitter and enduring malice of the Jews followed Paul

γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι. 13. ὥς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονικῆς Ἰουδαῖοι, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Βεροίᾳ κατηγγέλη ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἦλθον ἀκεῖ σαλεύοντες<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ὄχλους. 14. εὐθέως δὲ τότε τὸν Παῦλον ἐξαπέστειλαν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πορεύεσθαι ὥς<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν· ὑπέμενον δὲ ὁ τε Σίλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος ἐκεῖ. 15. Οἱ δὲ καθιστῶντες τὸν Παῦλον ἡγαγον αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> After σαλ. **ABD** 13, 40, 61, verss., except Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg., add καὶ ταρασσόντες. Meyer thinks the words a gloss and cf. ver. 8. D also reads οτι (ο) λόγος του Θεου κατηγγελη εις Βεροίαν και επιστευσαν, so Hilg. and Blass in β. The καὶ επιστ., the reception of the Gospel, was the reason of this turbulent action. At end of verse D, Syr. Pesh. add ου διελιμπανον (cf. Acts viii. 24 β), so Blass and Hilg. In Luke vii. 45 we have διαλειπω, and only in that place in N.T. But διαλιμπανω occurs also, Tob. x. 7, ου διελιμπανε θρηνησθα Τωβιαν (but S al.). This may have suggested viii. 24. It may perhaps be noted that διαλιμπανω is a medical word = διαλειπω (Galen).

<sup>2</sup> Before επι read according to **ABE** 13, 40, 61, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Boh., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, εως instead of ως; Meyer retains ως. In D, Sah., Aeth., word omitted. υπεμενον, but υπεμειναν **AB** 61, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; υπεμεινεν AD 27, 137, Sah., Syr. Pesh., so Lach, Hilg., and Blass in β. τε (for δε) **ABE**, Syr. P. and H., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

from one place to another, and the use of his name alone shows that he was their chief aim.—ἀκεῖ: the word is often taken with σαλεύοντες, for it was not their advent which had happened previously, but their incitement to risk against Paul, so Page, Weiss, Wendt, Rendall, etc.; on the word see above on xiv. 7.—σαλεύοντες, cf. also for its figurative use 2 Thess. ii. 2, very frequent in LXX, and sometimes in figurative sense, as often in the Psalms, cf. 1 Macc. vi. 8, see above on ii. 25, and critical note on D.

Ver. 14. εὐθέως δὲ τότε: evidently the same riot and danger followed as at Thessalonica; St. Luke often passes over the difficulties and dangers which drove Paul from place to place (Ramsay).—ὥς: if we read εως, R.V., see critical note, "as far as to the sea," but ὥς ἐπὶ might well mean *ad mare versus*, *ad mare*, so Alford, Blass, and instances in Wetstein. There is no need to suppose that the words express a feigned movement to elude pursuit, "as if towards the sea" (see this meaning supported by Rendall, p. 108).—ἐπὶ τὴν θ.: probably he would embark at Dium near the foot of Olympus, which was connected by a direct road with Beroëa (Lewin, C. and H., but see, however, Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 166, note).—ὑπέμ. . . . ἐκεῖ, i.e., remained behind at Beroëa, probably to gain the first intelligence from Thessalonica as to the possibility of St. Paul's return,

and to bring the news to the Apostle, whose next stage may not have been decided upon until he reached the coast.

Ver. 15. καθιστῶντες, see critical note, i.e., the Berean brethren. In N.T. only here in this sense, cf. Josh. vi. 23, 2 Chron. xxviii. 15, so also in classical Greek and in later Greek (instances in Wetstein); they accompanied Paul probably for protection as well as guidance (it has sometimes been supposed that disease of the eyes rendered the guidance necessary, but the word is used quite generally); see further additional note at end of chapter and critical note above, Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 159, 160. If we compare xviii. 5 it looks as if Timothy and Silas only overtook Paul at Corinth, and that he had left Athens before they reached that city. But from 1 Thess. iii. 1 it appears that Timothy was with Paul at Athens, and was sent from thence by him to Thessalonica, and this is quite in accordance with Paul's earnest wish that Timothy and Silas should come to him as quickly as possible (if we suppose that they only rejoined him in xviii. 5, they must have taken a much longer time than was necessary for the journey). But if Paul remained alone, as he states, 1 Thess. iii. 1, at Athens, Silas must also have been sent away; and we may well suppose that as Timothy was sent to comfort the Thessalonians for St. Paul's delay in returning to them, so Silas may have



ἕως Ἀθηνῶν<sup>1</sup>· καὶ λαβόντες ἐντολὴν πρὸς τὸν Σίλαν καὶ Τιμόθεον, ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα ἔλθωσι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐξήρσαν.

16. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις ἐκδεχομένου αὐτοῦ τοῦ Παύλου, παρωξύνετο τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ θεωροῦντι<sup>2</sup> κατείδωλον οὔσαν τὴν πόλιν. 17. διελέγετο μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> καθιστανοντες in AB 25, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; D καταστανοντες, so Hilg. Blass in β follows reading in T.R. After Ἀθηνῶν D adds παρηλθεν δε τὴν Θεσσαλίαν· ἐκωλύθη γὰρ εἰς αὐτοὺς κηρυξαὶ τὸν λόγον, so Blass in β, and Hilg.; cf. also Ephraem (Harris, *Four Lectures, etc.*, pp. 28, 47, 83). Ramsay, *C. R. E.*, p. 160, thinks that the reviser did not observe that Paul probably sailed direct from the coast of Macedonia to Athens; in other words, he mistook a sea voyage for a journey by land. But Harris, *u. s.*, p. 83, holds that Ramsay may be incorrect in this, and that the reviser meant to imply that St. Paul went to Athens by sea, but that he did not go through Thessaly, but *coasted by it*. It is also possible that παρηλθεν may mean "neglected" Thessaly in the sense that he did not preach to them, and in this sense Harris, p. 84, believes that Blass would find it possible to defend the Lucanity of the gloss; see also Wendt (1899), p. 288, note.

<sup>2</sup> θεωρουντος, instead of dat. as in T.R., NABE 40, 61, 180, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; D has the dat., so Blass in β, and Hilg., which seems conformity to αὐτῷ.

been sent to Philippi, with which St. Paul was frequently in communication at this time, Phil. iv. 15. But after their return to Corinth from their mission, they found that St. Paul had already gone on to Corinth, and there they rejoined him. See on the whole subject, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 233, 240, as against McGiffert; Wendt (1899) and Felten, *in loco*; Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, ix., 4.

Ver. 16. ἐκδεχομένου, cf. 1 Cor. xi. 33, xvi. 11, rare in classical Greek in this sense.—παρωξύνετο: "was provoked," R.V., only found elsewhere in N.T. in St. Paul's own description of ἀγάπη, 1 Cor. xiii. 5, and cf. xv. 39 (see note) and Heb. x. 24 for the cognate noun, see on the latter, Westcott, *in loco*. In LXX both verb and noun are used for burning with anger, or for violent anger, passion, Hos. viii. 5, Zech. x. 3, Deut. xix. 28, Jer. xxxix. (xxxii.) 37; cf. Dem., 514, 10; ὀργίσθη καὶ παρωξύνθη (Meyer-Wendt).—τὸ πνεῦμα: expression principally used in Paul, cf. 1 Cor. ii. 11, Rom. i. 9, viii. 16, etc. Blass calls it *periphrasis hebraica*, and cf. Luke i. 47.—θεωροῦντες: "beheld," R.V., as of contemplation in thought, Latin, *contemplari*.—κατείδωλον: "full of idols," R.V.—the rendering "wholly given to idolatry" was not true, *i. e.*, idolatry in the sense of worshipping the innumerable idols. If the city had been sincerely devoted to idol worship St. Paul might have had more to appeal to, "verum monumenta

pietatis reperiebat Paulus, non ipsam, quæ dudum evanuerat," Blass. A.V. follows Vulgate, "idololatriæ deditum". The adjective is found only here, but it is formed after the analogy of κατάδενδρος, κατάμπελος, so Hermann, *ad Vig.*, p. 638 (1824), "κατείδωλος πόλις non est, uti quidam opinantur, simulacris dedita urbs, sed simulacris referta". No word could have been more fitly chosen to describe the aspect of Athens to St. Paul as he wandered through it, a city which had been described as ὅλη βωμός, ὅλη θύμα θεοῖς καὶ ἀνάθημα, see below on ver. 17. Before he actually entered the city, as he walked along the Hamaxitos road, St. Paul would have seen altars raised at intervals to the unknown gods, as both Pausanias and Philostratus testify, see "Athens," F. C. Conybeare, in Hastings' B.D. "He took these incomparable figures for idols," writes Renan (*Saint Paul*, p. 172) as he describes the beautiful sculptured forms upon which the eyes of the Apostle would be fixed, but the man who could write Rom. i. must have been keenly alive to the dangers which followed upon "the healthy sensualism of the Greeks".

Ver. 17. μὲν οὖν . . . τινὲς δὲ, see Rendall, p. 162, Appendix on μὲν οὖν, for the antithesis; a simple instance of two parties acting in opposition. Page however finds the antithesis to μὲν οὖν in ver. 19. ἐπιλαβ. δὲ (so W. H.), and regards τινὲς δὲ . . . συνέβαλλον αὐτῷ

παρουγγάγοντας. 18. τινὲς δὲ τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ τῶν Στωϊκῶν<sup>1</sup>  
φιλοσόφων συνέβαλλον αὐτῷ· καὶ τινες ἔλεγον, τί ἂν θελοὶ δ

<sup>1</sup> After δε BBDHLP, Syr. Pesh., Chrys., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg. add καὶ; instead of Ἐπικουρείων W.H. read Ἐπικουρίων, and Weiss, W.H. alt., Hilg. Στωϊκῶν for Στωϊκων; see W.H., pp. 159, 161, *Abb.*

as almost parenthetical, see below on ver. 19. — διελέγετο: "he reasoned," R.V. (so Ramsay), see above on ver. 2. — ἐν τῇ συν.: on the synagogue see "Athens," F. C. Conybeare, in Hastings' B.D., but St. Paul did not confine himself to the synagogue, although undeterred by their hatred he went first to his own countrymen, and to the proselytes. But probably they were not numerous (see Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 533), and the Apostle carried the same method of reasoning into the market-place—as was natural in the city of Socrates, he entered into conversation with those whom he met, as the same philosopher had done four hundred years before. Thus he became an Athenian to the Athenians: see the striking parallel in the description of Socrates, "he was to be seen in the market-place at the hour when it was most crowded," etc., and the words used by Socrates of himself, Plato, *Apol.*, 31 A, quoted by Grote, viii., 211, 212, small edit., p. 212. F. C. Conybeare, *u. s.*, compares the experiences in Athens of the Apostle's contemporary Apollonius with those of St. Paul; he too reasoned διελέγετο with them on religious matters, Philostr., *Vit. Apollonii Tyanæ*, iv., 19. The words ἐν τῇ συν. are placed in brackets by Hilgenfeld, and referred by Clemen to his Redactor Antijudaicus, whilst Jüngst retains the words but omits 16b, and with Van Manen and Clemen regards the whole of Paul's subsequent speech to the philosophers as the interpolation of a Redactor, p. 161 ff.—ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ: not the market-place like that which fills a bare space in a modern town, but rather to be compared with its varied beauty and its busy crowd to the square of some Italian city, *e.g.*, the *Piazza di Marco* of Venice. There the Apostle's eye would fall on portico after portico, adorned by famous artists, rich in noble statues, see F. C. Conybeare, *u. s.*, and Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 180. On the west lay the *Stoa Pacile*, whence the Stoics received their name, and where Zeno met his pupils, whilst the quiet gardens of Epicurus were probably not far distant (see on the site of the Agora to which St. Luke refers, "Athens," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., 292, 293, and also C. and H.,

smaller edition, p. 273, Hackett, *in loco*, for different views as to its site).—κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν: every day, for he could take advantage by this method not only of the Sabbaths and days of meeting in the synagogues, but of every day, *cf.* the words of Socrates, Plato, *u. s.*, in describing his own daily work of conversation with every one τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην πανταχοῦ προσκαθίζων. The phrase seems to denote some time spent at Athens.—παρουγγάγοντας: "chance comers" (like another Socrates), used only here in N.T., but *cf.* Thuc., i., 22, not in LXX or Apocrypha. Athens was full not only of philosophers, but we can imagine from the one phrase applied to it, Tac., *Ann.*, ii., 55, what a motley group might surround the Apostle, *illa colluvies nationum*.

Ver. 18. συνέβαλλον αὐτῷ: a word peculiar to St. Luke; three times in his Gospel, four times in Acts; it need not have necessarily a hostile sense as in Luke xiv. 31, but simply means that amongst the chance comers in the Agora there were some who "engaged in discussions" with him (so Blass like Latin, *consilia conferre*, *sc. λόγους*), a meaning perhaps suggested by the imperfect. Grotius and others take it as "translatio de proeliis sumpta, ut apparet, Luc. xiv. 31. Utitur ita sæpe Polybius, quem sequi amat Lucas."—Ἐπικουρείων: so called from Epicurus, 342-270 B.C.; his disciples were known also as the School of the Garden, from the garden in Athens where the master instructed them, in distinction from the disciples of the Porch or the Academy. We must be careful to remember that as in numberless other cases, so the system of the founder suffered at the hands of his successors, and that the life of Epicurus himself was far removed from that of a mere sensualist, or "Epicure" in its later sense. But it was evident that a life which made pleasure and happiness the be-all and end-all of existence, however safeguarded by the conditions imposed at the outset by Epicurus, was liable to degenerate into a mere series of prudential calculations, or a mere indulgence of the senses and appetites. In his determination to rid men of the



σπερμολόγος οὗτος λέγειν; οἱ δέ, Ξένων δαιμονίων δοκεῖ καταγγελεὺς εἶναι<sup>1</sup>. ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῖς εὐηγγελίζετο.

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι τὸν I. . . εὐηγγελίζετο om. by D, Gig., one of these places where explanatory clauses are omitted in D, and also by Blass in β, and Hilg. Blass, p. x., cf. xiv. 12, xvii. 18, "a scriptore potius in a adjecta puto, qui videret ea lectoribus vel omnibus vel quibusdam vel necessaria esse vel utilia". It is possible that the writer scrupled to appear to class Ἰησοῦς among the δαιμονία. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 242, thinks the clause foreign to Luke's fashion; apparently a gloss, suggested by ver. 32.

superstitious fears which were the chief cause of the miseries of humanity, Epicurus opposed the popular Polytheism, and regarded the gods as living a life of passionless calm far removed from mundane strifes and sorrows, "careless of mankind". The Stoics branded Epicurus as an Atheist, but the materialistic creed of Epicurus and his followers had at all events this merit, that its bold criticism of existing beliefs was serviceable in undermining the prevailing acceptance of a gross and crude mythology, whilst it helped to assert in contradistinction to a paralysing fatalism the doctrine of the freedom of man's will (see F. C. Conybeare, "Epicureans," Hastings' B.D.; Westcott, "Epicureans," B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Wallace, *Epicureanism*).—**Στωϊκόν**: The Stoics, so called from the *Stoa Pæcile* at Athens where Zeno of Citium, the founder of the school, 340-260 B.C., met his pupils, and where his successors debated (Capes, *Stoics*, p. 30), spoke in their theology of a providence ruling the world, of a first cause and a governing mind. But their creed was essentially Pantheistic, although the verses of Cleanthes' Hymn ("the most important document of the Stoic theology," Ueberweg) seemed to breathe the accents of a higher and nobler belief. But no devotional phrases could disguise a Pantheism which regarded the world as the body of God, and God as the soul of the world, which held that apart from external nature the Supreme God had no existence which identified Him with fate and necessity, while the history of the universe was an unfolding of the providence of God, but a providence which was but another name for the chain of causation and consequences, inviolable, eternal. The leading maxims of the ethical system of the Stoics was the injunction to live according to nature, although the expression of the rule varied in the earlier and later schools. But as this life was best realised in conformity to the law of the universe, in conformity with reason as the highest element in

man, the Stoic ideal, in spite of its recognition of virtue, became not merely stern and intellectual, but impassive and austere; in aiming at *apathy* the Stoic lost sympathy with the most ennobling and energetic emotions, and thus wrapped up in the cloak of his own virtue he justified, at least from an ethical point of view, the description which classed him as the Pharisee of Greek philosophy. In addressing an audience composed at all events in part of the representatives of these two great philosophic schools it may be said that St. Paul was not unmindful of his own former training in the early home of Stoicism (see on p. 235). And so in speaking of creation and providence, of the unity of nations in the recognition of all that was true even in Pantheism, St. Paul has been described as taking the Stoic side against the Epicureans, or at least we may say that he in his speech asserts against some of the cardinal errors of the Epicureans the creative and superintending power of God. But to the Stoic and Epicurean alike the Christian Creed would proclaim that *All's Love, yet all's Law*; to the Stoic and Epicurean alike, the Pharisee and Sadducee of the world of philosophy, the bidding came to repent and obey the Gospel, no less than to the crowd whom sages and philosophers despised: "Paulus summa arte orationem suam ita temperat, ut modo cum vulgo contra Philosophos, modo cum Philosophis contra plebem, modo contra utrosque pugnet," Wetstein; see Capes, *Stoicism*; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, "St. Paul and Seneca"; Zahn, *Der Stoiker Epiktet und sein Verhältniss zum Christenthum*; Ueberweg, *Hist. of Phil.*, i., p. 185 ff.; Rendall, *Marcus Antoninus*, Introd. (1898); Gore, *Ephesians*, p. 253 ff.—καὶ τινες ἔλεγον: these are generally taken to include the philosophers, and the remarks following are referred to them; sometimes the first question to the Epicureans, and the second criticism to the Stoics. But it has recently been maintained that we

need not refer to the two sects of philosophers this unfavourable criticism on St. Paul; "Epicureans," Conybeare in Hastings' B.D. Certainly the οἱ δὲ has no οἱ μὲν as if two opposing schools were meant. The punctuation in R.V., which simply states the fact that amongst those in the Agora certain also τινὲς δὲ καὶ of the philosophers, etc., admits of this view that the criticisms were uttered not by the philosophers, but by the curious crowd which thronged the Agora. Ramsay however takes the verse as marking the opinions of the philosophers, and the use of the word σπερμολόγος by Zeno of one of his followers may help to confirm this.—τί ἂν θέλοι: "what would this babbler say?" R.V., not future as in A.V.; the ἂν with optative being used to express what would happen as the fulfilment of some supposed condition, Burton, p. 79, so Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 33 (1893), the condition being if we would listen to him, or if his words have any meaning; optative with ἂν only in Luke, see Burton, *u. s.*—σπερμολόγος: primarily an adjective, -ον; as a substantive ὁ σπερ. of a rook or crow, or some small bird, picking up seeds, cf. Arist., *Av.*, 233, 580. σπέρμα-λέγω: so far as derivation is concerned it is not connected with σπείρω-λόγους, Latin, *seminiverbius* (so Augustine, Wycliffe, "sower of words"). The accent shows that this latter derivation is incorrect. Hence a man hanging about the shops and the markets, picking up scraps which fell from the loads and thus gaining a livelihood, so a parasite, one who lives at the expense of others, a hanger-on, Eustathius on Hom., *Odys.*, v., 490; see in Grimm, *sub v.*; so Dem. speaks of Aeschines, 269, 19, as σπερ. περίτριμμα ἄγορᾶς. The word thus came to be used of a man who picked up scraps of information, and retailed them at second hand. So Eustathius speaks of rhetoricians who were mere collectors of words and consistent plagiarists δι' ὅλου σπερμολογούμενους; so again he remarks that the word is applied to those who make a show in unscientific style of knowledge which they have got from misunderstanding of lectures (see for these quotations Ramsay, *Expositor*, September, 1899, p. 222, and the whole article "St. Paul in Athens"). Ramsay maintains therefore that there is no instance of the classical use of the word as a babbler or mere talker, and he sees in the word a piece of Athenian slang, caught up as the Athenians had themselves used it ("sine dubio hoc ex ipso

ore Atheniensium auctor exceptit" Blass), and applied to one who was quite outside any literary circle, an ignorant, vulgar plagiarist. At the same time it is perhaps difficult to find any single word more to the point than "babbling," A. and R.V. (Tyndall), for, as Alford urges, it both signifies one who talks fluently to no purpose, and hints also that his talk is not his own. We may, however, well owe this rendering to the fact that σπερμολόγος was wrongly derived, as if it meant *seminator verborum*, whereas its true derivation is given above. De Wette, Overbeck, Nösgen, Weiss, Holtzmann, Zöckler, Wendt, all so render it. An ingenious attempt has been made to connect the word with the Aretalogi (Juvenal, *Sat.*, xv., 16; Suet, *Aug.*, 74) or praters about virtue, who hired themselves as entertainers for the wealthy Roman nobles at their dinners: "mendax aretalogus," Juv., *u. s.*; Zöckler, *in loco*. For instances of the use of the word see Wetstein, Ramsay, Nösgen, Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden*, p. 77; Rendall (who agrees with Ramsay), and "Babbling," Hastings' B.D.—ξένων δαίμ. δοκεῖ καταγ.: The same kind of accusation had been already made against Socrates, Xen., *Mem.*, i., 1, as also against Anaxagoras and Protagoras, see Josephus, *C. Apion.*, ii., 38, who also tells us how a certain priestess had been condemned in Athens ὅτι ξένους ἐμίει θεούς. In Athens the introduction of strange gods was a capital offence, if by such an introduction the home deities were rejected and the state religion disturbed, but there is nothing to show that the Athenians regarded Paul's teaching in this light, and there is no evidence that the Areopagus had cognisance of serious charges of impiety or of the introduction of foreign religion (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 247).—ξένων: "strange," i.e., foreign.—δαιμόνιων used here like the Greek δαιμόνιον in a neutral sense which might refer to deities good or bad. In classical Greek we have καὶνὰ δαιμόνια, cf. the charge against Socrates, Xen., *Mem.*, i., 1; Plato, *Apol.*, 24 B. καταγ-γελεύς: only here in N.T., not found in LXX or classical Greek, the verb καταγγέλλειν occurs twice in 2 Macc. viii. 36, ix. 17, of declaring abroad the power of the God of the Jews. In Plutarch we have κατάγγελος.—δοκεῖ, see Burton, p. 153; on the personal construction with δοκεῖ cf. Gal. ii. 9, Jas. i. 26, etc.—τὸν 'Ι. καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, see critical note. It is possible that the Athenians thought that Paul was preaching two strange



19. ἐπιλαβόμενοι τε αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρειον<sup>1</sup> πάγον ἤγαγον λέγοντες,  
Δυνάμεθα γῶναι, τίς ἢ καινὴ αὕτη ἡ ὑπὸ σοῦ λαλουμένη διδαχὴ.

<sup>1</sup> In NADE, Sah., Boh. we have Ἀρειον, but Ἀρειον in BHP, Weiss, W.H., Blass, Hilg. ἡ after αὕτη omitted in BD, Lach. [W.H.], Blass, Hilg., but retained in R.V. and by Weiss.

deities, Jesus and Resurrection (the latter as a female deity Ἀνάστασις), just as they had their own altars erected to Pity, Piety, Modesty, a view which gains support not only from the collocation of the words, but from the use of the article with both, and from the supposition that Paul was held to be a preacher of more than one strange God; so Chrys., Oecum., Selden, and list given by Wendt (1888), *in loco*. Wendt also (1899) inclines to this view, which is adopted by Renan, Overbeck, Holtzmann, Felten, McGiffert, Knabenbauer, *cf.* also the punctuation in R.V., which may imply this view (see Humphry on R.V., *in loco*). As against this view see Hackett's note, p. 213, who thinks it hardly conceivable that the Apostle could express himself so obscurely on the subject as to afford any occasion for this gross mistake (so also Farrar). The article before ἄνθρωπος is taken by Nösgen as referring simply to the general resurrection, a view which he regards as agreeing with the prominence given to the doctrine in ver. 31. It is argued that if ἄνθρωπος referred to the resurrection of Jesus we should have αὐτοῦ which has crept into some copies, but the address itself shows that the Apostle spoke of the resurrection of Jesus as affording a pledge of a general resurrection.

Ver. 19. ἐπιλαβ.: as to whether we regard this as done with hostile intent, or not, will depend upon the view taken of the meaning of the Areopagus. If the latter means "the Hill of Mars," to which the Apostle was taken for a quiet hearing and for unimportant discussion, then the former is clearly inadmissible; if, however, the Areopagus meant the Council of Areopagus, then that action would seem to have been indicative at least of malice and dislike. The verb in the N.T. is used only in the middle, with accusative or genitive, and most frequently by St. Luke, five times in his Gospel, seven times in Acts, twice by St. Paul, only once by St. Matthew and by St. Mark. In each case it can be determined by the context whether it is used in a favourable or unfavourable sense. So too in LXX (always with genitive), where it is frequently used, the context

alone decides. Certainly ix. 27 presents a close verbal parallel in language, as the participle ἐπιλ. is followed as here by ἤγαγον (Weiss), but the context there expresses beyond all doubt a friendly action. Grotius (so Weiss, Wendt, Felten, Zöckler, Bethge) attributes friendliness to the action here, and renders "manu leniter prehensum," so too F. C. Conybeare, "Areopagus," Hastings' B.D., renders it "took Paul by the hand," but in three of the four parallels to which he refers χεῖρ is expressed, and for the fourth see above. But the view taken of the following words will help us to decide, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 245, and *Expositor*, September, 1895, pp. 216, 217.—ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀ. πάγον, Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii., p. 528, note, and Ramsay, *Expositor*, u. s., p. 217, point out that ἐπὶ with accusative would be the correct expression for taking any one before an official court, *cf.* ix. 21, xvi. 19, xvii. 6, xviii. 12—a regular Lucan preposition in this sense—*cf.* also Herod., iii., 46, 156; viii., 79. But it does not therefore follow that a regular trial was instituted, as Chrys., Theophylact and others have held, since there is nothing in the context to indicate this. But the form of expression certainly does seem to indicate that Paul was taken not to the Hill of Mars, as is generally held, but before a court or council. And there is substantial evidence for believing that the term Areopagus (as Blass admits) was not merely local, but that it was sometimes used as = the Council or Court of Areopagus, *cf.* Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, i., 14, 5; *De Nat. Deorum*, ii., 29; *Rep.*, i., 27. Moreover, there is good reason to believe that the council, although deriving its name from the hill, did not always meet on the hill, and also that it had the power of taking official action in questions bearing upon public teaching in the city (*cf.* Renan, *Saint Paul*, pp. 193, 194, and authorities cited). It is therefore not an improbable inference that Paul would be brought before such a court for inquiry into his teaching; beyond this inference perhaps we cannot go; even to call the inquiry a προκασις (so Curtius) may be to apply a technical term unwarranted by the con-

20. ξενίζοντα γάρ τινα εἰσφέρεις εἰς τὰς ἀκοὰς ἡμῶν· βουλόμεθα οὖν γνῶναι, τί ἂν θέλοι<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα εἶναι. 21. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι εἰς οὐδὲν ἕτερον εὐκαίρουν,<sup>2</sup> ἢ λέγειν τι καὶ ἀκούειν καινότερον.

<sup>1</sup> τι ἂν θέλοι DEHLP, Chrys., so Meyer; τινα θέλει NAB 18, 36, 40, 61, 180, Tisch., R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> εὐκαίρουν, but ηνκ. NABDE 13, 40, 61, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss. Instead of καὶ ἀκούει NABD 25, 44, Vulg., Sah., Syr. H., Arm., Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass read η ἀκούει.

text, which bears no trace of a criminal procedure, cf. Curtius, *u. s.*, pp. 528, 529; Ramsay, *u. s.*; Plumptre and Rendall, *in loco*. But where did the council meet for the discharge of such duties as inquiries into the qualification of teachers, as a public court for the maintenance of public order? Probably in the Stoa Basileios; here Demosthenes informs us that some of its duties were transacted (see *Expositor*, October, 1895, p. 272, and Curtius, *u. s.*, p. 528), and the scene before us is full of the life of the Agora with the *corona* of people thronging to listen, rather than of the sacred or solemn associations of the Hill of Mars, or of the quietude of a spot far removed from the busy life of the market-place. So too the name "Areopagus" might have been easily transferred to the council sitting in a place other than the hill, so that ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἀ. π. might easily become Ἀρείος Πάγος informally and colloquially, and the word as used here by St. Luke may really be another proof that, as in *σπερμολόγος*, the author catches the very word which the Athenians would use, Ramsay, *Expositor*, September, 1895, p. 216, and Renan, *u. s.*, p. 194, note. But it has further been urged both by Curtius and Ramsay (so also Renan, *u. s.*) that the Hill of Mars would be a most inconvenient place for public assemblies and speakers, see Ramsay, *u. s.*, p. 213, and Curtius, *u. s.*, p. 529, and even if the spot had been suitable for such purposes, there would have been a want of fitness in the Athenians taking this *σπερμολόγος* to harangue them on a spot so inseparably associated with the dignity and glory of their city; see also below on vv. 22 and 33.—*Δυναμέθα γνῶναι*: like the Latin, *Possum scire?* the question may have been asked in courtesy, or in sarcasm, or ironically; in the repetition of the article the irony may be accentuated.—ἢ ὑπὸ σοῦ λαλ.: "which is spoken by thee," R.V., the Apostle

was not speaking *about* the doctrine, A.V., his words were the doctrine (Lumby). Felten regards the question as courteously put, and sees in it a decisive proof that Paul was not put upon his trial, since a man could not be tried on a charge of which his accusers had no knowledge. But this would not prevent a preliminary inquiry of some kind before the court, prompted by dislike or suspicion.

Ver. 20. ξενίζοντα: rather perhaps startling or bewildering than strange—so too in Polyb., cf. 1 Peter iv. 12, but see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* Ramsay renders "some things of foreign fashion" as if the words were connected with the opinion that the Apostle was an announcer of foreign gods, cf. also 2 Macc. ix. 6, Diod. Sic., xii., 53.—τινα: the rhetorical use of the indefinite τις here strengthening the participle, cf. viii. 9, v. 6, Heb. x. 27.—εἰσφ.: Blass suggests a Hebraism, but on the life of Greeks we must look no further than the parallel which the same writer adduces, Soph., *Ajax*, 147, cf. also Wetstein. The verb is only used here in this sense in N.T.—τί ἂν θέλοι, see critical note and Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 112: "de rebus in aliquem exitum tendentibus," Grimm; cf. ii. 12; so Bethge.

Ver. 21. Ἀθην. δὲ πάντες: "now all Athenians," without any article, a characteristic of the whole people, cf. xxvii. 4, but see Ramsay, *Expositor*, October, 1895, p. 274, and Blass, *Gram.*, p. 157.—ἐπιδημοῦντες: "sojourning there," R.V., A.V. takes no notice of the word=resident strangers: "*unde iidem mores*," Bengel; on the population of Athens see F. C. Conybeare, "Athens," *Hastings' B.D.*; Renan, *Saint Paul*, pp. 183, 185, 187.—εὐκαίρουν: "had leisure for nothing else," R.V. margin, cf. Mark vi. 21 (only elsewhere in N.T. in 1 Cor. xvi. 12), used by Polyb., Rutherford, *New Phrynichus*, p. 205. How fatally the more important



22 Σταθεῖς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου, ἔφη,  
Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ.

interests of life were sacrificed to this characteristic (note imperfect tense), restless inquisitiveness, their great orator, Demosthenes, knew when he contrasted this idle curiosity with the vigour and ability of Philip of Macedon, *Philippic I.*, p. 43. The words go to support the interpretation that there was no formal indictment, but they do not destroy the view that there may have been an examination into the Apostle's teaching, Curtius, *u. s.*, p. 529.—*καινότερον*: certainly there is, as Blass says, "mirus consensus" as to this characteristic of the Athenians; see instances in Wetstein: Dem., *Philippic I.*, 43, and *Philipp. Epist.*, 156, 157; Thuc., iii., 38; Theophr., *Char.*, iii., περὶ λογοποτίας μὴ λέγεται τι *καινότερον*; cf. Seneca, *Epist.*, 74. Lit., "some newer thing," something newer than that which had just preceded it as *new* up to the time of asking. The comparative may therefore indicate more vividly the voracious appetite of the Athenians for news, although it may be also said that the comparative was the usual degree used by the Greeks in the question *What news?* (usually *νέωτερον*); indeed their fondness for using the comparative of both *νέος* and *καινός* is quite singular (Page, see also Winer-Moulton, xxxv., 4; Blass, *Gram.*, p. 138). The words of Bengel are often quoted, "nova statim sordebant, *noviora* quærebantur," but it should be noted that he adds "*Noviora* autem quærebant, non modo in iis quæ gentilia accidunt; sed, quod nobilius videtur, in philosophicis," see for a practical and forcible lesson on the words, F. D. Maurice, *Friendship of Books*, pp. 84, 85.

Ver. 22. σταθεῖς, Lucan, see i. 15. —ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀ. π., i.e., in the midst of the Council or Court of Areopagus, see above on ver. 19, cf. iv. 7, Peter stood in the midst of the Sanhedrim. Ramsay pertinently remarks that the words "in the middle of Mars' hill" are far from natural or clear, and those who adopt them usually omit the word "midst," and say that Paul stood on Mars' hill, justifying the expression by supposing that ἐν μέσῳ is a Hebraism for ἐν, i. 15, ii. 22. But whilst a Hebraism would be natural in the earlier chapters referred to, it would be quite out of place here in this Attic scene, cf. also ver. 33, Ramsay, *Expositor*, September, 1895, so too Curtius, *u. s.*, p. 529, in support of the rendering adopted by Ramsay.—Ἄνδρες Ἀθην.

usual way of beginning a speech; strange to allege it as a proof that the speech is not genuine: "according to the best MS. evidence, Demosthenes habitually, at least in some speeches, said ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι without ὦ. It is therefore a mistake to note as unclassical the use of the vocative here without ὦ, cf. i. 14, xix. 35," Simcox, *Language of the New Testament*, p. 76, note.—κατὰ πάντα: "in all things I perceive that ye are," R.V., meaning that wherever he looked he had evidence of this characteristic—the A.V. would imply that in all their conduct the Athenians were, etc. The phrase which is common in classics is only found here, in iii. 22, Col. iii. 20, 22, Heb. ii. 5, iv. 15, in N.T.—ὡς, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, i., d., Winer-Moulton, xxxv., 4.—δεισιδαιμ.: "somewhat superstitious," R.V., but in margin, "somewhat religious," so in xxv. 19 the noun is rendered "religion," R.V. (in margin, "superstition"), where Festus, in speaking to Agrippa, a Jew, would not have been likely to call the Jewish religion a superstition. R.V. gives a better turn to the word than A.V. with Tyndale, "too superstitious," cf. Vulgate, *superstitiosiores*, as it is incredible that St. Paul should have commenced his remarks with a phrase calculated to offend his hearers. The R.V. has modified the A.V. by introducing "somewhat" instead of "too," according to the classical idiom by which the comparative of an adjective may be used to express the deficiency or excess (slight in either case) of the quality contained in the positive. But the quality in this case may be good or bad, since the adjective *δεισιδαιμων* and the cognate noun may be used of reverence or of superstition, cf. for the former Xen., *Cyr.*, iii., 3, 58; Arist., *Pol.*, v., 11; cf. C. I. Gr., 2737b; Jos., *Ant.*, x., 32; Polyb., vi., 56, 7, and for the latter, Theoph., *Char.*, xvi.; Plut., *De Superstit.*, 10; Jos., *Ant.*, xv., 8, 2; M. Aurelius, vi., 30, and instances in Philo, cf. also Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i., 2 (see Hatch, *Biblical Essays*, p. 43). Ramsay renders: "more than others respectful of what is divine"; so Renan, "le plus religieux"; Holtzmann, "Gottesfürchtige," so Weiss, so Zöckler, "religiosiores ceteris Græcis" (Horace, *Sat.*, i., 9, 70), cf. Winer-Moulton, xxxv., 4. In thus emphasising the religious spirit of the Athenians, St. Paul was speaking in

23. διερχόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἀναθεωρῶν<sup>1</sup> τὰ σεβάσματα ὑμῶν, εὗρον καὶ βωμὸν ἐν ᾧ ἐπεγέγραπτο,<sup>2</sup> Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ. ὃν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες

<sup>1</sup> For ἀναθεωρῶν D (Clem.) has διανορῶν (nowhere found in N.T., not used in LXX or classical Greek).

<sup>2</sup> For ἐπεγέγραπτο D (Gig.) has ἡν γεγραμμενον, so Hilg., and reads Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ, see Blass, *in loco*, for authorities who think this reading original, although in β text he follows T.R. οὐ . . . τούτου Ἡ<sup>c</sup>A<sup>e</sup>EHLP, Arm., Clem., Ath., Chrys., Cosm., Aug.; ο . . . τούτο Ἡ<sup>c</sup>A<sup>e</sup>BD<sup>1</sup>, Vulg., Or., Hier., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass; ο . . . τούτου δι.

strict accordance with similar testimonies from various quarters, *cf.* Thuc., ii., 40; Soph., O. C., 260; Jos., C. Apion., ii., 11; Pausanias, *In Attic.*, 24; Petronius, *Sat.*, c. 17. The context, ver. 24, where εὐσεβεῖτε, *religiose colitis* (Wetstein), is one result of this δεισιδαιμονία, strengthens the view that the adjective is used here in a good sense; *cf.* the comment on its good use here by St. Chrys., *Hom.*, xxxviii., and Theophylact. There is therefore no reason to suppose that Paul's words were an accommodation to the usual practice of Athenian orators to commence with a mere compliment. At the same time it is possible that with delicate tact the Apostle made use of a word of doubtful meaning, *verbum per se μέσον*, which could not possibly provoke hostility at the outset, while it left unexpressed his own judgment as to the nature of this reverence for the divine "with kindly ambiguity," Grimm-Thayer.

Ver. 23. διερχόμενος γὰρ: "for as I passed along," R.V., through the streets, or perhaps "was wandering through"—Renan has *passant dans vos rues*, see also on ver. 16 above, and also on viii. 40. A.V., "as I passed by" does not give the force of the word, and apparently means "passed by the objects of your devotion"—ἀναθεωρῶν: *accurate contemplari*, "observed," R.V., only in later Greek, and in N.T. only in Heb. xiii. 7, "considering with attentive survey again and again," see Westcott, *in loco*: Weiss renders it here „immer wieder betrachtend," *cf.* critical notes, *cf.* Diod. Sic., xiv. 109, and references in Grimm.—τὰ σεβάσματα: "the objects of your worship," R.V., Vulgate, *simulacra*, the thing worshipped, not the act or manner of worshipping. The A.V. margin gives "gods that ye worship," *cf.* 2 Thess. ii. 4, where A. and R.V. both render "that is worshipped," σέβασμα in text, and R.V. in margin, "an object of worship"; Bel and the Dragon,

ver. 27, Wisdom xiv. 20, xv. 17.—καὶ βωμὸν: "I found also an altar," R.V., *i.e.*, in addition to those with definite dedications; only here in N.T., often in LXX, sometimes of heathen altars, Exod. xxxiv. 13, Numb. xxiii. 1, Deut. vii. 5.—ἐπεγέγραπτο, *cf.* Luke xvi. 20; on the pluperfect with augment, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 37, see critical note: Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 542, takes the word as implying permanence, and perhaps antiquity, so in *Speaker's Commentary* as of an ancient decayed altar, whose inscription had been forgotten; Mark xv. 26, Rev. xxi. 12 (Heb. viii. 10, x. 16).—Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ: "to an unknown God," R.V.: all previous versions like A.V., but there is no definite article, although in inscriptions it was often omitted. For the existence of altars of this kind the testimony of Pausanias and Philostratus may be fairly quoted; Pausan., i., 1, 4 (*cf.* v. 14, 6), βωμοὶ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων, and Philost., *Vit. Apollon.*, vi., 2, σωφρονέστερον περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ καὶ ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται, see references in Wetstein, and *cf.* F. C. Conybeare, *u. s.*; Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 173; Neander, *Geschichte der Pflanzung*, ii., 32 ff.; Wendt, etc. Baur, Zeller, Overbeck have maintained that there could have been no such inscription in the singular number as the plural is so much more in harmony with polytheism, although the last named admits that the authorities cited above admit at least the possibility of an inscription as in the text. To say nothing of the improbability that Paul would refer before such an audience to an inscription which had no existence, we may reasonably infer that there were at Athens several altars with the inscription which the Apostle quotes. A passage in Diog. Laert., *Epim.*, 3, informs us how Epimenides, in the time of a plague, brought to the Areopagus and let loose white and black sheep, and wherever the sheep lay down, he bade the Athenians



εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτον ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν. 24. ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ, οὗτος οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς κύριος ὑπάρχων,

to sacrifice τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ, and so the plague ceased, with the result that we find in Athens many βωμοὺς ἀνώνυμους, see the passage quoted in full in Wetstein; from this it is not an unfair inference that in case of misfortune or disaster, when it was uncertain what god should be honoured or propitiated, an altar might be erected ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. (It is curious that Blass although he writes ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ in β thinks that the true reading must have been the plural.) To draw such an inference is much more reasonable than to suppose with Jerome, *Tit.*, i., 12, that the inscription was not as Paul asserted, but that he used the singular number because it was more in accordance with his purpose, the inscription really being "Diis Asiæ et Europæ et Africæ, Diis ignotis et peregrinis," cf. the inscription according to Oecumenius θεοῖς Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης καὶ Λιβύης θεῷ ἀγνώστῳ καὶ ξένῳ. But at the very commencement of his speech the Apostle would scarcely have made a quotation so far removed from the actual words of the inscription, otherwise he would have strengthened the suspicion that he was a mere σπερμολόγος. St. Chrysostom, *Hom.*, xxxviii., sees in the inscription an indication of the anxiety of the Athenians lest they should have neglected some deity honoured elsewhere, but if we connect it with the story mentioned above of Epimenides, it would be quite in accordance with the religious character of the Athenians, or perhaps one might rather say with the superstitious feeling which prompted the formula so often employed in the prayer of Greeks and Romans alike *Si deo si deæ*, or the words of Horace (*Epod.*, v., 1), "At deorum quidquid in coelo regit". There is no reason for the view held amongst others by Mr. Lewin that the inscription refers to the God of the Jews. But in such an inscription St. Paul wisely recognised that there was in the heart of Athens a witness to the deep unsatisfied yearning of humanity for a clearer and closer knowledge of the unseen power which men worshipped dimly and imperfectly, a yearning expressed in the sacred Vedic hymns of an old world, or in the crude religions of a new, cf. Max Müller, *Selected Essays*, i., p. 23 ff.; Zöckler, *in loco*, "Altar," B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Plumptre, *Movements of Religious Thought*, p. 78 ff.—δὲν οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες, see critical

notes. If we read δ for δν, we may render with R.V., "what therefore ye worship in ignorance": Vulgate, *quod colitis*. The mere fact of the erection of such an inscription showed that the Athenians did reverence to some divine existence, although they worshipped what they knew not, St. John iv. 22; not "ignorantly worship," as in A.V., this would have been alien to the refinement and tact of St. Paul.—εὐσεβεῖτε: used here as elsewhere of genuine piety, which St. Paul recognised and claimed as existing in the existence of the altar—the word throws light on the meaning which the Apostle attached to the δεισιδαιμονία of ver. 22; in N.T. only in Luke and Paul, cf. 1 Tim. v. 4, of filial piety (cf. *pietas*), cf. Susannah, ver. 64 (LXX), and 4 Macc. xi. 5, 8, 23, xviii. 2. "That divine nature which you worship, not knowing what it is" (Ramsay).—τοῦτον ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν: in these words lay the answer to the charge that he was a σπερμ. or a καταγγελεύς of strange gods. ἐγὼ, emphatic; I whom you regard as a mere babbler proclaim to you, or set forth, the object which you recognise however dimly, and worship however imperfectly. Since the days of St. Chrysostom the verse has been taken as a proof that the words of St. Paul were addressed not to a select group of philosophers, but to the *corona* of the people.

Ver. 24. ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας: "the God Who made all," R.V., the definiteness of the words and the revelation of God as Creator stand in marked contrast to the imperfect conception of the divine nature grasped by the Athenian populace, or even by the philosophers: ἐφθέγγετο φωνὴν μίαν, δι' ἧς πάντα κατέστρεψε τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἐπικουρεῖοι αὐτομάτα φασιν εἶναι τὰ πάντα, καὶ ἀπὸ ἀτόμων συνεστάναι· οἱ δὲ Στωϊκοὶ σώμα καὶ ἐκπύρωσιν· ὁ δὲ ἔργον Θεοῦ λέγει κόσμον καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ. Ὅρᾳς συντομίαν, καὶ ἐν συντομίᾳ σαφηνεῖαν. St. Paul's language is that of a Jew, a Monotheist, and is based upon Gen. i. 1, Exod. xx. 11, Isa. xlv. 7, Neh. ix. 6, etc., but his use of the word κόσμος (only here in Acts, only three times in St. Luke's Gospel) is observable. The word is evidently not used in the moral sense, or in the sense of moral separation from God, which is so common in St. John, and which is sometimes employed by the Synoptists, and it may well have been

οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κατοικεῖ, 25. οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων  
θεραπεύεται προσδεόμενός τις, αὐτὸς διδοὺς πᾶσι ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν

chosen by Paul as a word familiar to his hearers. Both by Aristotle and Plato it had been used as including the orderly disposition of the heaven and the earth (according to some, Pythagoras had first used the word of the orderly system of the universe), and in this passage οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς may perhaps both be taken or included in the κόσμος, cf. iv. 24, xiv. 15. In the LXX κόσμος is never used as a synonym of the world, i.e., the universe (but cf. Prov. xvii. 6, Grimm, *sub v.*), except in the Apocryphal books, where it is frequently used of the created universe, Wisdom vii. 17, ix. 3; 2 Macc. vii. 23, viii. 18; 4 Macc. v. 25 (24), etc., Grimm, *sub v.*, and Cremer, *Wörterbuch*.—οὗτος: "He being Lord of heaven and earth," R.V., more emphatic and less ambiguous than A.V., "seeing that".—ὑπάρχων "being the natural Lord" (Farrar), "He, Lord as He is, of heaven and earth" (Ramsay); see Plummer's note on Luke viii. 41; the word is Lucan, see above on οὐρ. καὶ γῆς κ., cf. Isa. xlv. 7, Jer. x. 16, and 1 Cor. x. 26.—οὐκ ἐν χειροποιήτοις ναοῖς κ.: as the Maker of all things, and Lord of heaven and earth, He is contrasted with the gods whose dwelling was in temples made with hands, and limited to a small portion of space, cf. 1 Kings viii. 27; Jos., *Ant.*, viii., 4, 2, and St. Stephen's words, vii. 48, of which St. Paul here as elsewhere may be expressing his reminiscence, cf. for the thought Cicero, *Leg.*, ii., 10, and in early Christian writers Arnobius and Minucius Felix (Wetstein), see also Mr. Page's note.

Ver. 25. οὐδὲ . . . θεραπεύεται used in LXX and in classical Greek of the service of the Gods, significantly twice in *Epist. Jer.*, vv. 27, 39, of the worshippers and priests of the idols overlaid with silver and gold, which are contrasted with the true God in that they can save no man from death, or show mercy to the widow and the fatherless, before which the worshippers set offerings and meat as before dead men. "Non quaerit ministros Deus. Quidni? ipse humano generi ministrat," Seneca, *Epist.*, 95, and instances in Wetstein; but St. Chrysostom's comment must also be noted, λέγων δέ, μὴ ὑπὸ χ. ἀνθ. θεραπεύεσθαι τὸν θεόν, αὐνίσσεται ὅτι διανοία καὶ νῷ θεραπεύεται.—προσδεόμενός τις: only here in N.T., to need in addition, as if necessary to perfection, "qui habet

quidem aliquid, sed non satis, qui insuper eget," Wetstein, so "cum . . . nullius boni desideret accessionem," Erasmus; a close parallel is found in 2 Macc. xiv. 35 (3 Macc. ii. 9); in both passages the word ἀπροσδεής is used of God, and in the former reference is made to the fact that God was pleased that the temple of His habitation should be amongst the Jews, cf. also Eccclus. lii. 21. Blass and Wetstein both quote a striking Pythagorean saying from Hierocles, see *in loco*, and to this αὐτάρκεια of the divine nature both the Jewish philosopher Philo and the Roman Epicurean Lucretius from their varying standpoints bore witness, see the instances in Wetstein (cf. Psalm li. 9).—Luther takes τινος as masculine, which as Wendt admits corresponds well to the preceding and also to the following πᾶσι, but it seems best to take it as neuter, of the service which men render, cf. Clem., *Cor.*, lii., 1, ἀπροσδεής, ἀδελφοί, ὁ δεσπότης ὑπάρχει τῶν ἀπάντων, οὐδὲν οὐδένος χρῆζει εἰ μὴ τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι αὐτῷ, and *Epist. ad Diognetum*, iii., 5.—αὐτὸς διδοὺς: "seeing he himself giveth," R.V., so Vulgate *ipse*, but although αὐτός is so emphatic it was unfortunately ignored in Wycl., Genevan and A.V. The best commentary on the words is in David's words, 1 Chron. xxix. 14, cf. the striking passage in *Epist. ad Diognetum*, iii., 4.—πᾶσι: taken as neuter or masculine, but perhaps with Bengel "omnibus viventibus et spirantibus, summe προσδεομένοις indigentibus. De homine speciatim, v. seq."—ζωὴν καὶ πνοὴν, cf. Gen. ii. 7, not a mere hendiadys, vitam animale, or spiritum vitalem, but the first word = life in itself, existence; and the second the continuance of life, "per spiritum (halitum) continuatur vita," Bengel (on the paronomasia, see Winer-Moulton, lxviii., 1. For πνοή LXX, Ps. cl. 6, Job xxvii. 3, Isa. xlii. 5, Eccclus. xxx. 29 (xxxiii. 20), 2 Macc. iii. 31, and vii. 9, etc.—τὰ πάντα: *omnia quaecumque*, Rom. viii. 32, the expression need not be limited with Bethge to all things necessary for the preservation of life and breath.

Ver. 26. "And he hath made of one every nation of men for to dwell," R.V., so also A.V. takes ἐποίησε separately from κατοικεῖν, not "caused to dwell"; ἐποίησε, cf. ver. 24, he made, i.e., created of one; see Hackett's note.—κατοικεῖν: infinitive of purpose.—ἐξ ἑνός



καὶ τὰ πάντα · 26. ἐποίησέ τε ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος<sup>1</sup> πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων,  
κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, ὁρίσας προτεταγμένους<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> αἵματος. NAB 13, 40, 61, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Aethpp., Clem., so Tisch., W.H., R.V. [Blass], Wendt; Meyer retains with DEHLP, Syrr. P. and H., Arm., Iriat., Theodt., Chrys., Cosm., Hilg. Alford brackets like Blass, see his note. For πᾶν τὸ προσ. NABD, R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt read παντες προσωπου; Meyer follows T.R.

<sup>2</sup> προτεταγμένους, overwhelming support NABD\*EHLP, Clem., Chrys., Theodt., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; D\* 13 has προτεταγ., so Blass in β. Lach. wrote προς τεταγμ.

(αἵματος), see critical note. Rendall renders "from one father" as the substantive really understood, the idea of offspring being implied by ἐξ, cf. Heb. ii. 11, xi. 12: Ramsay, "of one nature, every race of men," etc. Such teaching has often been supposed to be specially directed against the boast of the Athenians that they were themselves αὐτόχθονες (so recently Zöckler, and see instances in Wetstein, cf., e.g., Arist., *Vesp.*, 1076; Cicero, *Pro Flacco*, xxvi.); but whilst the Apostle's words were raised above any such special polemic, yet he may well have had in mind the characteristic pride of his hearers, whilst asserting a truth which cut at the root of all national pride engendered by polytheism on the one hand, by a belief in a god of this nation or of that, or of a philosophic pride engendered by a hard Stoicism on the other. When Renan and others speak of Christianity extending its hand to the philosophy of Greece in the beautiful theory which it proclaimed of the moral-unity of the human race (*Saint Paul*, p. 197) it must not be forgotten that Rome and not Greece manifested the perfection of Pagan ethics, and that, even so, the sayings of a Seneca or an Epictetus wanted equally with those of a Zeno "a lifting power in human life". The cosmopolitanism of a Seneca no less than that of a Zeno failed; the higher thoughts of good men of a citizenship, not of Ephesus or elsewhere, but of the world, which were stirring in the towns where St. Paul preached, all these failed, *Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 91 (Bernays); it was not given to the Greek or to the Roman, but to the Jew, separated though he was from every other nation, to safeguard the truth of the unity of mankind, and to proclaim the realisation of that truth through the blood of a Crucified Jew (Alford). On the Stoic cosmopolitanism see amongst recent writers G. H. Rendall, *Marcus Antoninus*, *Introd.*, pp. 88, 118, 137 (1898).—ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς,

cf. Gen. ii. 6, xi. 8, etc.; Winer-Moulton, xviii., 4, cf. in Latin, *maris facies*, *Æn.*, v., 768, *naturæ vultus*, Ovid, *Met.*, i., 6.—ὁρίσας προτεταγ. καιρῶν: if we read προτεταγ. see critical note, "having determined their appointed seasons," R.V. καιρ. not simply seasons in the sense used in addressing the people of Lystra, xiv. 17, as if St. Paul had in mind only the course of nature as divinely ordered, and not also a divine philosophy of history. If the word was to be taken with κατοικίας it would have the article and χρόνος would be more probably used, cf. also πρόσταγμα, Jer. v. 24, *Ecclus.* xxxix. 16. It is natural to think of the expression of our Lord Himself, Luke xxi. 24, καιροὶ ἰθνῶν, words which may well have suggested to St. Paul his argument in Rom. ix.-xi., but the thought is a more general one. In speaking thus, before such an audience, of a Providence in the history of mankind, assigning to them their seasons and their dwellings, the thought of the Stoic πρόνοια may well have been present to his mind; but if so it was by way of contrast ("sed non a Stoicis Paulo erat discenda πρόνοια," Blass, *in loco*). St. Paul owed his doctrine of Providence to no school of philosophy, but to the sacred Scriptures of his nation, which had proclaimed by the mouth of lawgiver, patriarch, psalmist, and prophet alike, that the Most High had given to the nations their inheritance, that it was He Who had spread them abroad and brought them in, that it was His to change the times and the seasons, Deut. xxxii. 8, Job xii. 23, Ps. cxv. 16, Dan. ii. 21, see further the note on πρόνοια, Wisdom of Solomon xiv. 3 (xvii. 2), *Speaker's Commentary* (Farrar).—τὰς ὁδοθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας: the first noun is not found elsewhere either in classical or biblical Greek, but cf. Blass, *Gram.*, p. 69. κατοικία: only here in N.T., but frequent in LXX; found also in Polyb., of a dwelling; so in

καιρὸς καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν· 27. ζητεῖν τὸν  
Κύριον,<sup>1</sup> εἰ ἄρα γε ψηλαφήσειαν<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν καὶ εὐροιεν, καίτοιγε<sup>3</sup> οὐ

<sup>1</sup> Θεον for Κυρίον NABHL 61, Vulg., Syrr. P. H., Boh., Sah., Arm., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss; D, Gig., Iren., Clem. read το Θειον; and Syr. H. mg. adds τι; and D, Syr. H. mg. add εστιν (Iren.). Blass omits; Weiss thinks arbitrarily.

<sup>2</sup> ψηλαφήσειαν, -σειεν (cf. Luke vi. 11) Winer-Schmiedel, p. 114, -σαισαν Hilg.; W.H., *Arb.*, 174.

<sup>3</sup> καίτοιγε NP<sup>2</sup>, Chrys., Cosm., so Meyer; but καὶ γε BD<sup>2</sup> (D\* καὶ τε), HLP\* 13, 61, 137, 180, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass; AE, Clem. have καίτοι. Instead of ἡμῶν A\*L 31, 180 read ὑμῶν.

Strabo, of a settlement, a colony. Here, as in the former part of the verse, we need not *limit* the words to the assertion of the fact that God has given to various nations their different geographical bounds of mountain, river or sea; as we recognise the influence exerted upon the *morale* of the inhabitants of a country by their physical surroundings, St. Paul's words teach us to see also in these conditions "the works of the Lord"—the words of the most scientific observer perhaps of Palestine, Karl Ritter, are these: "Nature and the course of history show that here, from the beginning onwards there cannot be talk of any chance": G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 112, 113, and 302, 303 ff.; Curtius, "Paulus in Athen.," *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii., 531, 536.

Ver. 27. ζητεῖν = ὅπως ζητῶσι, telic infinitive, Winer - Moulton, xlv. 1.—Κύριον, see critical note. Θεόν: the more fitting word before this audience—Ramsay renders "the God".—εἰ ἄρα γε: "if haply," A. and R.V., ἄρα strengthened by γε; in classical Greek we have ἄρα followed by γε, but not ἄρα. This ἄρα and ἄρα γε are generally regarded as = Latin *si forte* (Blass, *Grammatik*, p. 211), although Simcox, *Language of the New Testament*, pp. 180, 181, in admitting this, is careful to point out that it is misleading to regard ἄρα as = *forte*. Alford (so Page) maintains that the expression here, as in viii. 22, indicates a contingency which is apparently not very likely to happen. On the other hand Rendall holds that the particle here, as in viii. 22, should be rendered not *perhaps* or *haply*, but *indeed*: "if they might *indeed* feel after him," etc., expressing a very real intention of God's providence, the optative pointing to the fact that this intention had not yet been realised (pp. 66, 110), cf. also Mark xi.

13, and in 1 Cor. xv. 15, εἴπερ ἄρα (see further Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 254, 267; Burton, pp. 106, 111). With the whole passage, Wisdom xiii. 6 should be compared. On St. Paul's study of the Book of Wisdom at some time in his life see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 52.—ψηλαφήσειαν, Æolic aorist, the verb is used several times in LXX for the act of groping in the dark, Deut. xxviii. 29, Job v. 14, xii. 25; Isa. lix. 10; cf. its use also in classical Greek, *Odys.*, ix., 416; so Plato, *Phædo*, 99 B, where it is used of vague guesses at truth (Wendt, Page). The word would therefore fitly express the thought of men stretching lame hands of faith and groping, and calling to what they feel is Lord of all. Weiss finds the idea of the word as used here, not in the LXX as above, but in 1 John i. 1, of some palpable assurance, which was everywhere possible in a world made by God, ver. 24, Rom. i. 20, and where men's dwellings had been apportioned by Him. But the word might still be used in the above sense, since the recognition of God in His Creation is after all only a partial recognition, and not the highest knowledge of Him; and the inscription "To an Unknown God" testified in itself how imperfect that recognition had been. For the meaning of the verb in modern Greek see Kennedy, p. 156.—καίτοιγε, see critical note. καὶ γε, cf. ii. 18, *quin etiam (quamvis καίτοιγε "vix aptum,"* Blass). The word ψηλαφ. had intimated "et proximum esse Deum et oculis occultum" (Blass, Knabenbauer), and the Apostle now proclaims the nearness of God, not only in creation, in its maintenance and preservation, but in the spiritual being of man: "Closer is he than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet".—οὐ μακρὰν: the word implies not mere local nearness, but spiritual, cf. Jer. xxiii. 23, and Ephes. ii. 13. With this we may compare Seneca, *Ep. Mor.*,



μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν ὑπάρχοντα. 28. ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμεν· ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν

xli., i. "God is near thee; He is with thee; He is within" (quoted by Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 290). The relation of man to God is a personal relationship: God is not "careless of the single life": ἀπὸ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου ἡμῶν, "from each one of us," R.V. The words may well have struck a responsive chord in the hearts, not only of some in the crowd, but of some of the Stoics who were listening, contradictory and incongruous as their system was, with its strange union of a gross material pantheism, and the expression of belief in the fatherly love and goodness of God (see further Lightfoot, *u. s.*, p. 298, and Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii., 530, 531).

Ver. 28. St. Chrysostom comments (*Hom.*, xxxviii.): Τί λέγω μακράν; οὕτως ἐγγύς ἐστιν, ὡς χωρὶς αὐτοῦ μὴ ζῆν. ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν κ.τ.λ. . . . καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, δι' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐγγύτερον ἦν, ἐν αὐτῷ. In the three verbs it has been sometimes maintained there is an ascending scale; in God we possess the gift of life, in Him we move, in Him we *are* (not "have our being" simply), *i. e.*, we are what we are, personal beings. Bethge and Plumptre may be named as two chief supporters of some such view as this, whilst others regard the words (Bengel, Weiss) as merely expressing what had been already expressed in ver. 25, or as referring simply (so Overbeck, Wendt, Felten) to our physical life and being.—τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς π.: "of your own poets," see Grimm., *sub v. κατὰ*, with the accusative as a periphrasis for the possessive pronoun; see also Winer-Moulton, xxii., 7, xlix. d. Blass takes it as = ὑμέτεροι., on the reading see W. H. marg. καθ' ἡμᾶς, though the limited range of attestation prevents them from reading this in the text: "there would be a striking fitness in a claim by St. Paul to take his stand as a Greek among Greeks, as he elsewhere vindicates his position as a Roman (xvi. 37; xxii. 25, 28), and as a Pharisee (xxiii. 6)": W. H., ii., p. 310.—τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν: half of an hexameter, the γὰρ καὶ has nothing to do with the meaning of the quotation in the N.T., but see Winer-Moulton, liii. 10. The words are found in Aratus, B.C. 270, *Phenomena*, 5, and Cleanthes, B.C. 300, *Hymn to Love*, 5; for other parallels see Blass, *in loco*, and Wetstein, so that Zöckler may go too far in saying that St. Paul quoted from

the former as his fellow-countryman, Aratus being of Soli in Cilicia. Both poets named were Stoics, and the words may have been well known as a familiar quotation, see on Tarsus, chapter lx. xi. In Cleanthes the actual words are rather different, ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, where origin rather than kinship may be meant. No doubt it is possible to exaggerate, with Bentley, St. Paul's knowledge of classical literature, but on the other hand it is not perhaps an unfair inference that a man who could quote so aptly from the poets as here in 1 Cor. xv. 35, and in Tit. i. 12, could have done so at other times if occasion had required, *cf.* Curtius, *ubi supra*, Blass, *in loco*, and Farrar, "Classical Quotations of St. Paul," *St. Paul*, ii., *Exc.*, iii. As the words of the hymn were addressed to Zeus, a difficulty has been raised as to the Apostle's application of them here, and it has been questioned whether he was acquainted with the context of the words, or whether he was aware of their application. But he must at least have known that they were not originally written of the God Whom he revealed. If so, however, there seems no more difficulty in supposing that he would apply such a hemistich to a higher purpose, than that he should make the inscription on a heathen altar a text for his discourse.

Ver. 29. γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες: for ὑπάρχειν, see above on ver. 24; is the inference simply that because we are dependent upon God for all things, it is absurd to suppose that the divine nature can be like to the work of men's hands? This is correct so far as it goes, but is not the further thought implied that as men are the offspring of God, they ought not to think that man is the measure of God, or that the divine nature, which no man hath seen at any time, can be represented by the art of man, but rather as conscious of a sonship with a Father of spirits they ought to worship a Father in spirit and in truth? see quotations from Seneca in Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 290: "The whole world is the temple of the immortal gods. Temples are not to be built to God of stones piled on high . . ." *Fragm.* 123 in Lactant. *Div. Inst.*, vi., 25: "God is near thee; He is with thee; He is within," *Ep. Mor.*, xcv., 47: "Thou shalt not form Him of silver and gold, a true likeness of

εἰρήκασι, "Τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν".<sup>1</sup> 29. γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκ ὀφείλομεν νομίζειν χρυσῷ ἢ ἀργύρῳ<sup>2</sup> ἢ λίθῳ, χαράγματι

<sup>1</sup> καθ' ἡμᾶς, see note in comment., B 33, W.H. mg. read ἡμᾶς. After ἐσμέν D adds το καθ' ἡμεραν, so Blass in β, and Hilg. ποιῶτων om. D, Gig., Aethro., Irint, Ambr., Blass in β.

<sup>2</sup> Blass reads (β) χρυσιῷ ἢ ἀργυρίῳ; χρ. ὧς AE, Theodt.; ἀργ. AE 13, 15, 18, χρυσος et ἀργυρος materiem denotant; χρυσία et ἀργυρία sunt ex auro argentove facta (Blass, *in loco*).

God cannot be moulded of this material," *Ep. Mor.*, xxxi., 11. See also the striking parallels from *Letters of Pseudo-Heracleitus*, Gore, *Ephesians*, p. 254. For a recent view of the possible acquaintance of Seneca with the Christian teaching of St. Paul see Orr, *Some Neglected Factors in Early Christianity*, pp. 178 ff.—τὸ θεῖον: not "godhead," but "that which is divine," R.V. margin, "the divine nature"; probably the word which the Athenians themselves used, Xen., *Mem.*, i., 4, 18, see instances in Grimm, *sub v.*, of its use in Philo and Josephus, who employ it in the neuter of the one God, Grimm thinks, out of regard for Greek usage.—χρυσῷ ἢ ἀργ. ἢ λίθῳ: (on the form of the word see Blass and critical notes) including, we may suppose, the chryselephantine statues of Phidias in the Parthenon, and a reference to the silver mines of Laurium, and the marble hewn from Pentelicus, cf. *Epist. ad Diognetum*, ii., 2.—χαράγματι: in apposition to χρυσῳ. χαράσσω, Latin, *sculpo*, *insculpo*, only here in N.T. in this sense. Polyb. uses the words of coins stamped (so in Anth. P., v., 30) τὸ χαραχθὲν νόμισμα.—τέχνης καὶ ἐνθ.: "artis externæ, cogitationis internæ". ἐνθ.: a rare word (in the plural, *thoughts*, cf. Matt. ix. 4, etc.), but used by Thuc., Eur., and also by Hippocrates. See the remarks of Curtius (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii., 535) on the words, as indicating that Paul was acquainted with the phrases of Greek authors. The passage in Wisdom xiii. 6 should be carefully noted (see ver. 27 above), and also ver. 10, in which the writer speaks of gods which are the work of men's hands, gold and silver to show art in, i.e., lit., an elaboration of art, ἐμμελέτημα τέχνης. In the words Bethge further sees an intimation that the Apostle had an eye for the forms of beauty represented in the carved statues and idols which met his gaze in Athens; but for a very different view of St. Paul's estimate of art see Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 172, Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 525, McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*,

p. 260.—ἀνθρώπων: stands contrasted with τὸ θεῖον; it is the device of man which forms the material into the idol god, and thus human thought becomes the measure of the divine form; Xenophanes (570 B.C.) had ridiculed the way in which the Thracians represented *their* gods, with blue eyes and fair complexions, whilst the Æthiopians had represented *their* gods as flat-nosed and swarthy. Zeno had renewed the protest, but some of the best of the heathen philosophers had spoken in inconsistent language on the subject; St. Paul's plain and direct words were the utterances of a man who had in mind the severe and indignant protests of the Hebrew prophets, cf. Isa. xlv. 12.—οὐκ ὀφείλομεν: at the same time the use of the 1st person plural again points to the conciliatory tone of the speech, "clemens locutio" (so Bengel, Wendt); or possibly the words may mean that he is referring in a general way to the beliefs of the people, to the crowd and not to the philosophers: πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὁ λόγος ἦν αὐτῷ, Chrys. But Nestle has lately called attention to the question as to whether we should not translate: "we are not obliged, not bound to think, we are at liberty not to think so," and thus, instead of a reproof, the words become a plea for freedom of religious thought. The first shade of meaning, he adds, i.e., "clemens locutio," as above, comes nearer to ὀφείλ. μὴ νομίζειν, the second agrees with the other passage in the N.T., 2 Cor. xii. 14, where the negative particle is connected with ὀφείλειν; see Nestle's note in *Expository Times*, March, 1898, p. 381.

Ver. 30. τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρ.: a contrast drawn between the past times of ignorance, and the present times with God's summons to repentance, but instead of a finite verb we have the participle ὑπεριδὼν, and so δέ is omitted in the apodosis; see Rendall, *in loco*, and Appendix on μὲν οὖν, p. 163, and to the same effect, Blass, *in loco*.—τῆς ἀγνοίας: simply "the times of ignorance," R.V..



τέχνης καὶ ἐνθυμήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τὸ θεῖον εἶναι ὅμοιον. 30. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν χρόνους τῆς ἀγνοίας ὑπεριδὼν ὁ Θεός, ταυῶν παραγγέλλει<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> παραγγέλλει ᾠCADEHLP, so Blass in β, and Hilg.; ἀπαγγέλλει ᾠ<sup>2</sup>AB, Tisch., W.H., R.V. marg., Weiss, Wendt. πασι, but παντας ᾠABD<sup>2</sup>E, Ath., Cyr., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt. For ὑπεριδων D has παριδων, "recte," Blass (β); neither word occurs elsewhere in N.T.

not "this," as in Vulgate and all E.V. "*Ignorantia* objicitur Atheniensibus? Hanc ipsi sunt fassi. ἀγνόστω, *ignoto*; ἀγνοοῦντες, *ignorantes*, v. 23."—ὑπεριδων: "overlooking," R.V., "winked at," A.V. The latter rendering occurs three times in LXX, Wisdom xiii. 23, Ecclus. xxviii. 7, and xxx. 11 R.; for the verb παρορᾶν Skeat quotes Lever, *Serm.*, p. 81: "For if ye *winke* at such matters, God wyl scoull upon you," when the word evidently means to connive at, but not the sense required here, cf. also Chapman, *Il.*, iv., 66. The verb ὑπερορᾶν is frequent in the LXX, but rather in the sense of despising, neglecting, Gen. xlii. 21, Deut. xxii. 3, 4, Ps. liv. (lv.) 1, Job xxxi. 19, and Ecclus. ii. 10, etc. But here it is used rather as the opposite of ἐφορᾶν, a verb used in classical Greek of overseeing, observing, as of the divine providence of the gods (cf. in N.T. Luke i. 25, Acts iv. 29); so ὑπερορᾶν = (1) to look over, (2) to overlook, i.e., not attend to, to let pass (cf. the use of ὑπεριδεῖν in LXX, Lev. xxvi. 44 and 3 Macc. vi. 15). Tyndale rendered "regarded not," with which we may compare: "et cum videas perinde te gerere quasi non videas," Erasmus. Both Chrys. and Oecum. comment on the words, pointing out that it is not παρῑδεῖν οἱ εἶασεν, but ὑπερῑδεῖν, τουτέστιν, οὐκ ἀπαίτει κόλασιν ὡς ἀξίους ὄντας κολάσεως. With the statement of St. Paul here cf. Acts xiv. 16, Rom. iii. 25. But it must be remembered that πάρεσις, Rom. iii. 25, is by no means the same as ἄφεσις ("idem paene est παρίεναι quod ὑπεριδεῖν, Acts xvii. 30," Bengel); in considering the strictures of Overbeck against the use of the passage in Romans as a parallel to our present passage, it is not alleged, let it be noted, either here or there that God inflicted no punishment upon the sins of the heathen. Rom. i. 19 is a decided proof of the contrary in the case of the very sin of idolatry which St. Paul condemns in Athens; see the words of Chrys. and Oecum. above, and cf. the comments of Weiss, Wendt, Felten, Plumptre, and McGiffert's note, pp. 260, 261.—τὰ νῦν, see above p. 135; "hic dies, haec hora, inquit

Paulus," Bengel, in contrast to the "overlooking" on account of ignorance, and so relatively of excuse (cf. ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, Rom. iii. 26, i.e., from the N.T. times of salvation to the final judgment).—παραγγέλλει: "commandeth," but in margin, R.V., ἀπαγ., "he declareth": cf. Friedrich, p. 29, on the constant use of the latter in St. Luke's writings, but used twice by St. Paul elsewhere, 1 Cor. xiv. 25, 1 Thess. i. 9.—πᾶσι πανταχοῦ: on this and other collocations with πᾶς as frequent in Luke see Friedrich, p. 5. πανταχοῦ is used in the N.T. four times by St. Luke, cf. Luke ix. 6, Acts xxiv. 3, xxviii. 22 (elsewhere in the Gospels, Mark i. 28, xvi. 20), but it is also used, although only once, by St. Paul, 1 Cor. iv. 17. Wetstein quotes instances of the same collocation in Dem., Philo, and adds: "ex toto terrarum orbe plurimi Athenas advenerant, adeoque hac ipsa Pauli oratione omnibus praedicatur doctrina Evangelii".—μετανοεῖν: for all had sinned, and all would be judged; infinitive after verbs *dicendi*, expressing what they must do, cf. xiv. 15, iv. 18, v. 28, 40. The context requires something more than a reference of the words to the turning from idol worship to the true God (Holtzmann), it points to the change of mind which was demanded of those whose consciences by sin were accused. To both Stoic and Epicurean the counsel would appear not merely needless, but objectionable. To the latter because it would conflict not only with his denial of immortality, but with his whole idea of the gods, and to the Stoic because the wise man was himself a king, self-sufficing, who stood in no need of atonement, who feared no judgment to come; the famous picture of Josephus was so far realised, and the Epicurean might be called the Sadducee, and the Stoic the Pharisee of ancient philosophy; but in one respect both Stoic and Epicurean were at one—whether they were just persons or not, they "needed no repentance," Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden*, p. 115; Lightfoot, "Paul and Seneca" (*Philippians*, pp. 280, 296, 305); Plumptre, *in loco*; Zahn, *Der Stoiker Epiktet, und sein Verhältniss zum Christenthum*, pp. 26, 33, etc.

τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι πανταχοῦ μετανοεῖν· 31. διότι<sup>1</sup> ἔστησεν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν<sup>2</sup> τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, ἐν ἀνδρὶ ὃ ὤρισε, πίστιν παρασχὼν πᾶσιν, ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. 32. Ἀκού-

<sup>1</sup> καθοτι for διοτι is supported by **ABDE**, Ath., Bas., Cyr., Theodt., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass. For ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν **D**, Gig., Iren. simply κρίναι, so Blass in **β**, and Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> Tisch., R.V., W.H., Weiss read *περι τούτου καὶ πάλιν*, so **AB**.

Ver. 31. διότι—καθοτι, R.V., see critical note, only found in St. Luke = *quia* (Blass) in Luke i. 7, xix. 9, Acts ii. 24, ii. 45, iv. 35 = according as: see Plummer on Luke i. 7, and Blass, *Gram.*, p. 268.—ἔστησεν ἡμέραν: hence the command to repent, cf. 1 Macc. iv. 59 and Blass, *in loco*.—μέλλει κρίνειν, LXX, Ps. ix. 8, xcv. (xcvi.) 13, xcvi. (xcviii.) 9; its form here may = xii. 6, "on the point of judging" (Weiss).—τὴν οἰκ., so often in LXX, as in instances above.—ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ = δικαίως (as of the moral element in which the judgment will take place), cf. 1 Peter ii. 24 and Rev. xix. 11, cf. Psalms as above, and Eccclus. xlv. 26.—ἐν ἀνδρὶ: in the person of the man (so Ramsay, Meyer, Alford), not ἀνθρώπος but ἀνὴρ, *in viro* (cf. 1 Cor. vi. 12, ἐν ὑμῖν κρίνεται); above we have ἀνθρώποις, but here the nobler appellation. We may compare with the Christian doctrine *Book of Enoch*, xlii. 9, although according to other Jewish statements it would seem that God, and not the Messiah, was to judge the dead.—ὃ ὤρισε: ὃ attraction, cf. ii. 22, see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 225, cf. x. 42, Rom. i. 4. The whole statement, as indeed the general tenor of the address, is entirely in line with the preaching to the Thessalonians in the Epistles written some few months later, cf. 1 Thess. i. 9, 10, iii. 13, iv. 6, v. 2, 2 Thess. i. 7, ii. 12; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 259, and Plumptre, *in loco*. "Pour un juif, dire que Jésus présidera au jugement, c'était à peu près dire qu'il est créateur. Aussi je ne sais pas de preuve plus éclatante de l'immense impression produite par le Galiléen que ce simple fait . . . après qu'il eut été crucifié, un pharisien, comme l'avait été Paul, a pu voir en lui le juge des vivants et des morts," Colani, *J. C. et les Croyances Messianiques de son temps*.—πίστιν παρασχὼν: in classical Greek to afford assurance, a guarantee, see instances in Wetstein. But it is difficult to say how much St. Paul included in the words—to a Jewish audience he would no doubt, like St. Peter, have insisted upon the resur-

rection of Christ as a final proof given by God that the claims of Christ were true; but to an audience like that at Athens he might well insist upon the fact of the resurrection of the Man ordained by God as a guarantee that all men would be raised; R.V., "whereof he hath given assurance," "whereof" implied in the Greek: marginal rendering in A.V. "offered faith" is omitted in R.V.; "and He hath given all a guarantee in that He hath raised Him from the dead": so Ramsay. Others have taken the words to mean that God thus affords assurance that He will judge the world righteously in that He hath shown His righteousness by raising Christ, others again connect πίστιν closely with ἐν ἀνδρὶ (so Bethge). If at this point the Apostle was interrupted he may have intended to pursue the theme further, if not then, on some other occasion. But the fact that the speech contains so little that is distinctively Christian is a strong proof of its genuineness; none would have invented such a speech for Paul, any more than they could have invented his discourse at Lystra, see below on p. 381, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 150 and 250, 251. Yet in this short address at Athens the Apostle had preached both Jesus and the Resurrection.

Ver. 32. οἱ μὲν ἐχλ. . . . οἱ δὲ: verb only here in N.T., implies outward gesture as well as words of scorn (χλεύη, χεῖλος, cf. μυκτηρῶ, μυκτήρ). We usually think of the οἱ μὲν as the Stoics, and the οἱ δὲ as the Epicureans; e.g., Wetstein after describing the Epicureans adds οἱ δὲ = Stoici: cf. Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, ii., 17, and Plutarch, *De Or. Def.*, 32. But if the Epicureans ridiculed a resurrection and judgment to come, the Stoics also were separated by a wide gulf from the teaching of St. Paul. Even if it may be said that in general they approximated towards the doctrine of personal existence after death, some of their most famous representatives departed from it; Capes, *Stoicism*, p. 173; Wallace, *Epicureanism*, p. 121; Ueberweg, *Hist. of Phil.*, i., p. 196; E.T.



σαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐχλεύαζον· οἱ δὲ εἶπον, Ἀκουσόμεθά σου πάλιν περὶ τούτου. 33. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Παῦλος ἐξήλθεν ἐκ

Rendall, *Marcus Antoninus*, Intro., pp. 107, 108. "On one point alone were the professors of this school [Stoic] agreed; an external existence of the human soul was out of the question," Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 323. The idea of retribution beyond the grave would have been equally alien to the Stoic as to the Epicurean, and both Stoic and Epicurean alike would have ridiculed the idea of a resurrection of the body. Zöckler, *in loco*, while referring the οἱ μὲν without hesitation to the Epicureans, thinks that possibly Platonists rather than Stoics may be represented by the οἱ δὲ. If St. Paul was addressing not only a philosophical but a popular audience, as we have seen reason to believe, it is quite possible that while the majority would laugh at his closing words, Juvenal, *Sat.*, ii., 149, there may have been others who clung to the popular mythology and its crude conceptions, and the Apostle's prediction of a judgment to come may have sufficiently interested them to prompt a desire for further disclosures. — ἀκουσόμεθά σου πάλιν (περὶ τούτου, R.V., neuter, we can hardly refer it to the αὐτόν of ver. 31). The words are often taken to imply a polite rejection of the Apostle's appeal, a courteous refusal to hear anything further; or at all events to express a very cold interest in his announcement. But if we adopt the reading καὶ πάλιν (see critical note) "yet again," R.V., the words rather indicate that a real interest had been excited in some of the hearers (so Calvin, Grotius, Weiss, Alford) and that the marked and defined division of opinion was not merely a dramatic device of the author.

Ver. 33. οὕτως: may mean, with this scanty result, or simply, after these events, in this state of the popular mind, with an expectation of being heard again (Alford); "incipiti auditorum obsequio; nullo edito miraculo": Bengel. — ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν: at the opening Paul stood ἐν μέσῳ, ver. 22, τοῦ Ἀ. π.: "the two expressions correspond to and explain each other, . . . he that 'went forth from the midst of them' must have been standing 'in the midst of them'"; cf. Ramsay, *Expositor*, September, 1895, and for the bearing of the words see above on ver. 22. For similar phrase with μέσου as frequent in St. Luke's writings, Friedrich, p. 22. Ramsay thinks that some

danger is indicated, but nothing is said of this; the words apparently refer to no trial, although, perhaps, to some kind of preliminary inquiry, see above, ver. 22.

Ver. 34. τινὲς δὲ: may contrast the favourable with the unfavourable, or perhaps merely continuous.—κολληθέντες, see above on v. 13, implies close companionship upon which their conversion followed, see additional note.—Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀ.: "quam doctrinam scurræ rejecerunt, Areopagita vir gravis accipit". Dionysius was a member of the Council, the words can mean nothing less—it is evident, therefore, that this convert must have been a man of some distinction, as an Areopagite would previously have filled the office of Archon. On the honour attached to the term cf. Cicero, *Pro Balbo*, xii., and instances cited by Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 209, note. It is not improbable that St. Luke may have received from him the draft of St. Paul's address. On the other hand the conversion of a man occupying such a position has excited suspicion, and Baur, *Paulus*, i., 195, considers that the whole scene on the Areopagus is unhistorical, and owes its origin to the tradition that an Areopagite named Dionysius was converted. So Holtzmann holds that the whole scene was placed on the Areopagus, because, according to report, a member of the Areopagus was converted, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 393, similarly Weizsäcker. See further, "Dionysius," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, Hastings' B.D., Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i., p. 846; Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 337 and notes below.—Δάμαρις: perhaps Δάμαλις, a heifer, a name popular amongst the Greeks, so Grotius, Wetstein, and Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 209, note; see critical note above. We know nothing certain about her, but Ramsay makes the interesting conjecture that as the woman is not described as εὐσχήμων (cf. the description of the women at Thessalonica, Berea, and Pisidian Antioch, xiii. 50, xvii. 4, 12), she may have been a foreign woman (perhaps one of the educated *Hetairai*), as at Athens no woman of respectable position would have been present amongst St. Paul's audience. St. Chrysostom (so St. Ambrose and Asterius) thought that she was the wife of Dionysius, but St. Luke calls her γυνή, not ἡ γυνή αὐτοῦ. No mention is made of her in D (but see above

μέσου αὐτῶν. 34. τινὲς δὲ ἄνδρες κολληθέντες αὐτῷ ἐπίστευσαν· ἐν οἷς καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ἄρεοπαγίτης, καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἕτεροι σὺν αὐτοῖς.

<sup>1</sup> Before καὶ ἕτερ. D (Flor.) add εὐσχημῶν. The words καὶ γυνὴ ὀνομ. Δ. are omitted in D (retained by Blass in β), see comment., and also by Hilg., who adds εὐσχημῶν after Ἀρεοπ.

critical note), and Ramsay accounts for this by the view that the reviser of Codex Bezae was a Catholic, who objected to the prominence given to women in Acts, and that under the influence of this feeling the changes occurred in xvii. 12 (see above) and 34: this prominence assigned to women was, in Ramsay's view, firstly, pagan rather than Christian, and, secondly, heretical rather than Catholic; *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 160, 161; see "Damaris," Hastings' B.D., and Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 337.—καὶ ἕτεροι: a significant contrast to the precise results of the Apostle's preaching elsewhere, and yet a contrast which carries with it an evidence of truth. Spitta, p. 242, justly remarks that he knows not how the author of the "We" sections, who was not present at Athens, could have represented the activity of St. Paul in that city better than he has done; the idle curiosity of the Athenians, ver. 21, and after a speech received with ridicule and indifference, a scanty result, graphically represented by two names, of which it is a mere assertion to say that they refer to the sub-apostolic age. Spitta thus refuses to allow any justification for Weizsäcker's rejection of the historical worth of the narrative. Thus in the simple notice of the results of St. Paul's preaching we gain an indication of the historical truthfulness of the narrative. If anywhere, surely at Athens a forger would have been tempted to magnify the influence of St. Paul's intellectual power, and to attribute an overwhelming victory to the message of the Gospel in its first encounter with the philosophic wisdom of the world in a city which possessed a university, the greatest of any of that time, which was known as "the eye of Greece, mother of arts," whose inhabitants a Jewish philosopher (Philo) had described as the keenest mentally of all the Greeks. In answer to the earlier criticism of Zeller and Overbeck, we may place the conclusion of Weiss that the result of St. Paul's labours is plainly not described after a set pattern, but rests upon definite information, whilst Wendt, who

refers the composition of the speech, as we have it, to St. Luke, and regards it as derived from information of a speech actually delivered at Athens, insists equally strongly upon the difficulty of supposing that such slender results would be represented as following, if the speech had been composed with a view of exalting Jewish and Christian monotheism against polytheism. Moreover the narrative bears the stamp of truthfulness in its picture of the local condition of Athens, and also in its representation of St. Paul's attitude to the philosophical surroundings of the place and its schools. "One must be at home in Athens," writes Curtius, "to understand the narrative rightly," and no one has enabled us to realise more fully the historical character and vividness of the scene than Curtius himself in the essay to which reference is made above, of which the concluding words are these, that "he who refuses to accept the historical value of the narrative of Paul in Athens, tears one of the weightiest pages out of the history of humanity" (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, ii., p. 543, "Paulus in Athens": see further, Knabenbauer, pp. 308, 309). The character of the people, the moving life of the Agora, the breadth of view which could comprehend in one short speech the crude errors of the populace and the fallacious theology of the schools, "the heart of the world" too generous to ignore all that was best in men's thoughts of God's providence and of human brotherhood, and yet too loving to forget that all men had sinned, and that after death was the judgment—we recognise them all. If we turn to the speech itself we find abundant evidence of characteristic Pauline thoughts and teaching (*cf.*, *e.g.*, ver. 27 and Rom. i. 19, ii. 14; ver. 26 and Rom. v. 12, 1 Cor. xv. 45; ver. 30 and Rom. iii. 25, etc., Zöckler, p. 268, and instances in notes above, McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 259), and it is worthy of note that Weizsäcker, while rejecting with Baur, Zeller, Schwegler, and Overbeck the account of St. Paul's visit to Athens as unhistorical, fully recognises, after an examination of the Apostle's method of



XVIII. 1. ΜΕΤΑ δὲ ταῦτα χωρισθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος<sup>1</sup> ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἦλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον· 2. καὶ εὗρών τινα Ἰουδαῖον ὀνόματι Ἀκύλαν,

<sup>1</sup> NAB 13, 69, Vulg., Boh., Arm., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, omit δε. NBD, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt omit ο Παῦλος.

dealing with idolatry and polytheism in Rom. i. 20, that it we compare with the Apostle's own indications the fine survey of the world, and especially of history from a monotheistic standpoint, ascribed to him by the Acts at Lystra, xiv. 15, and afterwards at Athens, xvii. 24, the latter, whatever its source, also gives us a true idea of Paul's method and teaching, *Apostolic Age*, i., p. 117, E.T. On the whole tone of the speech as incredible as a later composition, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 147 ff., whilst no one perhaps has drawn up more clearly than Wetstein, see on Acts xvii. 25, the consummate skill of the speech addressed to an audience comprising so many varieties of culture and belief. (To the strange attempt of Holtzmann to reproduce at some length the argument of Zeller, who maintains that the scene at Athens was a mere counterpart of the scene of Stephen's encounter with his foes at Jerusalem, a sufficient answer may be found in Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 240.)

If we ask from whom the report of the speech was received, since Luke, Silas, Timothy all were absent, it is possible that a Christian convert like Dionysius the Areopagite may have preserved it (Zöckler); but a speech so full of Pauline thoughts, and so expressive of Athenian life and culture, may well have been received at least in substance from St. Paul himself, although it is quite conceivable that the precise form of it in Acts is due to St. Luke's own editing and arrangement (see for an analysis of the language of the speech Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 82). The results of St. Paul's work at Athens were small if measured by the number of converts, although even amongst them it must not be forgotten that it was something to gain the allegiance to the faith of a man holding the position of Dionysius the Areopagite (see further an interesting account of the matter in *Expository Times*, April, 1898). But in addition to this, it is also important to remember that St. Paul has given us "an invaluable method of missionary preaching" (Lechler, *Das Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 275), that to the Church at Athens Origen could appeal

against Celsus as a proof of the fruits of Christianity (Bethge, p. 116), that its failing faith was revived in time of persecution by its bishop Quadratus, the successor of the martyr-bishop Publius; that in the Christian schools of Athens St. Basil and St. Gregory were trained; and that to an Athenian philosopher, Aristides, a convert to Christ, we owe the earliest *Apology* which we possess (Athenagoras too was an Athenian philosopher), see Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., p. 551; Humphry, *Commentary on the Acts*. It is significant that St. Paul never visited Athens again, and never addressed a letter to the Saints at Athens, although he may well have included them in his salutation to "the Saints which are in the whole of Achaia," 2 Cor. i. 1.

CHAPTER XVIII.—Ver. 1. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα: in continuation of the narrative, cf. Luke x. 1.—χωρισθεὶς: in i. 4 with ἀπό, and so usually—only here with ἐκ, departure from Athens emphasised, because events had compelled the Apostle to alter his intended plan (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 240, and Blass, *in loco*), cf. 1 Chron. xii. 8 (*A al.*); 2 Macc. v. 21, xii. 12, with an accusative of place.—Κόρινθον: Corinth from its position as the capital of the Roman province Achaia was the centre of government and commerce, while Athens was still the great educational centre of Greece. St. Paul, with his keen eye for the most important and prominent stations of Roman government and the meeting points of East and West, might be expected to choose a place from whence the influence of the Gospel could spread over the whole province. Like Ephesus, Corinth lay on the great highway between East and West; like Ephesus it was, as Professor Ramsay terms it, one of the knots on the line of communication, the point of convergence for many subordinate roads. But Corinth, with all its external beauty, its wealth and fame, had become a byword for vice and infamy, cf. Κορινθιάζεσθαι, Κορινθιάζειν, Wetstein, 1 Cor. i. 2, and references in Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 557 ff., and it has not been unfairly termed the Vanity Fair of the Roman empire: at once the London and the Paris of the first century after Christ

Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει, προσφάτως ἑλληλυθότα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας, καὶ Πρίσκιλλαν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ,<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὸ διατεταχέναι Κλαύδιον χωρίζεσθαι

<sup>1</sup> Instead of Π. γυναῖκα αὐτου Syt. Harcl. mg., Flor., Gij., Blass in β read συν Π. γυναῖκι αὐτου, and Flor. adds ἠσπασατο αὐτους, so Blass in β. After αὐτους Syt. Harcl. mg., Flor., so Blass in β, add οὗτοι δε ἐξηλθον ἀπο τῆς Ῥώμης (urbe Flor.), (Blass brackets ἀπο τῆς Ρ. after Ἰουδαίους). D, Syt. Harcl. mg., Flor. insert ἀφ' Ῥώμης οἱ καὶ κατωκῆσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαίαν (Blass in β brackets οἱ). διατεταχέναι  $\aleph^c$ ABH, Chrys., so Lach., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, following T.R.; τεταχέναι  $\aleph^d$ DELP, so Tisch. ἀπο instead of ἐκ in  $\aleph$ ABDEL, Vulg., Tisch. W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass.

(Farrar, *u. s.*, p. 556). To this infamous notoriety not only the cosmopolitanism of the city contributed, but the open consecration of shameless impurity in its temple service of Venus, see Ramsay, "Corinth," Hastings' B.D.; C. and H., small edition, p. 324 ff.; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 262, and notes below.

Ver. 2. Ἀκύλαν, cf. ver. 18, Rom. xvi. 3, 1 Cor. xvi. 19, 2 Tim. iv. 19: the Latin *Aquila* in its Greek form; the name may have been assumed, as often the case, in place of the Jewish name. It is altogether unreasonable to suppose that Luke made a mistake and that this *Aquila's* name was Pontius *Aquila*, which he bore as a freedman of the Gens Pontia, a distinguished member of which was called by the same two names, Pontius *Aquila*, Cic., *Ad Fam.*, x., 33; Suet., *Jul. Cæs.*, 78. The fact that another *Aquila*, who is famous as giving us the earliest version A.D. of the O.T. in Greek, is also described as from Pontus goes far to show that there is nothing improbable in St. Luke's statement (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 226, E.T.). The name, moreover, was also a slave name (Ramsay, p. 269), as a freedman of Mæcenas was called (C. Cilnius) *Aquila*. But it is probable that as the greater part of the Jews in Rome were freedmen, *Aquila* may also have belonged to this class, see Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 234, and also further, Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxvii., 418; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 173.—τῷ γένει: "by race," R.V., cf. iv. 36, of Barnabas, and xviii. 24, of Apollos; the word need not mean more than this.—Ἰουδαίων: The word has been pressed sometimes to indicate that *Aquila* was still unconverted to Christianity. But the fact that he is called a Jew may simply refer to the notice which follows "that all Jews," etc. Whether *Aquila* was a Christian before he met St. Paul is very difficult to determine. He is not spoken of as a disciple, and similarity of employment rather than of Christian be-

lief may account for the Apostle's intercourse with him and Priscilla, Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., 189. But the suspicion with which most of his countrymen regarded St. Paul rather indicates that *Aquila* and Priscilla must at least have had some leanings towards the new faith, or they would scarcely have received him into their lodgings. It is quite possible that, as at the great Pentecost Jews from Rome had been present, cf. ii. 10, Christianity may have been carried by this means to the imperial city, and that such tidings may have predisposed *Aquila* and Priscilla to listen to St. Paul's teaching, even if they were not Christians when they first met him. If they were converted, as has been supposed, by St. Paul at Corinth, it is strange that no mention is made of their conversion. That they were Christians when St. Paul left them at Ephesus seems to be beyond a doubt. Renan describes them as already Christians when they met the Apostle, so too Hilgenfeld, on the ground that their conversion by St. Paul could scarcely have been passed over, see further "Aquila," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Hastings' B.D.; Wendt, *in loco*; Lightfoot, *Phil.*, pp. 16 and 17, Hort, *Rom.* and *Ephes.*, p. 9.—προσφάτως: here only, lit., lately slaughtered or killed; hence recent, fresh; Latin, *recens* (Grimm). In LXX, Deut. xxiv. 5, Ezek. xi. 3, Jud. iv. 3, 5, 2 Macc. xiv. 36, so too in Polybius, Westcott on Heb. x. 20 πρόσφατος regards all derivations from σφάω (σφάζω) φάω (φένω) φάω (φήμι) as unsatisfactory.—Πρίσκιλλαν: in Epistles, Rom. xvi. 3, 1 Cor. xvi. 19, 2 Tim. iv. 9, Prisca, R.V., W.H., Priscilla, perhaps the diminutive, cf. Lucilla, Domitilla. Probably St. Luke used the language of conversation, in which the diminutive forms were usually employed, *St. Paul*, p. 268. On Bezan text see critical note, Ramsay, *u. s.*, and *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 158. In vv. 18 and 26 we have Priscilla mentioned before her husband, and so by



πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, προσῆλθεν αὐτοῖς· 3.<sup>1</sup> καὶ διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχνον εἶναι, ἔμενε παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰργάζετο· ἦσαν γὰρ

<sup>1</sup> At the commencement of the verse Syr. Harcl. mg., Flor. (Aug.) add ο δε Π. ἐγνωσθη τῷ Ακυλᾷ, and before ὁμοτεχνον Syr. Harcl. mg., Aug. add ὁμοφυλον και, so Blass in β (cf. Flor. in ver. 2, *salutavit eos*); see Belser, Beiträge, p. 84, on the bearing of this reading on the conversion of Aquila and Priscilla. For εἰργάζετο B\* B, Boh. Orig., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt read *πρᾶττοντο*. τῇ τεχνῇ (for acc.), so ABELP, Chrys., Lach., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. D. Gig. (not Flor.) omit the clause ἦσαν γὰρ σκη. τῇ τεχνῇ, and so Blass in β, and see Blass, p. x., and note above on xvii. 18. Ramsay follows Western text in supporting omission, see *St. Paul*, p. 253, and, on the other hand, Weiss, Codex D, p. 43.

St. Paul, except in 1 Cor. xvi. 19. The reason may be that she was of higher social status, and indeed not a Jewess at all, as this seems the best way of accounting for the curious arrangement of the sentence here, the point being to emphasise the fact that *Aquila* was a Jew. Her name may indicate some connection with the Priscan Gens; whilst Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 420, in an interesting discussion find reasons to connect both her (and possibly her husband) with the Acilian Gens. That she was a woman of education is evident from ver. 26, and it is possible that her marriage with Aquila may afford us another proof amongst many of the influence of the Jewish religion over educated women in Rome, Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 3, 5. But many commentators from St. Chrysostom have referred the precedence of Priscilla not to social rank, but to her greater fervency of spirit or ability of character; or it may be simply due to the fact that she was converted first.—διὰ τὸ διατεταχέναι: St. Luke's statement is fully corroborated by Suet., *Claudius*, 25: "Judæos impulsore Christo assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit". But Dio Cassius, lx. 6, in referring to what is most probably the same edict, states that the Jews were not expelled, because of the difficulty in carrying such an order into effect on account of their great numbers. Another passage in Suet., *Tiberius*, 36, gives us the probable explanation: "expulit et mathematicos sed deprecantibus veniam dedit": an instance of a contemplated expulsion, afterwards abandoned. If we thus interpret the meaning of Suetonius with reference to the edict of Claudius by giving the same force to "expulit," it explains the silence of Tacitus and Josephus, who do not mention the edict, while the words of Dio Cassius emphasise the fact that although no expulsion took place the assemblies of the Jews were prohibited, and on that

account, we may fairly suppose, that many Jews would leave the city, Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 237. On any view the edict could not have remained in force very long, cf. xxviii. 15, and also the return of Aquila and Priscilla to Rome, Rom. xvi. 3. Ramsay dates the edict at the end of 50 A.D. on the ground that although Orosius, *Hist.*, vii., 6, 15, states that it occurred in the ninth year of Claudius, 49 A.D., the historian here, as elsewhere (e.g., cf. the famine) in connection with the events of this reign, is a year too early. Wendt (1899), p. 59, gives 49-50 as the year of the edict. But it must be remembered that the authority of Orosius is not altogether reliable in this case, as there is no proof that he had any direct reference to Josephus, to whom he appeals for his date; see O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 129; Blass, *Proleg.*, 23, and Turner, "Chronology of the New Testament" Hastings' B.D. McGiffert, p. 362, maintains that as the date of the edict is thus unknown, we cannot base any chronological conclusions upon it, cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 634. Meyer maintained that by Chrestus Suetonius meant a Jewish agitator so called, but it is more probable that the historian confused Christus with Chrestus—an unfamiliar name with one in use among both Greeks and Romans. This Chrestus Suetonius speaks of as actually living, as the historian might have heard enough to lead him to regard the commotions between Jews and Jewish Christians in Rome as instigated by a leader bearing this name, commotions like those excited in the Pisidian Antioch, in Thessalonica, and elsewhere; or it may be that he thus indicates the feverish hopes of the Messiah amongst the Jews resident in Rome, hopes so often raised by some pretentious deliverer. But Lightfoot makes the important remark that even in this case we may fairly suppose that the true Christ held a prominent place in

σκηνοποιοὶ τὴν τέχνην. 4. διελέγετο<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ κατὰ πᾶν  
σάββατον, ἔπειθέ τε Ἰουδαίους καὶ Ἕλληνας. 5. Ὡς δὲ κατῆλθον

<sup>1</sup> After διελέγετο (δε) D, Flor. Gig., Vulgel., Syr. Harcl. mg., Blass in β, so Hilg. add ἐντιθεὶς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου Ι. If in contrast to ver. 5 it is difficult to see why omitted, nor does the introduction of the name of Jesus seem likely in itself (*interprensens*, Flor.) to have persuaded both Jews and Greeks, unless we take ἐπειθέ as conative only. ἐντιθημι is not found elsewhere in the N.T. Belser thinks that here ἐντιθεὶς means "insinuating" (p. 85), and that the passage in β reminds us of Paul's own description of his preaching in 1 Cor. ii. 3 (so Blass). οὐ μόνον Ι. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἕλλ., so D and Flor., Blass in β, supported by Belser, u. s.

these reports, for He must have been not less known at this time than any of the false Christs (*Philippians*, p. 16, note). Such indifference on the part of a Roman of the period is surely not surprising, and the probability is more generally maintained that this Chrestus was really Christ, the leader of the Christians, see Weiss, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 227; Wendt (1899), *in loco*; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 47, 254; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 362, note, but, on the other hand, Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 306.

Ver. 3. διὰ τὸ ὁμότεχνον: the word is peculiar to St. Luke, and although it is found in classical Greek and in Josephus, it is not used in the LXX, and it may be regarded as a technical word used by physicians of one another; the medical profession was called ἡ ἱατρικὴ τέχνη, physicians were ὁμότεχνοι; thus Dioscorides in dedicating his work to Areus speaks of his friendly disposition towards fellow-physicians (ὁμότεχνους), Hobart, p. 239, Weiss in Meyer's *Kommentar*, Luke i. 6, and also Vogel, *Zur Charakteristik des Lukas*, p. 17 (1897). On the dignity of labour as fully recognised by Judaism at the time of the Advent, see Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, chapter xi.; *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 18, 19, 141 (Taylor, 2nd edit.).—ἔμενε παρ' αὐτοῖς: "In Alexandria the different trades sat in the synagogue arranged into guilds; and St. Paul could have no difficulty in meeting in the bazaar of his trade with the like-minded Aquila and Priscilla (Acts xviii. 2, 3), with whom to find a lodging," Edersheim, u. s., p. 89, and see passage from T. B. *Sukkah*, 51 b, quoted by Lumby, *in loco*, and on vi. 9.—ἡργάζετο: "at Corinth St. Paul's first search seems to have been for work," cf. Acts xx. 34, 35, 1 Thess. ii. 9, 2 Thess. iii. 8, 1 Cor. iv. 11, 12, 2 Cor. xi. 9, Phil. iv. 12. In close connection with this passage cf. "St. Paul a Working Man and in Want,"

*An Expositor's Note-Book*, pp. 419-438 (the late Dr. Samuel Cox), see also Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 34-36.—σκηνοποιοὶ: only here in N.T. (σκηνοποιεῖν, Symm., Isa. xiii. 20, xxii. 15); much has been said about the word, but there seems no reason to depart from the translation "tent-makers," i.e., σκηνοβάφος, Aelian, *V.H.*, ii., 1, and so St. Paul is called by Chrysostom and Theodoret, although Chrysostom also calls him σκυτοτόμος, 2 Tim. ii., *Hom.*, iv., 5, 3. It is no doubt true that tents were often made of a rough material woven from the hair of the goats in which Cilicia abounded, and that the name κιλίκιον (Lat. *cilicium*, Fr. *cilice*, hair-cloth) was given to this material; but the word in the text does not mean "makers of materials for tents". There is no ground for rendering the word with Renan *tapissier*, or with Michaelis "Kunst-Instrumentenmacher". On the curious notion that St. Paul was a landscape painter, which appears to have arisen from a confusion between σκηνοβάφος and σκηνογράφος, and the fact that he is described as ἡμιστοιός, probably a confusion with σκηνοποιοίς, see *Expository Times*, and notes by Ramsay, Nestle, Dec., 1896, Jan. and March, 1897. As it was often enjoined upon a son not to forsake the trade of his father, perhaps from respect, perhaps because a similar trade might be more easily learnt at home, it is likely that Saul followed his father's trade, which both father and son might easily have learnt at Tarsus. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 44, E.T. In a commercial city like Corinth the material would be easily obtainable, see critical note.

Ver. 4. διελέγετο δὲ . . . ἔπειθέ τε: "and he used to discourse . . . and tried to persuade," so Ramsay, marking the imperfects, see also Hackett's note.—Ἕλληνας: proselytes, since they are represented as in the synagogue, cf. xiv. 1. The heathen are not addressed until



ἀπὸ τῆς Μακεδονίας ὅτε Σίλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος, συνέιχετο τῷ πνεύματι<sup>1</sup>  
ὁ Παῦλος, διαμαρτυρούμενος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. 6.<sup>2</sup>  
ἀντιτασσομένων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ βλασφημούντων, ἐκτιναξάμενος τὰ  
ἱμάτια, εἶπε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Τὸ αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑμῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of πνεύματι **Σ**ABDE 13, 40, verss., Bas., Theodt., Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Blass, Wendt, R.V. read λογφ. Blass reads συνειχε in β. After Ιουδ. **Σ**ABD 13, 36, Vulg., verss., Bas. insert ειναι, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> D, Syr. Harcl. mg., Flor. prefix πολλου δε λογον γενομενου και γραφων διε-  
μνηνομενων. Flor. continues (so Blass in β) αντετασσαντο Ιουδαιοι τινες και  
εβλασφημουν, see especially Corssen, G. G. A., p. 431. For πορευσομαι D<sup>1</sup>H<sup>1</sup>L,  
Flor. πορευομαι. For απο του νυν D<sup>1</sup>, not D<sup>2</sup>, reads αφ' υμων νυν, "nunc vado ad  
(gentes) ab vobis," Flor.; Blass rejects in β.; Hilg. retains.

ver. 6. McGiffert considers that this notice of work in the synagogue is untrustworthy (p. 268) and at variance with the fact that in St. Paul's own Epistles there is no hint of it, but cf. 1 Cor. ix. 20, words which we may reasonably suppose had a special application to Corinth, or the Apostle would scarcely have so expressed himself. It would have been strange if in such a commercial centre there had been no Jewish synagogue.

Ver. 5. See note on xvii. 15; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 269, recognises this among the striking points of contact between Acts and the Epistles to the Corinthians. Here Silas and Timothy are said to have been with St. Paul in Corinth, cf. St. Paul's own statement in 2 Cor. i. 19, to the fact that the same two names occur in the salutations of 1 and 2 Thess., both of which were written from Corinth, see also Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, iv., 6, 7, and viii. 4.—συνείχετο τῷ πνεύματι: "he was wholly absorbed in preaching," λόγφ, so Ramsay; "in teaching the word," Grimm-Thayer, cf. Wisdom xvii. 11 (cf. 2 Cor. v. 14). The verb occurs frequently in Luke, six times in his Gospel, three times in Acts, twice in St. Paul, only once elsewhere in N.T., but nowhere as in the particular phrase here. It looks as if St. Paul's preaching in Corinth was specially characterised by "greater concentration of purpose and simplicity of method," cf. 1 Cor. ii. 2. The philosophic style in which he had addressed the Athenians is now abandoned, and so too, at least primarily, the proclamation of the living and true God, and of the coming of His Son to save His people in the day of wrath, with which apparently he had commenced at Thessalonica, 1 Thess. i. 9, 10. Such methods and truths had their place, but in Corinth "Jesus Christ and Him crucified" was to be preached

as the power of God and the wisdom of God, and in both his Epistles all that the Apostle says about the duties of the Christian life is brought into relation with this fundamental truth (see McGiffert, *u. s.*, p. 266). Silas and Timothy found him wholly possessed by and engrossed in the word (so the imperfect, Page, Alford, Wendt). On the other hand it has been maintained that the arrival of Silas and Timothy brought St. Paul help from Macedonia, and that on the account, Phil. iv. 15, 2 Cor. xi. 9, he was able to give himself up to preaching, as he was thus relieved from the strain of working for his bread (so Wordsworth, Lewin, Rendall). But 1 Cor. ix. 1 seems to imply that St. Paul still continued to work for his livelihood at Corinth. Blass seems to find in the uniqueness of the phrase a reason for its alteration; see critical note for his view. Plumptre refers the words to the Apostle's desire to see Rome, which the Apostle cherished for many years, and which had been further kindled by finding himself in company with those who came from Rome; and the announcement of a journey to Rome, xix. 21, after the Apostle had been some time in the company of Aquila and Priscilla both at Corinth and Ephesus, is emphasised by Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 255. But on the whole, Ramsay's interpretation is very striking, p. 252, cf. the remarks of McGiffert much to the same effect, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 263-266.—εἱμαρτ., see above on p. 92.—τὸν Χ. 'Ι.: "that the Anointed One is Jesus," cf. xvii. 3, so Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 226. So far the message was evidently for Jews. See critical note for reading in D.

Ver. 6. ἀντιτασσ.: classical use, of an army ranged in hostile array, or of those opposed to each other in opinion, Thuc., iii., 83. So in later Greek, in Polyb.

καθαρὸς ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πορεύσομαι. 7. καὶ μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν ἦλθεν εἰς οἰκίαν τινὸς ὀνόματι Ἰούστου,<sup>1</sup> σεβομένου τὸν Θεόν, οὗ ἡ οἰκία ἦν συνομοροῦσα τῇ συναγωγῇ. 8.<sup>2</sup> Κρίσπος δὲ ὁ ἀρχι-συναγωγὸς ἐπίστευσε τῷ Κυρίῳ σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ· καὶ πολλοὶ

<sup>1</sup> B\* D<sup>2</sup>, Syr. H.; Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt have Τίτιου l. ΞΕ, Vulg., Boh., Arm. have Τίτου l., so R.V. Instead of ἐκεῖθεν D\* 137, Flor. read ἀπο τοῦ Ακυλα, not Blass in β, but Hilg.; see Corssen, u. s., p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> For doublets in D in this verse, so in Flor., Blass in β, see Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 60.

generally to oppose, to resist. Ramsay renders "and when they began to form a faction against him," but cf. Rom. xiii. 2, James iv. 6, v. 6, 1 Pet. v. 5, Prov. iii. 34.—βλασφ., cf. xiii. 45, or it may be used generally as in xix. 9, and 2 Peter ii. 2.—ἐκτιναξ., cf. xiii. 51, note; cf. Matt. x. 14, and LXX, Neh. v. 13, "undoubtedly a very exasperating gesture," Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 256; but we must remember that the opposition at Corinth seems to have been unusually great, as Ramsay himself points out, u. s., pp. 143, 256.—τὸ αἷμα ὑμῶν, cf. xx. 26, Hebraistic, cf., e.g., Matt. xxvii. 25, and in LXX, Lev. xx. 16, 2 Sam. i. 16, 1 Kings ii. 37, Ezek. iii. 18, etc., i.e., ἐλθέτω, Matt. xxiii. 35. Both here and in xx. 26 we can scarcely doubt that St. Paul had in mind the words of the prophet, Ezek. xxxiii. 6.—ἐπὶ τὴν κεφ., i.e., upon yourselves, the head being used for the person—for other ideas of the word see Wendt (1888), *in loco*. De Wette interprets of moral ruin, and others of the eternal ἀπωλεία, but we cannot refine so much upon a figurative phrase. In vv. 5<sup>b</sup> and 6 Spitta and Jüngst see the hand of a Reviser, the former holding that the whole passage runs smoothly with these omissions, whilst Jüngst ascribes also the word ἐκεῖθεν, ver. 7, to the Reviser. According to Clemen, 4 and 5<sup>b</sup>, the preaching in the synagogue belongs to Redactor Judaicus, the Jewish persecution in ver. 6 to the Redactor Antijudaicus. Hilgenfeld agrees with Spitta in so far that he ascribes 5<sup>b</sup> and 6<sup>b</sup> to "the author to Theophilus".—καθαρὸς ἐγὼ: scarcely enough to say "I am pure," have discharged my duty with a clear conscience, cf. xx. 26, the same idea here, better to punctuate at ἐγὼ, but see Blass, *in loco*. —ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν: from henceforth, i.e., so far as he is concerned. It is evident that the words did not apply to other places, for in xix. 8 St. Paul goes to the synagogue according to his wont. The phrase

is found five times in St. Luke's Gospel, but only here in Acts. It is used once elsewhere in N.T. and there by St. Paul, 2 Cor. v. 16 (cf. John viii. 11). See Friedrich, p. 16, and Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*, p. 29.

Ver. 7. μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν, i.e., from the synagogue, cf. Luke x. 7, "he removed," Rendall; "he changed his place from the synagogue," Ramsay; the verb is found three times with ἐκεῖθεν in St. Matthew, and in each place "departed" R.V., this gives perfectly good sense; cf. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 158, and critical note.—Ἰούστου: if the addition Τίτου or Τίτιου is correct, there is no need to discuss the possible identification with the companion of St. Paul in Gal. ii. 1, etc.; see Alford and Page, *in loco*, and critical note. The identification was adopted by Chrysostom and Grotius, and for a statement of the evidence on either side see Plumptre, *in loco*. It should be remembered that we have Barsabbas Justus, i. 23, and Jesus Justus, Col. iv. 11, see also Lightfoot "Acts of the Apostles," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i. 32. The house of a proselyte may have been chosen because it offered easy access to those who wished to come, whether Greeks or Hebrews (see Chrysostom's comment), but in Paul's thus going into the house of a proselyte hard by the synagogue we may see how his spirit had been stirred. But further: this Titus Justus was evidently a Roman citizen, one of the *coloni* in Corinth, and thus St. Paul would gain access through him to the more educated class in the city, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 256, and "Corinth," Hastings' B.D., i. 480.—συναμοροῦσα: there is no need to suppose that he left his lodgings with Aquila—this house became Paul's place of meeting (so in Ephesus, cf. xix. 9, 10); he had his own synagogue there (Blass); in classics simple verb ὁμῶν, ὁμῶν; compound only found here; συνόμορος, Eccl. writers.



τῶν Κορινθίων ἀκούοντες ἐπίστευον καὶ ἐβαπτίζοντο. 9. Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Κύριος δι' ὁράματος ἐν νυκτὶ τῷ Παύλῳ, Μὴ φοβοῦ, ἀλλὰ λάλει καὶ μὴ σιωπήσῃς· 10. διότι ἐγὼ εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιθήσεται σοὶ τοῦ κακῶσαι σε· διότι λαὸς ἐστὶ μοι πολὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ.

Ver. 8. Κρίσπος, *cf.* 1 Cor. i. 14, coincidence with, admitted by McGiffert, p. 269 (so too by Holtzmann), "no reason to doubt that he is the man whose conversion Luke reports," according to tradition he became Bishop of Ægina, *Const. Apost.*, vii., 46. Though a Jew he bore a Latin name, *cf.* for a parallel case J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, in *loco*.—ὁ ἀρχισ., if *cf.* ver. 17 it looks as if in the Corinthian synagogue there was only one person bearing this title, and that Sosthenes succeeded Crispus when the latter became a Christian, see "Corinth" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D., i., p. 482, and see also Ramsay, *Expositor*, April, 1895, and above on xiii. 15: on the reason of St. Paul's baptism of Crispus, Gaius, Stephanas, see B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Hastings' B.D., u. s. There is certainly no ground for supposing that St. Paul depreciated baptism although he baptised so few in Corinth with his own hands, *Speaker's Commentary* on 1 Cor. i. 17. It is evident from this notice that St. Paul's preaching had not been without its effect on the Jewish residents, and probably one reason why the feeling against the Apostle was so strong, xx. 3, was because this influence extended to persons of importance in Corinth; the next words show good results among the Gentile population of the city.—σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ, *cf.* xvi. 15, 1 Cor. i. 16.—τῶν Κ., not Ἰουδαῖοι, who are always so called, but Ἕλληνες, ver. 4, including for the most part "proselytes of the gate".—ἀκού. ἐπίστευον καὶ ἐβαπτ.: "used to hear, and believe, and receive baptism," imperfections; the spread of the new faith was gradual but continuous. ἀκού. is taken by some to refer to the hearing of the fact that Paul had separated himself from the synagogue (so Wendt, Weiss); see critical note.

Ver. 9. So at other crises in the Apostle's life, *cf.* xxii. 17, xxvii. 23.—ὁ Κ., *i.e.*, Jesus.—μὴ φοβοῦ, *cf.* Isa. xlii. 6, xliii. 2, and for the phrase Luke i. 13, ii. 10, v. 10, viii. 50, xii. 7, 32, Acts, in *loco*, and xxvii. 24, characteristic of the Evangelist; Friedrich, p. 35, and Plummer on Luke i. 13. *Cf.* xx. 3 for the continued malignity of these Corinthian Jews; the Apostle's apprehension as expressed here is confirmed by

the statements in 1 Thess. ii. 15, iii. 7, which describe the Jewish opposition as existing at the time he wrote (see this fully acknowledged by McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 270). Hilgenfeld sees no reason to refer vv. 9 and 10 to the Reviser (with Jüngst). He finds them in his source C of which they are characteristic, *cf.* xvi. 9, 10; the vision refers not to what had preceded, but to what follows, and explains the stay of Paul at Corinth mentioned in ver. 11.—ἀλλὰ λάλει καὶ μὴ σιωπ., *i.e.*, "continue to speak," "speak on," *cf.* Isa. lviii. 1, affirmation and negation; solemnity in the double form; see too Jer. i. 6-8, xv. 15-21; on the form of the tenses see Weiss, in *loco*. In 1 Cor. ii. 3, 4 we have a proof of the effect of this assurance, and of the confidence with which the Apostle was inspired.

Ver. 10. διότι ἐγώ: *fundamentum fiducia*, Bengel.—ἐπιθ.: only here in this sense, but so in LXX, *aggredi*, *cf.* Gen. xliii. 18, Exod. xxi. 14, 2 Chron. xxiii. 13, Jud. xvi. 7.—τοῦ κακῶσαι: infinitive with τοῦ, probably to express conceived or intended result, Burton, p. 157 and also p. 148, *i.e.*, an event indicated by the context not to have actually taken place.—λαός: "qui mei sunt et mei fient": Bengel—even in Corinth, proverbial for its vice, Christ has His "chosen people," and in Cenchreae, where all the vices of a seafaring population found a home, "Christianity wrought its miracle," so Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 219, *cf.* the Apostle's own description, 1 Cor. vi. 9-11: "in Corinth the Gospel had been put to a supreme test, and nowhere had it triumphed more gloriously". No wonder that in facing this stronghold of the powers of darkness St. Paul needed an assurance similar to that which cheered the heart of an Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 18. But whilst the new faith thus gained adherents chiefly from the lowest social grade, *cf.* also 1 Cor. i. 26, which indicates that there were some in the higher social ranks and some versed in the learning of the schools who welcomed the Gospel; to a Crispus, a Gaius, a Stephanas, we may add Erastus, the public treasurer of the city, Rom. xvi. 23, an office which in a place like Corinth carried with it considerable influence and position (as even

11. ἐκάθισέ τε ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ, διδάσκων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ.

12. Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπατεύοντος<sup>1</sup> τῆς Ἀχαΐας, κατεπέστησαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα,

<sup>1</sup> **ABD** 15, 18, 36, 40, Tisch., Alford, W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. read *ἀνθυπατου οντος*. Meyer follows T.R., so Blass. D and Flor. expand as follows in 12 and 13, so Blass in β, κατεπ. οἱ Ι. συλλαλησαντες μεθ' εαυτων επι τον Π. και επιθεντες τας χειρας ηγαγον αυτον επι το βημα καταβωντες και λεγ.

Renan admits, although he regards him as the only adherent won from the upper classes), and the readiness with which the Corinthian Church responded to St. Paul's appeal for the poor saints indicates that many of its members had some means at their disposal (*cf.* the striking account of Paul's work at Corinth by McGiffert, p. 267, and Orr, *Some Neglected Factors in Early Christianity*, p. 108).

Ver. 11. ἐκάθισε, see critical note, "he dwelt," R.V., *cf.* Luke xxiv. 49, but not elsewhere in N.T. in this sense, but constantly in LXX, 1 Macc. ii. 1, 29. Rendall renders "he took his seat," *i.e.*, as a teacher, a Rabbi, and see also the remarks of Ramsay on the way in which St. Paul was evidently regarded at Corinth as one of the travelling lecturers on philosophy and morals so common in the Greek world, "Corinth," Hastings' B.D.<sup>1</sup>, p. 482. The word may be purposely used here instead of the ordinary μένειν to indicate the quiet and settled work to which the Apostle was directed by the vision which had calmed his troubled spirit, and had taught him that his cherished plan of revisiting Macedonia must be postponed to preaching the Word in Corinth. During this period 1 and 2 Thess. were probably written. The year and a half is taken to include the whole subsequent residence in Corinth, ver. 18, in which vv. 12-17 form an episode. Men attacked him with a view of injuring him, but without success, and his continuous abode in Corinth was a fulfilment of the promise in ver. 10 (indicated perhaps more clearly by τε than by δέ in ver. 11). On ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς, ver. 18, see below—the words are taken to mark simply a note of the time spent between the incident of vv. 12-17 and the departure of Paul from the city. In this period the Apostle would have founded the Church at Cenchreae, and his labours seem to have extended still further, for in 2 Cor i. 1 we read of the saints in the whole of Achaia (*cf.* 2 Cor. xi. 10) and

the household of Stephanas is spoken of as the firstfruits not of Corinth but of Achaia.

Ver. 12. ἀνθ., *cf.* xiii. 7, another proof of St. Luke's accuracy, Achaia from B.C. 27 (when it had been separated from Macedonia, to which it had been united since B.C. 146, and made into a separate province) had been governed by a proconsul. In A.D. 15 Tiberius had reunited it with Macedonia and Mysia, and it was therefore under an imperial legatus as an imperial province, Tac., *Ann.*, i., 76. But a further change occurred when Claudius, A.D. 44, made it again a senatorial province under a proconsul, Suet., *Claudius*, 25. On subsequent changes in its government see Ramsay, "Achaia," Hastings' B.D. Corinth was the chief city of the province Achaia, and so probably chosen for the residence of the governors.—Γαλλίωνος: we have no direct statement save that of St. Luke that Gallio governed Achaia. Gallio's brother Seneca tells us that Gallio caught fever in Achaia, *Ep. Mor.*, 104, and took a voyage for change of air (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 258) (see also the same reference in Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 634, and as against Clemen, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 260), a remark which Ramsay justly regards as a corroboration of St. Luke; on the date see Ramsay *St. Paul*, p. 258, and *Expositor* March, 1897, p. 206; "Corinth," Hastings' B.D.<sup>1</sup>, p. 481; Turner, "Chronology of the New Testament," *ibid.* Gallio could not have entered on the proconsulship of Achaia before 44 A.D., and probably not before 49 or 50: Ramsay thinks during the summer of A.D. 52 (Renan and Lightfoot, A.D. 53), whilst recently Schürer (so Wendt, 1899) places the proconsulship of Gallio between 51-55 A.D., *Zw. Th.*, 1898, p. 41 f. 'as against O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, who places it before 49 A.D.). The description of Gallio in Acts is quite consistent with what we know of his personal character, and with his attitude as a Roman official.



13. λέγοντες, "Ὅτι παρὰ τὸν νόμον οὗτος ἀναπείθει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους σέβεσθαι τὸν Θεόν. 14. μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα, εἶπεν ὁ Γαλλίων πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, Εἰ μὲν οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἦν ἀδίκημά τι ἢ ῥαδιούργημα πονηρόν, ὧ Ἰουδαῖοι, κατὰ λόγον ἂν ἦνεσχόμεν ὑμῶν.

<sup>1</sup> οὖν om. SABDE, Chrys., verss., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass. D Flor., Vulg. read ω ἀνδρες Ιουδ.

Statius, *Silv.*, ii., 7, 32, speaks of him as "dulcis Gallio," and his brother Seneca writes of him: "Nemo mortalium uni tam dulcis est quam hic omnibus," *Quaest. Nat.*, iv., Praef., and see other references and testimonies, Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 221, and "Gallio," B.D.<sup>2</sup>. It is quite possible that the Jews took advantage of his easy-going nature and affability, or, if he had recently arrived in the province, of his inexperience. Gallio's Hellenic culture may have led to his selection for the post (Renan, *u. s.*, p. 222). The notion that as a Stoic he was friendly disposed towards the Christians, and on that account rejected the accusations of the Jews, is quite without foundation, see Zöckler, *in loco*. The name of Junius Gallio was an assumed one; its bearer, whose real name was Marcus Annaeus Novatus, had been adopted by the rhetorician, L. Junius Gallio, a friend of his father.—κατεπέστησαν, cf. xvi. 22, verb, only found here. Rendall, *in loco*, renders "made a set assault upon Paul," expressing the culmination of the Jewish hostility in a set assault (not against, as in A. and R.V.).—ἄριστος, as in xv. 25.—τὸ βῆμα: of the proconsul, probably erected in some public place, a movable seat of judgment.

Ver. 13. λέγοντες: in the set accusation which follows there is probably an indication that the Jews could not stir up the crowd against Paul as at Philippi and Thessalonica, for already he had gained too good an influence over the common people (Weiss).—ἀναπείθει: only here in N.T., "persuadendo excitare, sollicitare," it is used of evil persuasion in LXX, Jer. xxxvi. (xxix.) 8 and in 1 Macc. i. 11.—παρὰ τὸν νόμον: "contrary to the law": what law? Roman or Jewish? in a certain sense the expression might include both, for as a *religio licita* the Jewish law was under the protection of the Roman law, and Josephus tells us how leave had been granted to the Jews to worship according to their own law, *Ant.*, xiv., 10, 2 ff. But Paul's teaching was to these Jews the introduction of something illegal, contrary to the religion

which they were allowed to practise, and so they sought to bring his teaching under the cognisance of the proconsul (see Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 190). They may therefore have designedly used a phrase which had a double meaning. But whatever their design, Gallio saw through it, and drew a hard and fast distinction between a charge of illegality against the state and of illegality against Jewish, νόμον τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς, not Roman law. In this reply Gallio showed that he knew more about the matter than the Jews supposed, and he may have had some intelligence of the Jewish disturbances at Rome about "Chrestus". Both ἀνθρώπους and σέβ. τὸν Θεόν point to the general nature of the charge, as including Paul's efforts to convert not only Jews but proselytes. At least the Jews would try to give their accusation a colour of illegality against the Roman law, for they would themselves have dealt with it if it had been simply connected with their own religious observances, see "Corinth," Hastings B.D., i., 481.

Ver. 14. μέλλοντος: Lucan; see Burton, p. 71, on οὖν, see critical note and Alford, *in loco*, for its retention.—ἀδίκημα, cf. xxiv. 20, only once elsewhere in N.T., Rev. xviii. 5, here it may perhaps mark a legal wrong, a wrong against the state—the word is used in classical Greek of a breach of law ἀδικ. τῶν νόμων, Dem., 586, 11, while ῥαδιούργημα marks rather the moral wrong. ῥαδ., cf. xiii. 10, not elsewhere either in classical Greek or LXX, but cf. Plut., *Pyrrh.*, 6, "if a misdemeanour or a crime": so Ramsay.—κατὰ λόγον: *ut par est merito*; cf. use of the phrase in Polyb. and 3 Macc. iii. 14 (παρὰ λ., 2 Macc. iv. 46, 3 Macc. vii. 8).—Ἰουδαῖοι without ἄνδρες perhaps in contempt (so Knabenbauer), but see critical note.—ἦνεσχόμεν, cf. Luke ix. 41, and so several times in St. Paul's Epistles, 2 Cor. xi. 1, 4; on the augment and construction see Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 39, 102, Simcox, *Language of the New Testament*, p. 34, note, and Burton, p. 103.

15. εἰ δὲ ζήτημά<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ περὶ λόγου καὶ ὀνομάτων καὶ νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς, ὤψεσθε αὐτοί· κριτὴς γὰρ<sup>2</sup> ἐγὼ τούτων οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι.  
 16. καὶ<sup>3</sup> ἀπήλασεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. 17. ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ πάντες<sup>4</sup> οἱ Ἕλληνες Σωσθένην τὸν ἀρχισυνάγωγον ἔτυπτον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βήματος· καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων τῷ Γαλλίῳ ἔμελεν.

<sup>1</sup> The plur. ζήτῃματα read by  $\aleph$ ABD<sup>2</sup>E, verss., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss Wendt, Blass.

<sup>2</sup> γὰρ after κριτὴς om.  $\aleph$ ABD 13, Vulg., Boh., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt Blass.

<sup>3</sup> For ἀπηλάσεν, D<sup>1</sup>, Flor., Hilg. ἀπέλυσεν, but not Blass.

<sup>4</sup>  $\aleph$ AB Vulg., Boh., Arm. om. οἱ Ἕλληνες, so R.V., W.H., Wendt, Weiss; Blass retains (Flor. om. πάντες), so Belser and Hilg. Blass in  $\beta$  reads καὶ οἱ Γαλλίων προσποιεῖτο αὐτὸν μὴ βλέπειν. Flor. "simulat se non videre" (d); Belser holds that this is original, p. 87. Some later MSS. read λουδαῖοι.

Ver. 15. If we read the plural ζήτῃματα we may regard it as expressing contempt: "a parcel of questions," Alford; but if they are questions of word (teaching) not deed (opposite *ἔργον, factum*) and of names not things, *verba*, opposite *πράγματα* (Blass); i.e., the arguments as to whether Jesus could rightly or not claim the title of Messiah, see also Page's note.—νόμου τοῦ καθ' ὑμᾶς: of your law—not Roman law; with the phrase cf. xvii. 28 (xvi. 39  $\beta$ ), xxiv. 22. It is used only once elsewhere in N.T., by St. Paul, Eph. i. 15 (cf. Acts xxvi. 3).—ὤψεσθε αὐτοί, cf. Matt. xxvii. 4, 24; pronoun emphatic, xiii. 18, 19; so in LXX, Num. xiii. 19, Judg. vii. 17, xxi. 21, etc. Blass quotes two passages from Epictetus, ii., 5, 30, and iv., 6, 41.—κριτὴς γὰρ ἐγὼ: omit γὰρ; pronoun more emphatic; they could determine their matters according to their own law; so Lysias, xxiii., 29, Festus, xxv., 19.—οὐ βούλομαι: "I am not minded," R.V.; the decision while it testifies to the strength of Gallio's character, since unlike Pilate he would not allow himself to be influenced against his better judgment, expresses at the same time his sovereign contempt for the Jews and their religion; to him as to his brother Seneca the Jews were only *sceleratissima gens* (Aug., *De Civ. Dei*, vi., 10). The decision shows no favourable inclination to Christianity itself, but this does not take away from its importance as proving that so far as the Roman authorities were concerned the freedom of speech thus granted would enable the religion of the Christ to make its way through the civilised, i.e., the Roman world; cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 260, who sees in his residence at Corinth an epoch in Paul's life not only as regards

his doctrine and his presentation of it but also as regards his aim that Christianity should be spread throughout the empire, an aim made more clear by the imperial policy of which Gallio was the exponent.

Ver. 16. ἀπήλασεν: probably by his lictors who would be commanded to clear the court. This interpretation of the word is in accordance with the next verse, which describes the crowd of Greeks as prepared to follow up the decision of Gallio by similar treatment of a leading Jew on their own account. See critical note.

Ver. 17. ἐπιλαβ. δὲ: of hostile action, xvii. 19, xvi. 19.—οἱ Ἕλληνες, see critical note. If πάντες alone is read it seems clear from the context that only the Jews could be meant, and Weiss supposes that when they had failed so ignominiously they vented their rage on their own leader, Sosthenes, who as head of the synagogue would naturally have been prominent in presenting the complaint to Gallio. Some of the later MSS. insert οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι after πάντες to make the meaning clearer. Probably confusion arose in the MSS. from identifying Sosthenes either rightly or wrongly with the Sosthenes in 1 Cor. i. 1, and therefore οἱ Ἕλληνες was omitted on the supposition that the Jews were allowed to console themselves by beating a Christian. But not only is it difficult to conceive that Gallio would have allowed them to do this, but there is no occasion to suppose that the Sosthenes here is the same as in 1 Cor. i. 1 (for the name was common), and even if so, he may have become a Christian at a later date. It is much more conceivable that the Corinthians in their hatred of the Jews proceeded to



18. Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔτι προσημείνας ἡμέρας ἱκανάς, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποταξάμενος ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Πρίσκιλλα καὶ

second as it were the supercilious treatment dealt out to them by Gallio, and they would naturally fix upon Sosthenes as the leading spirit in the Jewish community. So far as he cared at all, Gallio may have been pleased rather than otherwise at the rough and ready approval of his decision by the populace, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 250, and "Corinth," Hastings' B.D.<sup>1</sup>, p. 482; Plumptre, *in loco*, and Wendt (1899). The whole of the section, vv. 12-17, is regarded by Clemen, p. 126, Jüngst, p. 165, as an interpolation, but Hilgenfeld puts aside their varying grounds of rejection as unconvincing, and finds it very conceivable that the Jews attempted to hinder the preaching of Paul as is here described (1 Thess. ii. 16). With regard to the whole narrative of Paul at Corinth, vv. 1-17, Spitta, p. 244, concludes, as against Weizsäcker's attack on its historical character, that we may regard it as scanty or even one-sided, but that there is no valid reason to regard it as unhistorical.—**ἔτυπτον**: Hackett interprets the imperfect as showing how thorough a beating Sosthenes received; but "exitus rei quæ depingitur (imperf.) non indicatur, quia nihil gravius secutum est," Blass; the imperfect may simply mean "began to strike".—**οὐδὲν . . . ἔμελεν**, cf. Luke x. 40, a Gallio has become a proverbial name for one indifferent to religion, but there is nothing in St. Luke's statement to support such a view. All the words show is that Gallio was so little influenced by the accusations of the Jews against Paul that he took no notice of the conduct of the Greeks (?) in beating Sosthenes. And if the beating was administered by the Jews, Gallio might well overlook it, as he would regard it as the outcome of some question which only concerned *their* religion (Weiss).

Ver. 18. **ἔτι προσημείνας**: this may be an addition to the year and a half, or may be included in it; on **ἔτι** see critical note.—**ἱκανάς**, Lucan, see on viii. 11, etc. the expression shows how little the attack upon the Apostle had injured his prospects of evangelising the city and neighbourhood.—**ἀποταξ.**, Vulgate, *vale-facio*, used by Luke and Paul only, except Mark vi. 46, Luke ix. 61, xiv. 33, Acts, *in loco*, and ver. 21, 2 Cor. iii. 13; in this sense only in middle voice in N.T., in classical Greek not used in this sense, but **ἀσπαζέσθαι τινα** (Grimm, *sub v.*);

cf. also its use in Jos., *Ant.*, xi., 6, 8 (so too in Philo), like Latin, *renuntio*, to forsake (cf. Luke xiv. 33), and in Eccl. writers, Ignatius, *Ad Philadelph.*, xi., 1; Euseb., *H.E.*, ii., 17, 5 (2 Clem., vi., 4, 5).—**ἐξέπλει**: "he set about the voyage," in xx. 6, aorist, not imperfect as here; "recte impf., nam de perfecta navigatione, ver. 22, demum agitur," Blass.—**κειρ.** . . . **εὐχὴν**: in the interpretation of this passage it is undoubtedly best to refer the vow to Paul; grammatically it would refer to Aquila, but it is difficult to see what point there would then be in the statement. If it is urged that Aquila's name placed after Priscilla's indicates that he is the subject of the following verb, we have clearly seen that this is not the only occasion on which Priscilla's name preceded her husband's, see above, and ver. 26, and Rom. xvi. 3. The argument that the notice is intended by St. Luke to show that Paul counselled observance of the law, and did not tempt him to break it, as he was afterwards accused of doing, xxi. 21, is still more irrelevant, for so far nothing has been definitely said as to Aquila's conversion. And if the vow involved any obligation to appear at Jerusalem, it is quite evident that Paul and not Aquila went up to the Holy City. A list of the names on either side is given by Alford, Felten, Wendt. Amongst recent writers we may add Wendt, Zöckler, Blass, Jüngst, Matthias as favouring the view that Aquila is the subject, whilst Weiss, Felton, Ramsay, Hort, Rendall, Page, Knabenbauer, Luckock take the opposite view. What then was the nature and occasion of the vow? Those who connect this vow with the journey to Jerusalem, as if the latter was obligatory in the fulfilment of the former, are justified in regarding the vow as a modified form of the Nazirite vow, Num. vi. 1-21. The man under the Nazirite vow was to drink no wine or strong drink, and to let no razor pass over his head or face. At the end of the time during which the vow lasted, his hair was shaven at the door of the Tabernacle (the Temple), and burnt in the fire of the altar as an offering. But it is to be observed that in this passage the word is **κειράμενος**, whilst of thus completing the Nazirite vow, xxi. 24, the word **ξυρῆσθωνται** is used (cf. 1 Cor. xi. 6), and there is evidence (Wordsworth, *in loco*) that a man who had taken a

Ἀκύλας,<sup>1</sup> κειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς· εἶχε γὰρ εὐχὴν.

19. κατήντησε<sup>2</sup> δὲ εἰς Ἔφεσον, κἀκείνους κατέλιπεν αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲ

<sup>1</sup> After Ακύλας Blass in β reads ος ευχην εχων εν Κεγχρεαῖς την κεφαλην εκειρατο, following Flor.; see Belser, pp. 89-92, who strongly opposes Blass, and cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 263, and comment.

<sup>2</sup> κατηντησαν, plur. in ὝΑΒΕ 13, 40, d, tol., Sah., Boh., Syrr., Arm., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. Blass omits κακείνους κατέλιπεν αὐτον, so Flor., which ends "cum venisset Ephesum in se". Blass, with D, Flor., reads καταντησας δε εις Σ., and continues with D 137, Syr. H. mg., Sah., τῷ ἐπιοντι σαββατῷ εισελθων. διελεχθη EHL P; διελεξατο ὝΑΒ 13, 68, 69, 105, Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, W.H.; διελεγετο D, Gig., Vulg., so Blass in β.

Nazirite vow in a foreign land was allowed to poll or cut his hair shorter (κείρω), provided that the hair so polled was taken to the Temple and burnt there as an offering together with the hair shorn off at the completion of the vow. That the Jews took upon themselves a modified form of the Nazirite vow is proved from Josephus, *B. J.*, ii., 15, 1, when they were afflicted by disease or any other distress. Possibly therefore the vow followed upon St. Paul's deliverance from an attack of sickness, and the warm praise bestowed upon Phœbe, the deaconess of the Church at Cenchreae (*Rom.* xvi. 1), for her personal aid to himself may be taken as some confirmation of this. But if we thus place St. Paul's vow here under the category of the vows mentioned by Josephus, the journey to Jerusalem must be immediately connected with it, as the description given by the Jewish historian plainly shows that the vows in question were modified forms of the regular Nazirite vow. It is a very reasonable conjecture that the vow may be connected with St. Paul's danger at Corinth, and with his safe deliverance from it. As one consecrated to the service of the Lord, he would allow his hair to grow until the promise of his safety had been fulfilled and his embarkation from Corinth was assured. The vow was thus analogous to the Nazirite vow, inasmuch as the same idea of consecration lay at the root of each; but it was rather a private vow (*Hort, Judaistic Christianity*, p. 91, and Weiss, *in loco*), and in this case the journey of the Apostle to Jerusalem would not be conditioned by the vow, but by his desire to be present at some great festival, beyond doubt that of the Passover. On the custom amongst other nations to cut off the hair, and to let it grow in votive offering to the gods, see Holtzmann, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 395, and Page, *in loco*. Hilgenfeld ascribes the narrative of the

incident to his "author to Theophilus," whether the vow refers to Paul or Aquila, and considers that the story is intended to connect St. Paul as much as possible with Judaism. One of the most curious instances of perverse interpretation is that of Krenkel, who thinks that the κείρω may be referred to Paul, who shaved his head to counteract the epileptic fits with which he was afflicted, 2 Cor. xiii. 7, see Zöckler's note.—Κεγχρεαῖς, see notices of the place in Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 218, and Hastings' *B.D.*, modern *Kalaniki* (in Thuc. Κεγχρεαῖς): the eastern harbour of Corinth, about nine miles distant, connecting the trade with Asia; Lechaëum, the other port ("bimaris Corinthi," Horace, *Odes*, i., 7, 2), connecting it with Italy and the West. Τούτῳ μὲν οὖν χρόνῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας τῷ Λεχαίῳ, Strabo, viii., 6, p. 380.

Ver. 19. κατήντησε, see critical note.—εἰς Ἔφεσον: a voyage of two or three days with unfavourable wind. Cicero mentions two occasions when the voyage from Ephesus to Athens took two weeks, *Ad Attic.*, vi., 8, 9; iii., 9, but in both instances extraordinary delays were the cause of the lengthy voyage; on Ephesus see xix. 1.—κἀκείνους κατέλ. αὐτοῦ: Ephesus, famous for its commerce, where they might carry on their trade, although it is perhaps somewhat hazardous to regard the city as the centre of the particular trade in which they were engaged. Lewin quotes two passages in support of this, but they both refer to one event, the presentation of a tent by the Ephesians to Alcibiades, "Ephesus" *B.D.*<sup>2</sup>.—αὐτὸς δὲ: this does not mean that Paul for his part (in contradiction to Aquila and Priscilla) went into the synagogue; such an interpretation seems unnatural. Others explain that Aquila and Priscilla were left in the town, and that the synagogue was outside the town (so Alford), but this does not seem satisfactory as a full explanation,



εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν διελέχθη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις. 20. ἐρωτῶντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖον χρόνον μείναι παρ' αὐτοῖς,<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἐπένευσεν· 21. ἀλλ' ἀπετάξατο αὐτοῖς, εἰπών,<sup>2</sup> Δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· πάλιν δὲ ἀνακάμψω πρὸς ὑμᾶς·

<sup>1</sup> παρ' αὐτοῖς *om.* **NAB** 36, 40, *Vulg.*, *Syr. H.* text, *Aeth.*, so *Tisch.*, *W.H.*, *R.V.*, *Weiss*, *Wendt*, *Blass*.

<sup>2</sup> After εἰπὼν **NABE** 13, 15, 105, 180, *Vulg.* (*ex.* *demid.*), *Sah.*, *Boh.*, *Arm.*, *Aethro.* *om.* *δει* . . . *ἱεροσ.*, so *Tisch.*, *W.H.*, *R.V.*, *Weiss*, *Wendt*; retained by *T.R.*, so *Meyer*, after (*D*) *HLP* 36, 40, *Syrr.*, *demid.*, *Chrys.*, *Oec.*, *Thl.*, *Gig.*, *Wer.*; *D* has τὴν ἑορτὴν ἡμέραν, omitting the second τὴν. *Blass*, p. xx., thinks *D* here affected by the corresponding Latin, "sollemnem diem advenientem". The reading may have arisen from a desire to give a reason for St. Paul's urgency in making a brief journey to Jerusalem, a journey to which the ἀναβας of ver. 22 was regarded as referring (*cf.* xx. 16). But whether we follow the Bezan text or not, Ramsay holds that the shorter reading of the great MSS. still implies a hurried visit to Jerusalem, which could only be for some great occasion—the Feast of the Passover close at hand (so Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 263). Possibly the performance of his vow may have occasioned this urgent desire (*Belser*). But in xix. 1 *D* has a further expansion of the text, and speaks of a purposed but unaccomplished journey of St. Paul to Jerusalem, so that we cannot find in xviii. 22 an intimation of the accomplishment of this journey (*cf.* *Corssen*, *G. G. A.*, p. 440, 1896; *Hilgenfeld*, *Zw. Th.*, 1896, p. 82), and ἀναβας, xviii. 22, does not refer to a journey to Jerusalem at all on this view. But the reference of β in xix. 1 to the proposed journey in xviii. 21 has been doubted: Paul may have visited Jerusalem, xviii. 22, then travelled through Galatia and Phrygia, ver. 23, and have formed anew an intention to pay another visit to Jerusalem (so *Belser*, strongly against *Blass*, *Beiträge*, p. 97, and also *Die Selbstvertheidigung des heiligen Paulus*, p. 140 ff., App. I.; the visit in xviii. 22 having been already accomplished for the performance of his vow). But if xix. 1 does refer back to the journey of xviii. 21, *Wendt* maintains that the original occasion for the addition in that verse may still have been the fact that ἀναβας was understood of a journey to Jerusalem. For the two additions may proceed from different hands; that in xviii. 21 has much better attestation than that in xix. 1, and may owe its origin to the correct reference of ἀναβας in ver. 22 to a journey to Jerusalem; whilst the later addition in xix. 1 may have been occasioned by that of xviii. 21, because the reference in ver. 22 to a journey to Jerusalem was no longer recognised (*Wendt*, 1899, note, p. 306); see further on xix. 1.

especially after xvi. 13. It seems most probable that St. Luke uses the words in an anticipatory way, and passes on to the doings of the chief figure, Paul. In spite of all that he had sundered at the hands of his countrymen, St. Paul is still an Israelite, yearning for the hope of Israel, and desirous that others should participate in his hope, see critical note on β and *Wendt* (1899), note, p. 305.—διελέχθη: aorist, not imperfect as in ver. 4; "delivered a discourse to the Jews," so Ramsay, in contrast to the continued stay at Corinth marked by the imperfect; so *Alford*.

Ver. 20. ἐπένευσεν: only here in *N.T.*, but *cf.* 2 Macc. iv. 10, xi. 15, xiv. 20, frequent in classical Greek. St. Paul must have had some very pressing reason for refusing such an invitation from his own countrymen.

Ver. 21. See critical note. The Feast, as Ramsay maintains, *St. Paul*, p. 264

(so *Ewald*, *Renan*, *Zöckler*, *Rendall*, *Blass* and others), was the Passover, the one which seems most reconcilable with the chronology; others maintain Pentecost, so *Anger*, *Alford*, *Wieseler*, *Plumptre*—see *Alford*, *in loco*, and *Turner*, *Chron. of the N. T.*, p. 422; *Lewin* favours Tabernacles.—ἀνακάμψω, *cf.* xix. 1: used by St. Luke, Luke x. 6, Matt. ii. 12, Heb. xi. 15; used also several times in *LXX*, Jud. xi. 39 A, 2 Sam. viii. 13, 1 Kings xii. 20, Job xxxix. 4, Sus. 14, and other instances, so in classical Greek, to return to a place, *Herod.*, ii. 8.—τοῦ Θ. θεῶν, *cf.* 1 Cor. iv. 19, xvi. 17, James iv. 15. Not only amongst Jews and Arabs but amongst Greeks and Romans similar phrases were in vogue, see *Meyer's* note on James iv. 15; see critical note on β.—ἀνήχθη, see above on xiii. 13.

Ver. 22. κατελθὼν εἰς *K.*, *i.e.*, *Cæsarea* *Stratonis*, *i.e.*, came down from the

τοῦ Θεοῦ θελοντος. καὶ ἀνήχθη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐφέσου · 22.<sup>1</sup> καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν, ἀναβάς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν. 23. καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ ἐξῆλθε, διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλιτικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, ἐπιστηρίζων πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς.

<sup>1</sup> 137, Syr. Harcl. mg., Pesh. read *τον δε Ακυλαν εισαγεν εν Εφεσω*· *αυτος δε αναχθεις ηλθεν εις Καισ.*, so as to bring in the words omitted above, *κατελιπεν αυτους εκει*—no mention of Priscilla; this would be characteristic of the Bezan reviser, *cf.* ver. 26, etc.

high sea to the coast, the shore, *cf.* xxvii. 5 (xxi. 3), so in Homer, and also of coming down from the high land to the coast, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*—*ἀναβάς, i.e.*, to Jerusalem, the usual expression for a journey to the capital, *cf.* xi. 2, xv. 2 (b), xxv. 1, 9, Matt. xx. 18, Mark x. 32, see Luke ii. 42, xviii. 31, xix. 28, John ii. 13, vii. 8, Gal. ii. 1; *cf.* xxiv. 1, 22, xxv. 6, where “to go down” is used of the journey from Jerusalem to Cæsarea. To suppose that the word is used to indicate simply that they landed in the harbour, or because the town lay high up from the shore, or because the place of assembly for the Church was on high ground, is quite arbitrary, and cannot be set against the usage of the term “going up” and “going down” in relation to Jerusalem; see Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 96; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 264; so Bengel, Neander, Meyer, Hackett, Zöckler, Rendall, Page, Weiss, Weizsäcker, Spitta, Jüngst, Hilgenfeld, Wendt, Knabenbauer, and Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 89, who opposes here the position of Blass (and if the T.R. in ver. 21 is retained in β certainly “the going up” to Jerusalem seems naturally to follow). Blass maintains that Cæsarea is meant, but he is evidently led to adopt this view by his desire to retain the reading in D, xix. 1, see Zöckler, *in loco*, and Ramsay, p. 264, and Belser, *u. s.*, for a criticism of Blass’s view. Amongst the more recent critics, Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 343, 350, combats the reasons alleged by Belser, and takes the going up and the Church mentioned to refer to Cæsarea and the Church there, not to Jerusalem. This visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem is disputed by McGiffert, although he does not deny with Weizsäcker the whole journey, but admits that the Apostle went as far as Antioch. So too Wendt is not prepared to follow Weizsäcker entirely, although he holds that as the Apostle went to Syria, Luke concluded that he must have gone up to Jerusalem (so McGiffert). On the other hand, the

historical truthfulness of the journey to Jerusalem is stoutly defended by Spitta (pp. 246-248). The silence of the Galatian Epistle is admitted by Wendt to be in itself no proof against its occurrence, and still less objection can be based on the supposed variance at this time between St. Paul and the Jewish Christians of the capital. See Zöckler’s note, p. 272, and also Alford, *in loco*.—*τὴν ἐκκ.*: the Church at Jerusalem may be fairly regarded as indicated, the *ἐκκ. κατ’ ἐξοχὴν*: “primariam, ex qua propagatæ sunt reliquæ,” Bengel. If St. Luke had meant the Christians in Cæsarea, he would probably have said that Paul saluted the brethren or the disciples, *cf.* xxiv. 7 (see Belser, *u. s.*, p. 90). This visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem would probably be his fourth, ix. 26, xi. 30 (xii. 25), xv. 4, and if he went on this fourth occasion to complete a vow, this fact alone would prove that the visit was not wanting in an object: see however note on ver. 18.—*ἀσπασ.*: the word indicates a short stay. Blass interprets that the Apostle went up from the harbour to the city of Cæsarea, and then “went down to Antioch”. But Ramsay, p. 264, urges that it is impossible to use the term *κατέβη* of a journey from the coast town Cæsarea to the inland city Antioch; on the contrary, one regularly “goes down” to a coast town, xiii. 4, xiv. 25, xvi. 8, etc. At the Syrian Antioch, the mother of the Gentile churches, St. Paul would find a welcome after his second journey, as after his first—this so far as we know was his last visit to a place which was now no longer an effective centre for the Apostle’s work, or for the supervision of his new churches.

Ver. 23. *ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ*: St. Paul would naturally have spent some time in a place so associated with the origin of Gentile Christianity, and with his own labours, the starting place of each of his missionary journeys; on the phrase in St. Luke see Friedrich, *cf.*



24. Ἰουδαῖος δέ τις Ἀπολλῶς<sup>1</sup> ὀνόματι, Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῷ γένει, ἀνὴρ λόγιος, κατήντησεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, δυνατὸς ὢν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς.  
 25. οὗτος ἦν κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, καί, ζέων τῷ πνεύματι, ἐλάλει καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου,<sup>2</sup> ἐπιστάμενος

<sup>1</sup> D reads Απολλωνιος, possibly correct, so Blass in β, and Hilg., but cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 268, C. R. E., p. 151, and see below; see also Wendt (1899), p. 308, note, who thinks with Blass that orig. in Acts Απελλης as in N\*.

<sup>2</sup> For Κυρίου NABDEL 13, 36, 40, verss., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg. read Ἰησού. After κατηχ. D (Gig.) reads ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. For τὴν ὁδὸν D has τὸν λόγον, but not Blass. For ἐλάλει D<sup>1</sup> has ἀελάλει (d, *eloquebatur*), so Blass in β, and Hilg.; see also below.

xv. 33, xx. 3, James iv. 13, Rev. xiii. 5, St. Matt. xx. 12, 2 Cor. xi. 25.—The stay was probably not lengthy, especially if advantage was to be taken of the travelling season for the highlands of Asia Minor, Turner, *Chronology of N. T.*, p. 422, Hastings' B.D. On the connection of the Galatian Epistle with this stay in Antioch see Ramsay, especially *St. Paul*, pp. 190, 265.—ἐξῆλθε, on his third missionary journey.—καθεζέσθαι, see above on p. 118.—διερχόμενος, see above on xiii. 6.

Ver. 24. Ἀλεξ., cf. vi. 9, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 226, E.T. At Alexandria the LXX was written and Philo lived; here too was the magnificent mosque of which it was said that he who had not worshipped in it had not witnessed the glory of Israel, Edersheim, *History of the Jewish People*, pp. 67, 186, 405, 409; on the contact of Jewish and Greek thought in Alexandria, "Alexandria," B.D.<sup>3</sup> (Westcott). What was the exact influence of his Alexandrian training upon Apollos we are not told, but as a cultured Jew of such a centre of Hellenistic influence, it is quite possible that Aquila and Priscilla chose him for the work at Corinth because they thought that his training and learning would attract the attention of a Corinthian audience. Possibly his preaching may have included some Philonian speculations, but the difference between him and St. Paul in their teaching at Corinth may have consisted in outward form and delivery rather than in substance; see Canon Evans, *Speaker's Commentary*, iii., p. 240. No doubt the subtle Corinthian would admire the eloquence of Apollos and pervert his words, but there is no reason to suppose that Apollos encouraged any such party spirit. On his work at Corinth and the last notice of him, Titus iii. 13, see "Apollos," B. D.<sup>3</sup>, and Has-

tings' B.D., cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 12, for his unambitious and peaceful character, and Plumptre, *in loco*. The Book of Wisdom was attributed to Apollos by Dean Plumptre, but see on the other hand "Wisdom of Solomon," B.D.<sup>3</sup> (Westcott), and *Speaker's Commentary*, "Apocrypha," vol. i., p. 413.—λόγιος; "learned," R.V., "eloquent," margin; A.V., "eloquent"; the word may include both learning and eloquence. In classical Greek of a man learned, as, e.g., in history (Herod.), but in Plutarch λογιστής, eloquence, and so λόγιος, eloquent. Meyer rendered the word "eloquent," so Weiss, Zöckler, Page, Alford, Hackett, Feltgen, Blass (*doctus ap. antiquos*), δυνατός referring rather to his learning and acquaintance with the Scriptures: "a good speaker and well read in the Scriptures" (Ramsay). Rendall however takes δυνατός as conveying the idea of eloquence, but in vii. 22 the word cannot mean eloquent as applied to Moses, but rather denotes the wise and weighty nature of his utterances, see Lobeck, *Phryn.*, p. 198.

Ver. 25. See critical note on the proposed omission of the verse and reading also in D.—κατηχ., cf. Luke i. 4, "taught by word of mouth," R.V., margin; D. adds ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, and Blass holds that we may learn from this that some form of Gospel teaching had already been known in Egypt. But how far had Apollos been instructed? It is commonly held that he only knew the Baptism of John and nothing further, and that he was imperfectly acquainted with the facts of our Lord's life. But he is said to have taught accurately (ἀκριβῶς) "the things concerning Jesus" (see critical note), and not only so, but, as Blass also points out, the mention of the twelve disciples at Ephesus has previously been taken to mean literally that these men were disciples of the Baptist, and had never

μόνον τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου· 26. οὗτός τε ἤρξατο παρῆρσιάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ. ἀκούσαντες δὲ αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα,

<sup>1</sup> Ακύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα, so DHLP, Syrr. P. and H., Sah., Arm., Chrys., Gig.; but Πρ. καὶ Ακ. ABE 13, Vulg., Boh., Aeth., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, so Blass, although in β we might have expected the other order, as characteristic of the Bezan text; see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 268, and see below on verse 2.

heard of Jesus, whereas the words used to describe them, μαθηταὶ καὶ πιστεύσαντες, are never used except of Christians. What is the conclusion? That whilst Apollos, like these twelve men, was acquainted with no other *Baptism* than John's, he may have known quite as much of our Lord's words and deeds as was contained in the Gospel of St. Mark in its mutilated form, xvi. 8, which tells us nothing of *Christian* Baptism. And if we further ask from what source did Apollos gain this accurate information, Blass answers: "videlicet non sine scripto aliquo Evangelio". If, he urges, it had been otherwise, and Apollos had been instructed by some disciple of the Apostles and not through a written Gospel, the position of things in the text would be reversed, and Apollos would have been imperfectly acquainted with our Lord's life and teaching, whilst he could not have failed to know of *Christian* Baptism as the admission to Christian churches. Blass therefore believes that before the year 50 (he places the Conference in 45 or 46) written Gospels were in existence, and he evidently leans to the belief that St. Mark's Gospel, or some first edition of it, was the Gospel from which Apollos was instructed (see *in loco*, and cf. also *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 30). But the word κατηχ. on this view must be taken not to include but to exclude, at all events mainly, a reference to catechetical teaching, and this from the use of the word in the N.T. is most unlikely. In the majority of the cases, as Blass admits, the word denotes oral teaching, although he maintains that this meaning is not always strictly kept. In the N.T. the word is used only by Luke and Paul, altogether eight times, in six of which it is used with reference to oral instruction, according to Mr. Wright: "Apollos: a study in Pre-Pauline Christianity," *Expository Times*, October, 1897 (but see also in answer, Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 31). Mr. Wright suggests that Apollos may have derived his knowledge of "the facts concerning Jesus" from one of the many Catechists who were sent out from Jerusalem, and visited

in large numbers the capital of Egypt, and by him Apollos like Theophilus was instructed in the way of the Lord. This view certainly gives an adequate meaning to κατηχ., but still it seems strange that a Catechist, even if his chief business was to catechise or instruct in the facts of the Gospel history, should say nothing about *Christian* Baptism; surely a Catechist would himself be a baptised member of Christ. It is possible that Apollos may have deliberately decided to abide as he was; he may have said that as the Master Himself had fulfilled all righteousness in John's Baptism, so that Baptism was sufficient for the servant. But on this view one has to suppose that no news of the events of Pentecost had reached Alexandria, although Egyptian Jews had been present at the feast. But the news which Apollos may have received had been imperfect, cf. xix. 2, 3, and he had not therefore abandoned his position as a follower of the Baptist, who accepted the teaching that Jesus was the Messiah without knowing fully how that claim had been fulfilled, who had been baptised with the Baptism of the Baptist unto repentance without knowing the higher blessings conferred by membership in the Body of the Risen and Ascended Lord: see further *Expository Times*, vol. vii., pp. 564, 565; *Hermathena*, xxi. (1895); Weiss and Zöckler, *in loco*.—ἐλάλει καὶ ἐδίδασκεν: Blass prefers D ἀπελάλει, which Wright, *u. s.*, p. 11, renders "repeated by rote".—ἔζων τῷ πνεύματι, cf. Rom. xii. 11, this fervency was shown not only in speaking what he knew, but in teaching it to others, cf. ver. 11, where the same word is used of Paul's instructions. We can scarcely take ἐλάλει as *privatim*, ἐδίδασκεν *publice* (Bengel).—ἀκριβῶς: "accurately," so often in classics, and as agreeing best here with this verse and the comparative in ver. 26; on the use of the word in medical writers see Hobart, p. 251; Weiss, Meyer's *Kommentar*, Luke i. 3, also compares the similarity between St. Luke's phrase and Galen's dedication of his work to a friend (he also finds a parallel in Jos., *C. Apion*, i., 10); see also below on



προσελάβοντο αὐτόν, καὶ ἀκριβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁδόν. 27.<sup>1</sup> βουλομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν, προτρεψά-

<sup>1</sup> In D, Syr. Harcl. mg. ἐν δε Εφεσῷ ἐπιδημουντες τινες Κορινθιοι και ακουσαντες αουτου παρεκαλουν διελθειν συν αυτοις εἰς τὴν πατριδα αυτων. συγκατανευσαντος δε αυτου οι Εφεσιοι εγραψαν τοις εν Κορινθῳ μαθηταις, οπως αποδεξωνται τον ανδρα, ος επιδημησας εἰς τὴν Αχαΐαν πολυ συνεβάλλετο εν ταις εκκλησιαῖς. If the work of a reviser, object seems to be to show more clearly why Apollos came to Corinth. ἐπιδημειν is Lucan; συγκατανευειν occurs nowhere in N.T. Belser, pp. 87, 88, argues for the value of the β text here, esp. in the addition ἐν ταις εκκλησιαῖς, which shows St. Paul had not confined his attention to Corinth. But if original, why omitted? See Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 267; W.H. marg.; Holtzmann, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 396. δια της χαριτος om. D 137, Gig., Par., Vulg., Syr. Harcl., so Blass in β.

ἀκριβέστερον and its employment by Dioscorides. The word occurs in Luke twice, Luke i. 3, Acts xviii. 25, and elsewhere in Matt. ii. 8, and twice in St. Paul, 1 Thess. v. 2, Eph. v. 15, whilst ἀκριβέστερον occurs four times in N.T., and each time in Acts, cf. ver. 26, xxiii. 15, 20, xxiv. 22.

Ver. 26. παρῆρησιάζεσθαι, see above on p. 242; whatever was the exact form of the belief of Apollos, he had at all events the courage of his convictions. —ἀκούσαντες showing that Priscilla and Aquila had not separated themselves from their fellow-countrymen.—προσελάβοντο, cf. xvii. 5, i.e., for instruction in private.—ἀκριβέστερον: on its use by St. Luke see above on ver. 25. The word is used by Dioscorides in his preface to his *De Materia Medica*: see Weiss-Meyer's *Kommentar* on Luke i. 1, and Vogel, p. 17, as an instance of medical language.—ἐξέθεντο: we are not told whether he was baptised, but xix. 5 makes it probable that he was; see Zöckler's note. "Qui Jesum Christum novit, potentes in Scriptura docere potest," Bengel, and Vogel u. s.

Ver. 27. διελθεῖν εἰς, cf. Luke viii. 22, Mark iv. 35, Latin, *trajicere*.—προτρεψ. . . . ἔγραψαν: "encouraged him and wrote," R.V., so Chrysostom, Erasmus, Grotius, Bengel, Felten, Lumby, Rendall, Knabenbauer: "currentem incitantes" Bengel. But others refer it to the disciples, "wrote exhorting the disciples," i.e., wrote letters of commendation, 2 Cor. iii., so Luther, De Wette, Ewald, Zöckler, Alford, Wendt, Weiss, Nösgen, Hackett. Blass thinks that the word can be referred to neither in the sense of *cohortari*, and prefers the rendering in accordance with the Syriac *antevertent*, but cf. Wisdom xiv. 18, 2 Macc. xi. 7 for the former sense, so in classical Greek; only here in N.T., classed not only by

Hobart, but also by Vogel, as amongst the medical words in St. Luke, u. s., p. 17.—συνεβάλετο: only here in N.T. in middle, with dative of the person, *profuit*, so often in Greek authors, especially Polybius; Wisdom v. 8, Xen., *Cyr.*, i., 2, 8; cf. 1 Cor. iii. 6, "rigavit A. non plantavit" Bengel.—διὰ τῆς χ.: "helped much through grace them which had believed" R.V., margin. This connection of the words seems preferable, as stress is laid upon the fact that the gifts and eloquence of Apollos were only available when God gave the increase—the position of the words is not against this, as they may have been so placed for emphasis. Blass, who joins the phrase with *πεισισ*, adds "quamvis ibi abundat". It does not seem natural to explain the word χάρις here as the Gospel, or to refer it to the grace of the eloquence of Apollos.

Ver. 28. εὐτόνως: "powerfully," only in Luke, cf. Luke xxiii. 10, "vehemently," like Latin, *intente*, *acriter*, Josh. vi. (7), 8 (-vos, 2 Macc. xii. 23, 4 Macc. vii. 10, A R); found also in classical Greek, and may be one of the "colloquial" words common to the N.T. and Aristophanes, cf. *Plutus*, 1096 (Kennedy, p. 78). But as the word is used only by St. Luke, it may be noted that it is very frequently employed by medical writers, opposed to *ἀτονος*.—διακατηλέγγετο: "powerfully confuted," R.V. The word does not prove that Apollos convinced them (A.V. "mightily convinced"), lit., he argued them down; but to confute is not of necessity to convince. The double compound, a very strong word, is not found elsewhere, but in classical Greek *διελέγχω*, to refute utterly (in LXX, middle, to dispute), *κατελέγχω*, to convict of falsehood, to belie.—ἐπιδεικνύς: only once elsewhere in N.T., Heb. vi. 17, and in classical Greek as in Plato, to prove, to demonstrate.

μενοι οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἔγραψαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἀποδέξασθαι αὐτόν· ὃς παραγενόμενος συνεβόλετο πολὺ τοῖς πεπιστευκόσι διὰ τῆς χάριτος.

Additional note on Acts xviii. 23 (see an xvi. 6).

In a brief attempt to refer to a few difficulties connected with this verse, it is well to bear in mind at the outset that St. Luke never uses the noun Γαλατία (which is twice used by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, Gal. i. 2), but the adjective Γαλατικός, xviii. 23 and xvi. 6, in both cases with the noun χώρα; St. Paul in each case is speaking of the "Churches of Galatia"; St. Luke in each case is speaking of the Apostle's journeys. How may we account for this different phraseology? If St. Luke had meant Galatia proper, we may believe that he would have used the word Γαλατία, but as he says Γαλατική χώρα he speaks as a Greek and indicates the Roman province Galatia, or the Galatic province; a name by which the Greek-speaking natives called it, whilst sometimes they enumerated its parts, e.g., Pontus Galaticus, Phrygia Galatica, *Expositor*, pp. 126, 127, August, 1898 (Ramsay), and Hastings' B.D., "Galatia" (Ramsay), pp. 87-89, 1899; cf. the form of the derived adjective in -ικός in the pair Λακωνική γῆ and Λακωνία. St. Paul on the other hand, speaking as a Roman citizen, used the word Γαλατία as = the Roman province, for not only is there evidence that Γαλ. could be so employed in current official usage (the contrary hypothesis is now abandoned by Schürer, one of its former staunch supporters, see *Expositor*, u. s., p. 128, and Hastings' B.D., ii., 86), but it seems beyond all dispute that St. Paul in other cases classified his Churches in accordance with the Roman provinces, Asia, Macedonia, Achaia, *Expositor*, u. s., p. 125; Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., 124; Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 51; Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, iii., p. 135; Clemen, *Chron. der Paulinischen Briefe*, p. 121. Why then should the Churches of Galatia be interpreted otherwise? Ramsay ("Questions," *Expositor*, January, 1899) may well appeal to Dr. Hort's decisive acceptance of the view that in 1 Peter i. 1 (*First Epistle of St. Peter*, pp. 17, 158) the Churches are named according to the provinces of the Roman empire (a point emphasised by Hausrath, u. s., in advocating the South-Galatian theory), and that in provincial Galatia St. Peter included at least the Churches founded by St. Paul in Galatia proper, i.e., in Phrygia and Lycaonia, although it must be re-

membered that Dr. Hort still followed Lightfoot in maintaining that the Galatians of St. Paul's Epistle were true Galatians, and not the inhabitants of the Roman province. "But if St. Peter, as Hort declares, classed Antioch, Iconium, Derbe and Lystra among the Churches of Galatia, must not Paul have done the same thing? Is it likely that 1 Peter, a letter so penetrated with the Pauline spirit, so much influenced by at least two Pauline Epistles, composed in such close relations with two of Paul's coadjutors, Silas and Mark, should class the Pauline Churches after a method that Paul would not employ?" (Ramsay, *Expositor*, January, 1899.) The Churches which in this view are thus included in the province Galatia, viz., Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, would be fitly addressed as Galatians by a Roman citizen writing to provincials proud of Roman names and titles (although Wendt (1899) urges this mode of address, Gal. iii. 1, as one of two decisive points against the South Galatian theory). For we must not forget that two of the four Churches in South Galatia were Roman colonies, Antioch and Lystra, whilst the two others mentioned in Acts xiv. bore an emperor's name, Claudio-Iconium, Claudio-Derbe. That the title "Galatians" might be so applied to the people of Roman "Galatia" has been sufficiently illustrated by Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 130, and Ramsay, *Expositor*, August, 1898, cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xiii., 35, xv., 6; *Hist.*, ii., 9; and it is very noteworthy that in Phil. iv. 15 St. Paul in addressing the inhabitants of a Roman colony addresses them by a Latin and not a Greek form of their name, Φιλιππησιοι = Latin, *Philippenses*, so that in addressing the four Churches of South Galatia, so closely connected with Rome as we have seen, St. Paul would naturally address them by the one title common to them all as belonging to a Roman province, Galatæ, Galatians; Ramsay, *Expositor*, August, 1898; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, pp. 177-179.

St. Paul then uses the term Galatia as a Roman citizen would use it, while St. Luke employs the phraseology common in the Ægean land amongst his contemporaries; he does not speak of Galatia, by which term he would as a Greek mean North Galatia, but of the "Galatic territory" or of the region or regions with which he was concerned; see on



28. εὐτόνως γὰρ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διακατηλέγχετο<sup>1</sup> δημοσίᾳ, ἐπιδεικνὺς διὰ τῶν γραφῶν εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν.

<sup>1</sup> δημοσία ἐπιδεικνὺς, D 137 has δημ. διαλεγόμενος καί, so Blass in β, and Hilg., but apparently superfluous after διακατηλέγχετο (Weiss).

this *Expositor*, August, 1898, pp. 126, 127, and Hastings' B.D., "Galatia". In xvi. 6 he writes of a missionary tour (see on διήλθον, note, l. c.) through the Phrygo-Galatic region; in xviii. 23 he speaks of a missionary tour through the Galatic region (Derbe and Lystra) and the Phrygian (Iconium and Antioch). It is, moreover, important to note that whether we take Φρυγία, xviii. 23, as an adjective, χώρα being understood, or as a noun, the same sense prevails, for we have evidence from inscriptions of Antioch that Galatic Phrygia was often designated by the noun, "and St. Luke may be allowed to speak as the people of Antioch wrote," Ramsay, Hastings' B.D., ii., p. 90, 1899. See further the same writer's reference to the testimony of Asterius, Bishop of Amasia in Pontus Galaticus, A.D. 400, in favour of the above view, who paraphrases xviii. 23, τὴν Λυκαονίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Φρυγίας πόλεις, and places the journey through Lycaonia and Phrygia immediately before the visit to Asia, xix. 1; see especially Ramsay, *Studia Biblica*, iv., p. 16 ff. and p. 90; Hastings' B.D., u. s., as against Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 136.

But further: if the Phrygo-Galatic district thus lay on the road to Ephesus, it is difficult to see how St. Paul could be conceived of as going to a distance of some 300 miles out of his route to Galatia in the narrower ethnical sense of the word; and this is one of the many points which influences Mr. Turner to regard the South Galatia view as almost demonstrably true, *Chron. of the N.T.*; Hastings' B.D., i., 422 (see also to the same effect, Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 52; and Rendall, *Acts*, p. 275; Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 377). McGiffert (so too Renan, Hausrath) maintains that if the North Galatian theory is correct, and St. Paul is not addressing the Churches founded on his first missionary journey, but only those founded, as we must suppose, during a period of missionary labour in North Galatia, a period inserted without a hint from St. Luke in xvi. 6, it seems incomprehensible why Barnabas should be mentioned in the Galatian Epistle. The Churches in North Galatia could scarcely have known anything about

him, especially as *ex hypothesi* they had been evangelised after the rupture between Paul and Barnabas, Acts xv. 36 ff. If, however, the Churches of the Epistle = the Churches founded in Acts xiii., xiv., then we can at once understand the mention of Barnabas. But Mr. Askwith has lately pointed out with much force (*Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 77, 1899) that this argument must not be pressed too far. The introduction of Barnabas in the Galatian Epistle does not prove that he was known personally to the Galatians (although it may reasonably warrant the inference that he was known by name) any more than the allusion to him, 1 Cor. ix. 6, proves that he was personally known to the Corinthians, cf. also Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 28.

One more significant and weighty fact deserves mention. In St. Paul's collection for the poor Saints (on the importance of which see xxiv. 17) there is every reason to believe that all the Pauline Churches shared; in 1 Cor. xvi. 1 appeal is made to the Churches of Galatia and Achaia, and the Churches of Macedonia and Asia subsequently contributed to the fund. If by Galatia we understand Galatia proper, and not the Roman province, then the four South Galatian Churches are not included in the list of subscribers, and they are not even asked to contribute. This appears inconceivable; whereas, if we look at the list of delegates, Acts xx. 4, whilst Macedonia and Asia are represented, and Gaius and Timothy represent the Churches of South Galatia, no delegate is mentioned from any North Galatian community (see Rendall: "Pauline collection for the Saints," *Expositor*, Nov., 1898, and "The Galatians of St. Paul," *Expositor*, April, 1894; also Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i., 272, E.T., and McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 180, Askwith, *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 88 ff. (1899)). For the literature of the question see Ramsay, "Galatia," Hastings' B.D., ii., p. 89, 1899; Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., pp. 129, 130; Wendt (1899), p. 276, and "Galatians, Epistle to the," Marcus Dods, Hastings' B.D., ii., 94. To the list given in the last reference may be added the names of Wendt, O. Holtzmann, Clemen, V. Weber (Würzburg), Page, Rendall, McGiffert,

XIX. 1.<sup>1</sup> ἘΓΕΝΕΤΟ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν Ἀπολλῷ εἶναι ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Παῦλον, διελθόντα τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη, ἔλθειν εἰς Ἐφεσον· 2. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> D, Syr. Harcl. mg. read at commencement of verse Θελοντος δε του Παυλου κατα την ιδιαν βουλην πορευεσθαι εις Ιερουσολυμα, ειπεν αυτω το πνευμα υποστρεφειν εις την Ασιαν. διελθων δε τα ανωτερικα μερη. See above on xviii. 21, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 266—the supposed failure to pay the visit to Jerusalem is explained by the interpolation of the above statement; cf. Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 48, who quotes Ephrem, *in loco*. The omission of the notice about Apollos is explained by Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 93, on the ground that it had no meaning for the reviser, but it may have been accidental because of the other changes. Απολλω B<sup>1</sup>, so W.H., Weiss, Wendt; Απολλων A<sup>2</sup>L 40; Απελλην B<sup>1</sup> 180. ευρειν instead of ευρων, so B<sup>1</sup>AB, Vulg., Boh., Arm.; Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, W.H., R.V. adding τε after ειπεν.

in favour of the South Galatian view, and most recently Askwith, *Epistle to the Galatians* (1899); whilst to the other side may be added Volkmar, Schürer, Holsten, who has examined the whole subject closely in his *Das Evangelium des Paulus*, p. 35 ff. (chiefly in reply to Hausrath's strong support of the opposing view), Zöckler, Jülicher, Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaft. Theol.*, p. 186 ff. and p. 353, 1896, Schmiedel, and amongst English writers, Findlay, *Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 288 ff., and very fully Dr. Chase, *Expositor*, 1893, 1894.

We can only make a passing allusion to the date or possible date of the Galatian Epistle. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 189 ff., places it at the close of the Apostle's second missionary journey during his stay at Antioch, xviii. 22 (A.D. 55), whilst McGiffert also places it at Antioch, but *before* the Apostle started on this same journey, not at its close, *Apostolic Age*, p. 226. Rendall, *Expositor*, April, 1894, has assigned it an earlier date, 51, 52, and places it amongst the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles, and more recently Zahn has dated it almost equally early in the beginning of 53, and upon somewhat similar grounds, *Einleitung*, i., p. 139 (the three oldest Epistles of St. Paul according to him being the group of Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, all written in the same year). But on the other hand, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 43 ff., and Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 376, not only place the Epistle later than any of the dates suggested above, but assign it a place between 2 Corinthians and Romans, arguing from the similarity of subject and style between the three Epistles. Most of the continental critics would place it in the same group, but as the earliest of the four great Epistles written

in the earlier period of the Apostle's long residence at Ephesus, Acts xix. 1.

Lightfoot places it apparently on the journey between Macedonia and Achaia, Acts xx. 2, 2 Corinthians having been previously written during the Apostle's residence in Macedonia (so Zahn), Romans being dated a little later whilst St. Paul stayed in Corinth, Acts xx. 2, 3 (*Galatians*, pp. 39, 55). Dr. Clemen has since defended at great length his view, first put forward in *Chronol. der Paul. Briefe*, p. 199 ff., that Romans preceded Galatians, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1897, 2, pp. 219-270; but see as against Clemen, Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 142; Zöckler, *Die Briefe an die Thess. und Galater*, p. 71; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxxviii. Mr. Askwith has recently discussed the points at issue between Ramsay and Lightfoot as to the date of Galatians, and in accepting the latter's position as his own, he has shown that this is not incompatible with a firm recognition of the South Galatian theory, *Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 98 ff. Harnack, *Chronol.*, p. 239, declines to commit himself to any definite date for Galatians, and perhaps this conclusion is not surprising in relation to an Epistle of which it may be truly said that it has been placed by different critics in the beginning, in the close, and in every intermediate stage of St. Paul's epistolary activity, cf. Dr. Marcus Dods, "Galatians," Hastings' B.D.

CHAPTER XIX.—Ver. 1. See critical note for Bezan reading.—Ἀπολλῷ, cf. xxi. 1; see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 31, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 95.—τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη: The main road to Ephesus which passed through Colosse and Laodicea was not apparently taken by Paul, but a shorter though less frequented route running through the Cayster valley. This route leads over higher ground than the



εὐρὼν τινὰς μαθητάς, εἶπε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Εἰ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεῦσαντες; οἱ δὲ εἶπον πρὸς αὐτόν, Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ Πνεῦμα Ἅγιον

other, and St. Paul in taking it would be passing through the higher-lying districts of Asia on his way from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus. According to Col. ii. 1 the Apostle never visited Colosse and Laodicea, which seems to confirm the view taken above (but see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 94, on Mr. Lewin's view of Col. ii. 1). The expression τὰ ἄνωτ. μέρη is really a description in brief of the same district, "the region of Galatia and Phrygia," mentioned in xviii. 23. If the journey passed through North Galatia, Ramsay contends with great force that the expressions in xviii. 23 καθέξης and πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς would be meaningless, as καθ. would apply not to Churches already known to us, but to Churches never mentioned in the book, and if St. Paul did not visit the South Galatian Churches, how could St. Luke mention "all the disciples"? Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte* (second edition), *in loco*, as a supporter of the North Galatian theory, takes the term as the equivalent of the places referred to in xviii. 23, but he does not include in these places as far north as Tavium or Ancyra, and a route through Cappadocia is not thought of; so here Pessinus, Amorion, Synnada, Apameia, Philadelphia, and Sardis would be visited by the Apostle, and from Sardis he would go down to Ephesus; the expression τὰ ἄνωτ. μέρη would thus in Zöckler's view include churches founded on the second missionary journey, but the most northerly are excluded as lying too far away, p. 273; see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 93; "Ephesus," Hastings' B.D., and *Cities and Bishopricks of Phrygia*, ii., 715; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 275. Blass takes the words to mean districts more remote from the sea; Rendall (so Hackett) explains them as referring to the land route through the interior of Asia Minor by way of distinction to the sea route which Paul had before pursued on his way from Ephesus to Jerusalem. Grimm explains as the parts of Asia Minor more remote from the Mediterranean, farther east, and refers only to Hippocrates and Galen for the use of the adjective, which was evidently a very rare one (see Hobart, p. 148); see also Zöckler on xix. 1 and illustrations of Latin expressions similarly used. R.V. renders "the upper country," lit., the upper parts, i.e., inland; A.V., "coasts," i.e., borders, as in Matt. ii. 16,

etc., Humphry, *Commentary on R. V.*—εἰς Ἐφεσον: Ephesus and Athens have aptly been described as two typical cities of heathendom, the latter most Hellenic, the heart and citadel of Greece, the former the home of every Oriental quackery and superstition in combination with its Hellenism; the latter inquisitive, philosophical, courteous, refined, the former fanatical, superstitious, impulsive. And yet *Acts* portrays to the life the religious and moral atmosphere of the two cities, no less than their local colouring (Lightfoot, "Acts of the Apostles," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, p. 36). Under the empire it was a regulation that the Roman governor should land at Ephesus, and from all quarters of the province the system of Roman roads made Ephesus easily accessible. St. Paul with his wonted judgment fixed upon it as a fitting centre for the message and for the spread of the Gospel. Like Corinth, with which close intercourse was maintained, Ephesus is described as one of the great knots in the line of communication between Rome and the East; see further notes in commentary, Ramsay, "Ephesus," Hastings' B.D.; "Ephesus," B.D.<sup>2</sup>; E. Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, i., 233 ff.

Ver. 2. μαθ. . . . πιστεύσαντες: Blass points out that both these words are used only of Christians. From St. Chrysostom's days the men have often been regarded merely as disciples of the Baptist (so McGiffert, p. 286), and Apollos has been named as the person to whom they owed their conversion, whilst amongst recent writers Mr. Wright, *u. s.*, argues that they had been baptised by the Baptist himself. But if we realise the force of the remark made by Blass on the two words, they were men simply in the same position as Apollos, i.e., "ignorabant illi ea quæ post resurrectionem facta erant" (Blass)—their knowledge was imperfect like that of Apollos. There may have been many who would be called μαθηταί in the same immature stage of knowledge. Much difficulty has arisen in insisting upon a personal connection of these men with Apollos, but St. Luke's words quite admit of the supposition that the twelve men may not have come to Ephesus until after Apollos had left for Corinth, a consideration which might answer the question of Ramsay, p. 270 as to how the Twelve had escaped the

ἐστιν<sup>1</sup> ἠκούσαμεν. 3. εἰπέ τε πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Εἰς τί οὖν ἐβαπτίσθητε ; οἱ δὲ εἶπον, Εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα. 4. εἶπε δὲ Παῦλος, Ἰωάννης μὲν<sup>2</sup> ἐβάπτισε βάπτισμα μετανοίας, τῷ λαῷ λέγων, εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ' αὐτὸν ἵνα πιστεύσωσι, τούτέστιν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. 5. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἐβαπτίσθησαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. 6. καὶ ἐπιθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ Παύλου τὰς χεῖρας, ἦλθε<sup>3</sup> τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *ἐστιν* D<sup>1</sup>, Syr. Harcl. mg., Sah. read *λαμβάνουσιν τινες*, so Blass and Hilg. *ἐστιν* very likely misunderstood; it seems impossible that *λαμβ. τινες* should be replaced by the difficult *ἐστιν*.

<sup>2</sup> *μὲν om.* *ΣABD*, Vulg., Sah., Arm., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. *Χριστον om.* *ΣABE* 13, 25, 40, Vulg., Boh., Syr. H., Aethro., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass; although Sah., Gig., Pesh. read *εἰς τον Ι. Χ.*, and D (so Hilg.) has *εἰς Χ.*

<sup>3</sup> D, Jer., instead of *ἦλθεν*, have *εὐθὺς ἐπεπεσεν*. After *γλωσσais*, Sah., Syr. H. mg. add *ἐτεραις*, and Syr. H. mg. (Par.) continue *καὶ ἐπεγίνωσκον ἐν εαυτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ ἐρμηνεύειν αὐτὰς εαυτοῖς, τινες δὲ καὶ ἐπροφητεύον*. Both Wendt (1899) and Weiss regard as interpolations after 1 Cor. xiv. Blass, on the other hand, accepts in *β*, cf. also p. xxviii., and speaks of this as "locus gravissimus".

notice of Apollos (see Felten, p. 351, note).—*εἰ, cf. i. 6.*—*πιστεύσ.*: "when ye became believers," or "when ye believed," R.V., in contrast with A.V.—the question was whether they had received the Holy Ghost at their Baptism, and there is no allusion to any subsequent time. The two aorists, as in R.V., point to one definite occasion.—*εἰ Π. Ἄ. ἐστιν*: "whether the Holy Ghost was *given*," R.V. (*cf.* John vii. 39): (the spirit was not yet *given*), A.V., but in margin, R.V. follows A.V. in the passage before us: *ἐστιν, accipitur*, Bengel. There could not be any question as to the *existence* of the Holy Ghost, for the Baptist had pointed to the future Baptism of the Spirit to be conferred by the Messiah, and the O.T. would have taught the existence of a Holy Spirit—the meaning is that they had not heard whether their promised Baptism of the Spirit by the Messiah had been already fulfilled or not. So *δοθέν, ἐκχυνόμενον* may be understood. Alford holds that the stress should be laid on *ἠκούσαμεν*—when we received Baptism we did not even *hear* of a Holy Ghost.

Ver. 3. *οὖν*: presupposes that if they had been baptised into the name of Jesus, they would have received the Spirit at Baptism.—*εἰς*: "to baptise into" (R.V.) may have been suggested by the original practice to baptise by dipping or plunging, see Humphry, *Comment. on R. V., in loco.*—*εἰς τὸ ἱ. βάπτισμα, i.e.*, into or unto repentance. For the strange notion that they were baptised into John as the Messiah see Hackett's note.

Ver. 4. *εἰς τὸν ἐρχ.*: placed first before *ἵνα*, perhaps for emphasis. The phrase had been a favourite one with the Baptist (*cf.* Matt. iii. 1). John's own words showed that his Baptism was insufficient. *ἵνα* may express both the purport and the purpose (so Alford).

Ver. 5. *ἀκούσαντες δὲ*: neither grammatical nor in accordance with fact can these words be regarded (as by Beza and others) as part of St. Paul's words, as if they meant, "and the people when they heard him," *i.e.*, John.

Ver. 6. *καὶ ἐπιθ. αὐτοῖς τοῦ Π. τὰς χ.*, see above on viii. 16.—*ἐλάλουν τε γλ. καὶ προεφ.*: the imperfects may mean that they began to speak, or that the exercise of the gifts mentioned continued. The two gifts are discussed in 1 Cor. xii. 10, xiv., in an Epistle which was written probably during this stay at Ephesus—no doubt the gifts are specially mentioned because the bestowal of such gifts distinguished Christian Baptism from that of John. McGiffert, p. 286, while admitting the accuracy of the account as a whole, thinks that its representation is moulded, as in viii., in accordance with the work of Peter and John in Samaria; so too Hilgenfeld refers the account to his "author to Theophilus," who also, in viii. 16, narrates that the baptised Samaritans received the Holy Ghost by the laying on of Peter's hands. This is in some respects not unlike the older view of Baur, who held that the narrative was introduced to parallel Paul's dignity and work with that of Peter in x. 44—the first speaking with tongues in



ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐλάλουν τε γλώσσαις καὶ προεφύτευον. 7. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες ὥσει<sup>1</sup> δεκαδύο. 8. Εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐπαβήρσιάζετο,<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ μῆνας τρεῖς διαλεγόμενος καὶ πείθων τὰ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. 9. Ὡς δέ τινες ἐσκληρύνοντο καὶ ἠπείθουν, κακολογοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνῶπιον τοῦ πλήθους, ἀποστὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρισε τοὺς μαθητάς, καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ

<sup>1</sup> For δεκαδυο (T.R., so Meyer, HLP, Chrys.), ὡς ABDE, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt read δωδεκα.

<sup>2</sup> Before ἐπαβήρσιάζετο D, Syr. H. mg. read ἐν δυναμει μεγάλῃ; see Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., pp. 60, 61. τα before περὶ ὡς AEHL P 13, 36, Chrys., retained by T.R., Tisch., but om. by Lach., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass (cf. viii. 12), in accordance with BD.

ii. is narrated in relation to Jews, the second in relation to Gentiles, x., and the third in relation to a kind of middle class, half-believers like the Samaritans! (so Zeller and Schneckenburger). But not only does this require us to identify ii. with x. and xix., the speaking of tongues at Pentecost with subsequent bestowal of the gift, but it seems strange that a narrative should not have been constructed more free from liability to misconception and misinterpretation if the leading purpose of its introduction had been as supposed above.

Ver. 7. ὥσει, as Weiss admits, excludes any special significance attaching to the number twelve on account of which the narrative would be constructed. See also Knabenbauer, *in loco*. We know so little about these men that it seems hazardous to attempt to define them more clearly (see Plumptre, *in loco*).

Ver. 8. The Apostle follows his usual method—to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. διαλεγ., see above; cf. xvii. 2, “reasoning,” R.V. (“discoursing,” Rendall).

Ver. 9. ἐσκληρύνοντο: only here and in Rom. ix. 18, but four times in Hebrews, three times as a quotation from Ps. xcv. 8, and once in direct reference to that passage, iii. 13, cf. Exodus vii. 3, Deut. ii. 30, etc. In Eccclus. xxx. 12 it is found as here with ἀπειθεῖω, cf. also Clem. Rom., ii. 3, 5.—ἠπείθ.: “were disobedient,” R.V., unbelief is manifested in disobedience, Westcott, *Hebrews*, pp. 87, 97, cf. Ign., *Magn.*, viii. 2; Polyc., *Phil.*, ii., 1.—τὴν ὁδόν: “the Way,” see on ix. 2.—κακολ., Mark ix. 39, used by our Lord of speaking evil of Him, Matt. xv. 4, and Mark vii. 10, as a quotation from Exod. xxi. 17; in LXX five times, and once in same sense in 2 Macc. iv. 1.

—ἀποστὰς: as in xviii. 7, at Corinth; verb only in Luke and Paul, except Heb. iii. 12, see Friedrich, p. 7, and above on xv. 38, seven times in N.T. with ἀπό and a genitive as here.—ἀφώρισε: except Matt. xiii. 49, xxv. 32 (2), only in Luke and Paul, cf. Luke vi. 22, Acts xiii. 2, Rom. i. 1, 2 Cor. vi. 17, quotation, Gal. i. 15, ii. 12; cf. Grimm-Thayer for different shades of meaning, both in a good and bad sense, in classical Greek and also in LXX frequently. It is evidently presupposed that as in xviii. 26 there were still disciples who held fast to the common worship of a Jewish community in the synagogue.—καθ' ἡμέραν: on the days when synagogue worship was held, and so the separation was complete.—ἐν σχολῇ Τυράννου τινός, see critical note. We cannot tell whether reference is made to the lecture-hall of some heathen sophist hired by Paul or to the *Beth Hammidrash* kept by a Jew. Others have thought that Tyrannus, like Titius Justus, xviii. 7, may have been “a proselyte of the gate,” but if so, one might expect it to be signified as in the case of Justus. The name was common enough, Jos., *Ant.*, xvi., 10, 3; B. J., i., 26, 3; 2 Macc. iv. 40, and see Plumptre's note, *in loco*. Overbeck's view is quite possible, that the expression referred to the standing name of the place, so called from its original owner, cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 93. Probably, if we take the first-mentioned view, in teaching in such a school or lecture-hall the Apostle himself would appear to the people at large as one of the rhetors or travelling sophists of the time, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 246, 271 (so McGiffert, p. 285, who regards the notice as taken from a trustworthy source). For instances of the use of σχολή as a school of the philosophers for teaching and lecturing see Wetstein,

Τυράννου<sup>1</sup> τινός. 10. τούτο δὲ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἑτῇ δύο, ὥστε πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου<sup>2</sup> Ἰησοῦ, Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλληνας. 11. Δυνάμεις τε οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας ἐποίει ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν Παύλου, 12. ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀσθενοῦντας<sup>3</sup> ἐπιφέρεισθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ σουδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια, καὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους, τὰ τε πνεύματα

<sup>1</sup> τινός *om.* **Σ**AB 13, 27, 29, 81, Sah., Boh., Syr. Pesh., Vulg. fu.-tol., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. After T. D, Gig., Wer., Syr. H. mg. add *απο ὥρας πεμπτης εως δεκατης*. The addition is accepted by Blass, Belser, Nestle, Zöckler as original, whilst even Wendt sees in it a passage in which D has retained some elements of the original text otherwise lost, p. 313 (1899), and Weiss, Codex D, p. 110, thinks that it may have been added according to an old oral tradition, cf. xii. 10. Ramsay, *C. R. E.*, p. 152, and *St. Paul*, p. 271, maintains that the tradition is probably true, and he gives proofs from Martial, ix., 68, xii., 57, and Juv., vii., 222-6, that the schools opened at daybreak; so that by eleven o'clock the scholars would be dismissed, and Paul could use the school.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰησον after K. *om.* **Σ**ABDE, Vulg., Syrr : P.H., Boh., Sah., Arm., Aeth., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπιφ., but *αποφ.* **Σ**ABE 13, 36, 40, Vulg., Arm., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. Blass in β has *ἐπιφ.*

*in loco*, cf. Latin, *auditorium*, Zöckler compares St. Augustine's lecture-hall in Rome before his conversion.

Ver. 10. ἐπὶ ἑτῇ δύο: exclusive of the quarter of a year in ver. 8 and in xx. 31 the Apostle speaks of three years' residence in Ephesus, "in the usual ancient style of reckoning an intermediate period by the superior round number," Turner, "Chron. of N. T.," Hastings' B. D., see also Page and Wendt, *in loco*. —πάντας: not only the position of Ephesus, but the fact that it was just the place which would be frequented for its famous temple and festivals by crowds of strangers, both Jew and Greek, from all parts of proconsular Asia, "Ephesus," Hastings' B. D., i., 720. Nor must we suppose that St. Paul and his fellow-workers confined themselves literally to Ephesus. The seven Churches of Asia may reasonably be referred for their foundation to this period—all of which were centres of trade, and all within reach of Ephesus. Timothy, moreover, may well have been working at Colosse, since in the Epistle to the Colossians he is mentioned with Paul in the inscription of the letter, although the latter had not been personally known to the Churches of Colosse and Laodicea, Ramsay, "Colossæ," Hastings' B. D., and *St. Paul*, p. 274. —Ἕλληνας: comprising no doubt Hellenists and Greeks, cf. xi. 20.

Ver. 11. οὐ τὰς τυχ., cf. xxviii. 2, the phrase is peculiar to St. Luke, "not the

ordinary," i.e., extra-ordinary, with which the deeds of the Jewish exorcists could not be compared, see Klostermann, *Vindictæ Lucanæ*, p. 52, for the same phrase cf. 3 Macc. iii. 7, and also Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 83; so too in classical Greek.—ἐποίει: "continued to work," or *ex more*, Blass.

Ver. 12. ὥστε καὶ: so that even to the sick, i.e., to those who could not be reached by the hands of the Apostle.—χρωτὸς: the σουδ. and σιμικ. had been in contact with the body of the Apostle, and thence derived their healing power; so in LXX used for both **בִּשְׂרָף**, and **עוֹר** (twice), see Hatch and Redpath; Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 435, sees in its use here the use of a medical term, so Hobart, p. 242.—σουδάρια: Latin, *sudaria*, used for wiping off sweat, as the noun indicates, cf. Luke xix. 20, John xix. 44, xx. 7.—σιμικίνθια: Latin, *semicinctium*, only here in N.T., aprons worn by artisans at their work, cf. Martial, xiv., 153. Oecumenius and Theophylact apparently regarded the word as simply = *handkerchiefs*, but the meaning given is far more likely both from the etymology of the word and its use in Martial. For other Latinisms see Blass, *in loco*, and Wetstein.—ἀπαλ. ἀπ' αὐτῶν, cf. Luke xii. 58, Heb. ii. 15, here in connection with sickness, and this use is very frequent in medical writers, Hobart, p. 47; the word is found with ἀπὸ both in classical writers and in the LXX.



τὰ πονηρὰ<sup>1</sup> ἐξέρχεσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν. 13. Ἐπεχείρησαν δέ τινες<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, λέγοντες,

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *ἐξερ. απ' αυτων*, (HLP (Sah.), Chrys.), *ΣΑΒΔΕ*, Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, R.V., W.H., Blass in *α* and *β* have one word *εκπορευεσθαι*.

<sup>2</sup> After *τινες* *ΣΑΒΕ* add *και* and omit *απο*, so Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, W.H., R.V., Blass in *β*. HP have *και απο*, D 43 *εκ*, so Hilg. *ορκιζω* *ΣΑΒΔΕ*, Vulg., Boh., Arm., Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V., Blass, Hilg.

It should also be noted that here as elsewhere St. Luke distinguishes between natural diseases and the diseases of the demonised, and that he does so more frequently than the other Evangelists, Hobart, pp. 12, 13, so "Demon," Hastings' B.D., i., p. 593, *cf.* especially Luke vi. 17, viii. 2, xiii. 32, which have no parallels in the other Gospels.—*πονηρὰ*: is applied to evil spirits by St. Luke three times in his Gospel and four times in this passage, and only once elsewhere, St. Matt. xii. 45, although the word is very frequent in St. Matthew's Gospel and in the Epistles; the word was constantly used by medical writers in connection with disease, Hobart, *u. s.* Blass quotes as a parallel to the present passage *εἰ αἱ νόσοι ἀπαλλαγείσαν ἐκ τῶν σωματῶν* (Plat.) *Eryx*, 401 c.—*τὰ τε πνεύματα* . . . Were the aprons brought for the healing of the diseases and the banishing of the demons equally? The *τε* seems to indicate that this was the case (Weiss, Wendt); Blass on the other hand holds that it is not said that the demons were driven out by the *sudaria*. According to some interpretations of the verse the carrying of the aprons to the sick is only to be regarded as a result of the wonderful impression made by St. Paul's miraculous power; the writer says nothing of the effect of these aprons, although he places both the healing of the diseases and the expulsion of the demons amongst the *δυνάμεις* of St. Paul. From this point of view the carrying of the *σουδάρια* would only illustrate the superstitious practices which showed how often, in the homes of culture, quackery was also found, and the Evangelist gives them no word of commendation, see also note on v. 15. On the other hand we must remember that the miracles are distinctly spoken of as *οὐ τὰς τυχ.*, and even in the means employed we may perhaps see a possible appeal to the populace, who would recognise that these charms and amulets in which they put such confidence had not the same potency as the handkerchiefs and aprons of the

Apostle. But in this accommodation to special forms of ignorance we are never allowed to forget that God is the source of all power and might.

Ver. 13. If we read *καὶ ἀπὸ* (see critical note), it contrasts the Jewish exorcists who endeavoured to gain this power with those like St. Paul who really possessed it.—*περιερχ.*: "vagabond," A.V., the word as it is now used colloquially does not express the Greek; R.V. "strolling," Vulgate, *circumeuntibus*; Blass renders *circumvagantes*. The word "vagabond" is used only here in N.T.: in the O.T. we have it in Gen. iv. 12, 14, R.V. "wanderer," and in Ps. cix. 10, R.V. "vagabonds," *cf.* Milton, *Paradise Lost*, xi., 16.—*ἐξορκιστῶν*: the word points to a class of Jews who practised exorcisms as a profession, *cf.* Jos., *Ant.*, viii., 2, 5. The usual method of exorcism was the recitation of some special name or spell, and these Jewish exorcists having seen the power which Paul wielded by his appeal to the name of Jesus endeavoured to avail themselves of the same efficacy. It would be difficult to say how far these Jewish exorcists would employ the incantations so widely in vogue in a place like Ephesus, but there is a notable passage in Justin Martyr in which, whilst admitting that a Jew might exorcise an evil spirit by the God of Abraham, he complains that as a class the Jewish exorcists had adopted the same superstitions and magical aids as the heathen, "Exorcist," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., 1028. In the *Didaché*, iii., 4, the use of charms and sorceries is expressly forbidden since they led to idolatry.—*ὀρκίζομεν*: with double accusative = of the one adjured and of the one by whom he is adjured, *cf.* Mark v. 7 (1 Thess. v. 27), see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, *cf.* Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 25 ff., for the constant use of the verb in inscriptions in formulæ of adjuration as here, see further "Demon" and "Exorcist" for examples of such formulæ, Hastings' B.D., i., pp. 593, 812, and for the absurdities involved in them.

Ὁρκίζομεν ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὁ Παῦλος κηρύσσει. 14. ἦσαν δέ τινες<sup>1</sup> υἱοὶ Σκευᾶ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιερέως ἐπὶ τοῦτο ποιοῦντες.

<sup>1</sup> τινες NAHLP, Vulg., Syr. H., Chrys., so Alford, but Lach., W.H., Weiss, Blass, Hilg., R.V. after B (D), E 36, 180, Syr. Pesh., Boh., Arm. read τινος (τινες in connection with the following ἐπτα υἱοι is very difficult), υἱοι om. after τινες, but placed by NABE 13, 15, 18, 40, Vulg., Arm., after ἐπτα; Meyer follows T.R. In D, Syr. H. mg. ἐν οἷς καὶ υἱοι (Syr. H. mg. has υἱοι ἐπτα) Σκευᾶ τινος ἱερέως ἠθέλησαν τὸ αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι, (οἱ) ἐβος εἶχαν τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐξορκίζειν. Καὶ εἰσελθόντες πρὸς τὸν δαίμονιζόμενον ᾠρῶντο ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα λεγόντες· παραγγέλλομεν σοι ἐν Ἰησοῦ ὃν Π. κηρύσσει ἐξέλθειν, so Hilg. and so Blass in β, but with ἀρχόντος, Gig.<sup>2</sup>, instead of ἱερέως. Blass considers that this was orig. both in α and β, then ἱερέως was written over ἀρχόντος, hence ἱερέως D, Syr. H. mg., Gig., and in most ἀρχιερέως; but why should ἱερέως be inserted at all? No doubt the omission of ἐπτα removes much difficulty. Belser thinks that the omis. is orig., and argues strongly in favour of β text, pp. 103, 104, so also Zöckler, and Ramsay, C. R. E., p. 153, speaks of D as giving a reading here which is intelligent, consistent, and possible. Overbeck conjectured δυο (Gig. has δυο) instead of ἐπτα with reference to ver. 16, on the ground that the numerical signs B and Z might be confused, but as Wendt (1888) points out, it is difficult to explain how a mistake so troublesome for the understanding of the passage could be perpetuated. The greatest difficulty is to explain how ἐπτα came in if not original, and it is easy to understand that it might be omitted because of ἀμφοτέρων, ver. 16, see Weiss, Codex D, p. 95.

Ver. 14. See critical note. Σκευᾶ: probably a Latin name adapted to Greek, see Blass, *in loco*, who gives instances of its occurrence, see also Gram., p. 13, and Winer-Schmeidel, p. 75. Ewald refers it to the Hebrew שְׂכַנְיָא.—ἀρχ.: the

description is difficult, as it seems incredible if we take it in its strictest sense; it may have denoted one who had been at the head of one of the twenty-four courses of priests in Jerusalem, or perhaps used loosely to denote one who belonged to the high-priestly families (cf. iv. 6). We cannot connect him with any special sacred office of the Jews in Asia Minor, as Nösgen proposes, for the Jews in the Diaspora had no temple, but synagogues; see reading in D, critical note. Nothing further is known of Sceva, but there is no reason to suppose that he was an impostor in the sense that he pretended to be a high priest.—ἦσαν . . . ποιοῦντες, Lucan, see above on i. 10.

Ver. 15. γινώσκω . . . ἐπίσταμαι: "I know," R.V. for both verbs, but for the former "I recognise," margin, as a distinction is drawn between Paul and Jesus in the formula of adjuration, it is natural to expect a distinction in the reply; γιν. probably denotes a more personal knowledge, ἐπίστ., I know as of a fact. "Jesus I know and about Paul I know," Rendall; Lightfoot would render "Jesus I acknowledge and Paul I

know": On a Fresh Revision of N. T., p. 60. Wordsworth also, *in loco*, holds that ἐπίστ. denotes knowledge of a lower degree such as acquaintance with a fact, and compares the distinction between the two verbs in Jude ver. 10. ἐπίστ. is only once used in the Gospels, Mark xiv. 68. But see also Page, *in loco*, as to the difficulty in making any precise distinction.—ὁμοίς placed first here in a depreciatory sense, τίνες indicating contempt.

Ver. 16. ἐφαλλόμενος; only here in N.T.; in LXX, 1 Sam. x. 6, xi. 6, xvi. 13.—κατακυρ.; only here in Luke; Matt. xx. 25, Mark x. 42, 1 Pet. v. 3; frequent in LXX.—αὐτῶν, see critical note. There is no real difficulty if we read ἀμφοτέρων after ἐπτά, ver. 14; St. Luke had mentioned that seven of the sons of Sceva made the attempt to imitate Paul, but the incident which he describes introduces two of them only. ἀμφ. cannot be taken distributively, or with Ewald, neuter, as if = ἀμφοτέρωθεν.—γυμνοὺς: may mean with torn garments, not literally naked, so Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and Alford.—ἐκείνου: the pronoun seems to imply that the writer had a definite place before his eyes, although it is not fully described. But it is surely a mark of truthfulness that the narrative ends where it does; a forger, we may well believe, would have crowned the story by a picture of the man, after baffling the impostors, healed by the word



15. ἀποκριθὲν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν εἶπε, Τὸν <sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦν γινώσκω, καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ τίνες ἐστέ; 16. καὶ <sup>2</sup> ἐφαλλόμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ᾧ ἦν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν, καὶ κατακυριεύσας <sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν, ἴσχυσε κατ' αὐτῶν, ὥστε γυμνοὺς καὶ τετραυματισμένους ἐκφυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου ἐκείνου. 17. τοῦτο δὲ ἐγένετο γνωστὸν πᾶσιν Ἰουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλήσι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι τὴν Ἐφεσον, καὶ <sup>4</sup> ἐπέπεσε φόβος ἐπὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐμεγαλύνετο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. 18. Πολλοὶ τε τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἤρχοντο ἐξομολογούμενοι

<sup>1</sup> Ἀfter τον (1), B<sup>c</sup>BE 40, 73, 137, Syr. H. Cass. read μεν [W.H.], so Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> ἐφαλλ., but ἐφαλ. B<sup>s</sup>AB 104, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V., Blass in β, but D ἐναλλομενος.

<sup>3</sup> ἀμφοτέρων (not αὐτων), B<sup>s</sup>ABD 13, 36, 40, Vulg., Boh., Arm., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπεσεν AD, so Hilg., but not Gig. or Blass in β.

or touch of Paul (see Plumptre's remarks, *in loco*). The marked contrast between the New Testament in its description of the demonised and their healing, and the notions and practices which meet us in the Jewish Rabbi, may be seen in Eder-sheim's valuable appendix, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 770 ff., and the same decisive contrast is also seen between the N.T. and the prevailing ideas of the first century in the cures of the demonised attributed to Apollonius of Tyana in this same city Ephesus and in Athens; Smith and Wace, *Dictionary of the Christian Biography*, i., 136. Ramsay is very severe on the whole narrative, *St. Paul*, p. 273, and regards it as a mere piece of current gossip; so, too, very similarly, Wendt (1899), note, p. 313, who refers, as so many have done, to the analogy between the narrative in ver. 11 and that in v. 12, 15; in other words, to the parallel between Peter and Paul (which the writer of Acts is supposed to draw on every possible occasion; see introd.). So too Hilgenfeld ascribes the whole section vv. 11-20 to his "author to Theophilus," and sees in it a story to magnify St. Paul's triumph over sorcery and magic, as St. Peter's over Simon Magus in viii. 13. Clemen with Spitta, Van Manen, and others regard the whole section as interrupting the connection between vv. 10 and 21—but even here, in ver. 14, Clemen sees in addition the hand of his Redactor Antijudaicus, as distinct from the Redactor to whom the whole narrative is otherwise attributed.

Ver. 17. φόβος ἐπέειπ.: characteristic phrase in St. Luke; see above on Luke i. 12, and Friedrich, pp. 77, 78.—καὶ

ἐμεγαλύνετο: "continued to be magnified," imperfect, as in Luke vii. 16, praise follows upon fear, Luke xxiii. 47; cf. with Matt. xxvii. 54, Friedrich, p. 78.—τὸ ὄνομα. I.: "jam cuncta illa nomina inania irritaque pro Iesu nomina putabantur" (Blass), see on ver. 19.

Ver. 18. πολλοὶ τε: the τε shows another immediate result in the fact that those who were already believers were now fully convinced of the pre-eminence of the name of Jesus, and were all the more filled with a reverential fear of His holy name: "many also of those who had believed," R.V. So Wendt in latest edition.—ἤρχοντο ultro, Bengel.—ἐξομολ.: Rendall renders "giving thanks" to God for this manifestation of His power. But it is usually taken, not absolutely, but as governing πράξεις, cf. Matt. iii. 6, Mark i. 5, James v. 16; Jos., *Ant.*, viii., 4, 6; B. J., v., 10, 5, so in Plutarch several times, "confessing," cf. also Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, li., 3; Barn., *Epist.*, xix., 12; Kennedy, *Sources of N. T. Greek*, p. 118, and Mayor on James v. 16; Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 361.—πράξεις, cf. Luke xxiii. 51; also in a bad sense. So too in Rom. viii. 13, Col. iii. 9, so often in Polyb. (3 Macc. i. 27). Deissmann *Bibelstudien*, p. 5, maintains that the passage before us shows acquaintance with the technical terminology of magic, and instances πράξεις as a *terminus technicus* for a magic prescription; see also Knabenbauer's note *in loco*.—ἀναγγέλλοντες: instead of continuing secretly practising or approving of the deeds of magic, they declared their wrongdoings. Rendall takes it as meaning that they reported the deeds of those men, i.e.,

καὶ ἀναγγέλλοντες τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν. 19. ἱκανοὶ δὲ τῶν τὰ περιέργα πραξάντων, συνενέγκαντες τὰς βίβλους κατέκαιον ἐνώπιον πάντων· καὶ συνεψήφισαν τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν, καὶ εὖρον ἀργυρίου μυριάδας πέντε. 20. οὕτω κατὰ κράτος<sup>1</sup> ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου ηὔξανε καὶ ἴσχυεν.

21. Ὡς δὲ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα, ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, διελθὼν τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, εἰπών, Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι με ἐκεῖ, δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> D has after κράτος, ἐνίσχυεν καὶ ἡ πίστις τοῦ Θεοῦ ηὔξανε καὶ ἐπληθύνετο. Syt. Pesh. has ἐνίσχυεν et crescebat fides Dei (only). Blass reads ἐνίσχυεν ἡ πίστις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ (ἡῶξανε καὶ) ἐπληθύνετο. Weiss, Codex D, p. 96, objects that Blass omits the καὶ necessary before ἡ πίστις τοῦ Θ., and adds an impossible καὶ after Θεοῦ. Belser defends and points out that ἐνίσχυεν is Lucan, only found in Luke's writings; but on the other hand, whilst no doubt ἡ πίστις is used objectively in Acts, we never have ἡ πίστις τοῦ Θεοῦ in Luke's writings.

the magicians; but can the Greek bear this?

Ver. 19. ἱκανοὶ δὲ: to be referred probably to the magicians, as the previous verse refers to their dupes: a Lucan word, see above on viii. 11.—τὰ περιέργα: "curious," Wyclif and A. and R.V. ("magical," R.V., margin), cf. Vulgate, *curiosa* (Latin, *curiosus*, inquisitive, prying), of a person who concerns himself with things unnecessary and profitless to the neglect of the duty which lies nearest, cf. 1 Tim. v. 13, 2 Thess. iii. 11, so in classical Greek, Xen., *Mem.*, i., 3, 1. The word is also used of things over and above what is necessary, and so of magical arts, arts in which a man concerns himself with what has not been given him to know, cf. Aristænetus, *Epist.*, ii., 18, and the striking passage in Plat., *Apol.*, 19 B, where *περιεργάζεσθαι* is used of Socrates in an accusatory sense (Wendt, Page); the verb is found in Ecclesiast. iii. 23, and *περιεργασία*, Ecclesiast. xli. 22 S<sup>2</sup>, but the adjective does not occur either in LXX or Apocrypha. But see especially Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, u. s., who finds here another instance of acquaintance with the terminology of magic, and illustrates from the papyri. The R.V. margin gives best sense, as "curious" in the passive sense as here need not have a bad or depreciatory meaning, cf. for a good parallel for "curious" = "magical," Bacon, *Essays*, 35; and see "Curious," Hastings' B.D.; Skeat, *Glossary of Bible Words*.—*συνενέγκαντες*: only here in N.T. in this sense, elsewhere frequently, as *συμφέρει* it is expedient, profitable.—τὰς βίβλους: parchments containing the magical formulæ. For these Ephesus, with its Ἐφέσια γράμματα worn as amulets and cherished as charms, was

famous; "Ephesus" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D., i., p. 723; Wetstein, *in loco*; amongst other references, Plut., *Sympos.*, vii., 5; Clement of Alex., *Strom.*, v., 8, 46, and also in Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 344; Blass, *in loco*; C. and H., small edition, p. 371; and see also Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, u. s.—κατέκαιον: imperfect, "describes them as throwing book after book into the burning fire," Hackett, see also Blass, *in loco*. Plumptre recalls a parallel scene when the artists and musicians of Florence brought their ornaments, pictures, dresses, and burnt them in the Piazza of St. Mark at the bidding of Savonarola.—*συνεψήφισαν*: only here in this sense, not in LXX (cf. i. 26).—ἀργ. μυρ. πέντε, sc., δραχμῶν ἀργ.: the sum is very large, nearly £2000, but probably such books would be expensive, and we must take into account in estimating it the immense trade and rich commerce of Ephesus, and the fact that we need not suppose that all the Christian converts were to be found only amongst the slaves and poorer classes (Nösgen). Such books would certainly fetch a fancy price. It may no doubt be maintained that their measuring all things by money value indicates the Oriental popular tale (Ramsay), but may we not see in the statement the knowledge of a writer who thus hits off the Oriental standard of worth, especially in a chapter otherwise so rich and exact in its description of Ephesian localities and life?

Ver. 20. κατὰ κράτος: adverbial, so only here in N.T., cf. Judg. iv. 3, and Jos., *Ant.*, viii., 11, 3, in classical Greek, Xen., *Cyr.*, i., 4, 23, etc.—ἡῶξ. καὶ ἴσ.: in contrast to the empty superstitions and vanities the continuous growth (imperfect) of the Church.

Ver. 21. διελθὼν, see on the force of



22. ἀποστείλας δὲ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ, Τιμόθεον καὶ Ἑραστον, αὐτὸς ἐπέσχε χρόνον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. 23. Ἐγένετο δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ. 24. Δημήτριος γάρ τις<sup>1</sup> ὀνόματι, ἀργυροκόπος, ποιῶν ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς<sup>2</sup> Ἀρτέμιδος, παρείχeto τοῖς τεχνίταις ἐργασίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην.

<sup>1</sup> ἦν ἢ το ὀνοματι, so D, Syr. P., Blass, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> ἀργυροῦς om. B, Gig. [W.H.], but retained by Blass in β; παρείχeto B<sup>h</sup>HL<sup>p</sup>, so W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; παρείχεν A\*DE 65, 67, 133, so Blass in β, who inserts ο before παρείχε for ος in D, καὶ in Pesh.

the word Ramsay, *Expositor*, May, 1895, and above on xiii. 6. Ramsay regards this as perhaps the most conclusive of the ten cases he cites of the use of the verb as denoting missionary travel. There is no reason to suppose that Paul paid a visit to Corinth during his stay at Ephesus; vv. 9, 10 intimate that he resided at Ephesus through the whole period. Wendt thinks that the notice of this second visit to Corinth was omitted by Luke because it did not fit in with his representation of the ideal development of the Church. But is there any real argument to be found for it in the Epistles? The passages usually quoted are 2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 14, xiii. 1. But τρίτον τοῦτο ἔρχομαι may well express "I am meaning to come," so that Paul would mean that this was the third time he had purposed to come to them, not that he had come for the third time; and this rendering is borne out by the Apostle's own words, 2 Cor. xii. 14, Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, iv., 11, whilst with regard to 2 Cor. ii. 1 the words may simply mean that he resolves that his new, i.e., his second visit, πάλιν ἐλθεῖν, should not be ἐν λύπῃ, for we are not shut up to the conclusion that πάλιν must be connected with ἐν λύπῃ as if he had already paid one visit in grief; and this interpretation is at all events in harmony with 2 Cor. xiii. 2, R.V. margin, and with i. 23, R.V., see especially "II. Cor." (Dr. A. Robertson) Hastings' B.D., p. 494, and compare "Corinth" (Ramsay), *ibid.*, p. 483; see also Farrar, *Messages of the Books*, pp. 211, 216; *St. Paul*, ii. 101, 118; Felten, note, p. 364; Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 450, note; and in favour of the second visit to Corinth, McGiffert, p. 310, following Alford, Neander, Weizsäcker (so too in early days St. Chrysostom). In 1 Cor. xvi. 5-9 Paul speaks of his intention to go through Macedonia to Corinth, but previously, 2 Cor. i. 16, he had intended to sail from Ephesus to Corinth, then to go to Macedonia,

and afterwards to return to Corinth. Why had he changed his plans? Owing to the bad news from Corinth, 2 Cor. i. 23. But although he did not go to Corinth in person, he determined to write to reprove the Corinthians, and this he did in 1 Cor. It is possible that the Apostle's determination to see Rome—the first notice of the desire so long cherished, Rom. i. 13, xv. 23—may be closely connected with his friendship with Aquila and Priscilla (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 255, and Plumptre, *in loco*, Hort, *Rom. and Ephes.*, p. 11).

Ver. 22. ἀποστείλας . . . Τιμ. καὶ Ἑρ., cf. 1 Cor. iv. 17, xvi. 10, 11, Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, iii., 3, 4; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 297, note.—διακ. αὐτῷ: for a few instances of διακονεῖν and cognate words used of ministrations rendered to Paul himself, see Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 205, cf. Philem., ver. 13.—Ἑραστον: here, as in 2 Tim. iv. 20, the person bearing this name appears as an itinerant companion of St. Paul, and it therefore seems difficult to identify him with the Erastus of Rom. xvi. 23, who is described as "treasurer" of the city, i.e., Corinth, since the tenure of such an office seems to presuppose a fixed residence. That the identification was not impossible is maintained by Wendt as against Meyer, but see "Erastus," Hastings' B.D. The name, as Meyer remarks, Rom. xvi. 23, was very common.—ἐπέσχε χρόνον: verb, only used by Luke and Paul, and only here in this sense. ἐαυτὸν: supplied after the verb; LXX, Gen. vii. 10, 12; in classical Greek, Xen., *Cyr.*, v., 4, 38.—εἰς pro ἐν, Blass; but see on the other hand, Alford, *in loco*. As Asia, not Ephesus, is mentioned, the word may well include work outside Ephesus itself.

Ver. 23. ἐγένετο δὲ: on the frequency of the formula in Luke's writings see Friedrich, p. 13, and above on iv. 5.—τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος: the same phrase as in xii. 18, nowhere else in N.T., for οὐκ ὀλίγος as Lucan see above, xii. 18.

25.<sup>1</sup> οὓς συναθροίσας, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας, εἶπεν,  
 "Ἄνδρες, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς ἐργασίας ἡ εὐπορία ἡμῶν

<sup>1</sup> Blass (so Hilg.) reconstructs in β text, according to Syr. Pesh., οὗτος συναθροίσας πάντας τοὺς τεχνίτας καὶ τοὺς συνεργάτας αὐτῶν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς; this was shortened in α, τεχν. and συνεργ. being combined under one word ἐργάται, οὗτος being still read instead of οὗς and καὶ omitted; see further Blass, p. vii. and in loco. After ἀνδρες D, Sah., Syr. H. mg. add συντεχνίται, but if original, it is not easy to see why omitted. For ἡμῶν NABDE, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Arm., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg. read ἡμιν.

—τῆς δόου: as in ix. 2, xix. 9, xxiv. 22; much better than to refer it with Weiss merely to the method adopted by Paul in ver. 26.

Ver. 24. Δημ.: a sufficiently common name, as St. Luke's words show (Blass). There is no ground for identifying him with the Demetrius in 3 John, ver. 12, except the fact that both came from the neighbourhood of Ephesus; see, however, "Demetrius," Hastings' B.D.—ἀργυροκόπος, LXX, Judg. xvii. 4 (A al.), Jer. vi. 29; on the trade-guilds in Asia Minor cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i., p. 105, and "Ephesus," Hastings' B.D.; *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 128; Demetrius may have been master of the guild for the year.—ναοὺς ἀργ. Ἀρτέμιδος: "silver shrines of Diana," R.V., i.e., representing the shrine of Diana (Artemis) with the statue of the goddess within (ὡς κιβώρια μικρά, Chrys.). These miniature temples were bought up by Ephesians and strangers alike, since the worship of the goddess was so widely spread, and since the "shrines" were made sufficiently small to be worn as amulets on journeys, as well as to be placed as ornaments in houses. There is no need to suppose that they were coins with a representation of the temple stamped upon them, and there is no evidence of the existence of such coins; Amm. Marc., xxii., 13, Dio Cass., xxxix., 20, cf. Blass and Wendt, in loco. They were first explained correctly by Curtius, *Athenische Mittheilungen*, ii., 49. Examples of these *naoi* in terra-cotta or marble with dedicatory inscriptions abound in the neighbourhood of Ephesus. No examples in silver have been found, but they were naturally melted down owing to their intrinsic value, "Diana" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D., and *Church in the Roman Empire*, u. s. On the interesting but apparently groundless hypothesis (as Zöckler calls it, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 277, second edition) that Demetrius should be identified with Demetrius, the νεοποιός of an inscription at Ephesus which pro-

bably dated from a considerably later time, the very close of the first century, νεοποιός being really a temple warden, the words νεοποιός Ἀρτέμιδος being mistaken by the author of Acts and rendered "making silver shrines of Diana," see Zöckler, u. s.; and Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 112 ff.; and Wendt (1899), p. 317. As Ramsay puts it, there is no extant use of such a phrase as νεοπ. Ἀρτ. in any authority about A.D. 57, νεοποιός simply being the term used in inscriptions found at Ephesus—as Hicks himself allows (*Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 122, 123).—παρίχετο, see critical note or reading in Blass. Rendall distinguishes between active voice, xvi. 16, where the slave girl finds work for her masters, whilst here, middle voice, Demetrius finds work for himself and his fellow-craftsmen in their joint employment.—ἐργάσιαν "business," R.V., in xvi. 16, 19, "gain"; here the two meanings run into each other, in ver. 25 "business," R.V., is perhaps more in accordance with the context οὐκ ὀλίγην, Lucan, see on ver. 23.—τεχνίταις . . . ἐργάταις: "alii erant τεχνίται, artifices nobiliores; alii ἐργάται, operarii," so Zöckler and Grimm-Thayer following Bengel. But Blass regards them as the same, cf. reading in D, and Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 128, note. There were no doubt shrines of widely differing value, for the rich of silver made by the richer tradesmen, for the poorer classes of marble and terra-cotta, so that several trades were no doubt seriously affected, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 278, and "Ephesus," u. s., *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 128, and to the same effect Wendt (1899), p. 317. The word ἐργάται occurs in one of the inscriptions at Ephesus, ἐργ. προπυλεῖται πρὸς τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, "Ephesus," u. s., p. 723, note.

Ver. 25. περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, cf. Luke x. 40, 41, for a similar use of περὶ with accusative, but see W. H., l. c., and 2 Macc. xii. 1.—εὐπορία: wealth, or gain,



δοσι· 26. καὶ θεωρεῖτε καὶ ἀκούετε ὅτι οὐ μόνον<sup>1</sup> Ἐφέσου, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ὁ Παῦλος οὗτος πείσας μετέστησεν ἱκανὸν ὄχλον, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι. 27. οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο κινδυνεύει ἡμῖν τὸ μέρος εἰς ἀπελεγμὸν ἔλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς οὐδὲν<sup>2</sup> λογισθῆναι, μέλλειν τε καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῆς, ἣν ὅλη ἡ Ἀσία

<sup>1</sup> Before Ἐφέσου D prefixes εως, so Blass in β (comparing xxiii. 23), and Hilg. After οὗτος D<sup>1</sup> adds τις ποτε, Gig., "nescio quem," so Blass in β, comparing xvii. 7, where we have the same addition in Gig. and β text.

<sup>2</sup> λογισθῆναι ὩBHLP, Chrys., so not only T.R., but Alford, R.V., Weiss, Wendt; μελλειν ὩA<sup>2</sup>BD<sup>2</sup>EHLP, Chrys.; τε ὩABEP, Sah., Boh., Syrr., P.H., Arm., in both cases R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, as in T.R. Blass following ADE, Vulg. reads in β, λογισθησεται, and μελλει with A<sup>2</sup>D\*, Vulg. But in D the whole passage is confused. τὴν μεγαλειότητα, but the gen. in ὩABE 13, 15, 18, 40, R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt. In β text Blass reads μελλει τε καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι τὴν μεγαλειότης αὐτῆς ἣν ὅλη ἡ Α. following Gig., Par., Vulg., "sed et destrui incipiet majestas ejus quam," etc.; D reading "lacunose et corrupte," in the first part: ἀλλὰ καθερῖσθαι μελλει (-ειν Db) ἣ ὅλη Α.

only here in N.T., in classical Greek "in different senses in different authorities," Grimm-Thayer; in LXX, 2 Kings xxv. 10, but in a different sense (see Hatch and Redpath's references to its use by Aquila, Symm., and others). Rendall takes it of comfort and well-being, in the old English sense *weal*.

Ver. 26. οὐ μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ: *non modo . . . sed.*—σχεδόν, xiii. 44, we cannot take the genitive with ὄχλον, as Hackett suggests.—Ἀσίας: the Roman province, so Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 278, where he corrects his former interpretation of the word in this passage in *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 166; see above on Paul's work outside Ephesus.—οὗτος: contemptuous.—μετέστησεν, cf. Josh. xiv. 8. The testimony thus borne to the wide and effective influence of the Apostles even by their enemies is well commented on by St. Chrys., *Hom.*, xlii., and see also below.

Ver. 27. τοῦτο . . . τὸ μέρος, sc., τῆς ἐργασίας ἡμῶν, ver. 25, Grimm-Thayer—this branch of their trade, which was concerned with the making of the shrines. Others take μέρος = *trade*, the part assigned to one.—κινδυνεύει: "the most sensitive part of 'civilised' man is his pocket," Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 277, and the opposition thus naturally came not from the priests as instigators of the riot against Paul, but from the fact that trade connected with the Artemis-worship was endangered; so at Philippi, "when the masters saw that the hope of this was gone," xvi. 19; see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 129 ff.,

as against Hicks. "See how wherever there is idolatry, in every case we find money at the bottom of it, both in the former instance it was for money, and in the case of this man for money; it was not for their religion, because they thought that in danger; no, it was for their lucrative craft, that it would have nothing to work upon," Chrys., *Hom.*, xlii.—εἰς ἀπελεγμὸν ἔλθεῖν: noun, not found either in classical Greek or in the LXX; the verb ἀπελέγχειν is found in 4 Macc. ii. 11 (cf. Symm., Ps. cxix. 118), and ἐλεγμός is not uncommon in LXX, *confutatio*, *repudiatio* (for the phrase cf. Mark v. 26), in *contemptum venire*, Weststein; but in *redargutionem venire*, Vulgate.—ἀλλὰ καὶ: the utilitarian aspect of the appeal stands first, but speciously seconded by an appeal to religious feelings ("non tam pro aris ipsos quam pro focus pugnare," Calvin).—τῆς μεγ. θεᾶς Ἀ.: St. Luke appears to have retained the precise title of the goddess, according to the witness of the inscription; "Diana" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D., p. 605, so Blass, *in loco*.—τὸ . . . ἱερὸν: the Temple of Artemis was burnt to the ground by the fanatic Herostratus in B.C. 356 on the night of the birth of Alexander the Great, but its restoration was effected with great magnificence, and it was regarded as one of the seven wonders of the world. Its dimensions are given by Pliny, xxxvi., 95. For references, and a description of its worship, see C. and H., p. 422, small edition; Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 427; Ramsay, "Diana," u. s.; Wood's *Ephesus*, pp. 4-

καὶ ἡ οἰκουμένη σέβεται. 28. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ καὶ γενόμενοι πλήρεις θυμοῦ,<sup>1</sup> ἔκραζον, λέγοντες. Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσίων. 29. καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἐπλήσθη ἡ πόλις ὅλη συγχύσεως· ὥρμησάν τε ὁμοθυμαδὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον, συναρπάσαντες Γάϊον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον Μακεδόνας, συνεκδή-

<sup>1</sup> After θυμον D 137, Syr. H. mg. add δραμοντες εἰς τὴν ἀμφοδον, so Blass, Hilg.; see Ramsay, C. R. E., p. 153. Μεγ. ἡ Ἀρ. om. η D<sup>1</sup>, Ramsay emphasises, St. Paul, p. 274; C. R. E., u. s., see note in comment.

<sup>2</sup> After καὶ, β reads after D<sup>1</sup>, Gig., Syr. Pesh. συνεχυθη ὁλη η πολις (αἰσχυνης); D reads αἰσχ., which Blass rejects; apparently for Lat. "confusione," see Blass, p. xx.; "confusio," common rendering of αἰσχυνη, Harris, *Study in Codex Bezae*, p. 106; D prob. conflate; see also Corssen, G. G. A., p. 430, 1896. αἰσχ. = confusio, Phil. iii. 19, Heb. xii. 12.

45; *Greek Inscript. at British Museum*, iii., 1890, and for a complete account of the temple, its structure, and literature relating to its history and site, B.D.<sup>2</sup>, "Ephesus". So sumptuous was the magnificence of this sanctuary that it could be said ὁ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ναὸς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μόνος ἐστὶ θεῶν οἶκος, Philo Byz., *Spect. Mund.*, 7, and the sun, so the saying ran, saw nothing in his course more magnificent than Diana's temple.—εἰς οὐδὲν λογ., cf. for a similar phrase LXX, Isa. xl. 17, Wisdom iii. 17 and ix. 6 (εἰς om. S<sup>1</sup>), and Dan. Theod., iv., 32. The verb λογίζομαι is also frequent in St. Paul with εἰς and the accusative.—τε καὶ, cf. xxi. 28, not correlative, but: "and that she should even," etc., Simcox, *Language of the New Testament*, p. 163.—τὴν μεγαλειότητα, see critical note, if we read the genitive, "and that she should even be deposed from her magnificence," R.V., cf. Winer-Schmiedel, xxx., 6. Grimm-Thayer regards the genitive as partitive, *aliquid de majestate ejus*, as if it was inconceivable that all her magnificence should be lost: so Meyer, Zöckler, Weiss, cf. Xen., *Hellen.*, iv., 4, 13; Diod. Sic., iv., 8. But Wendt (as against Meyer) regards τὸ ἱερόν as the subject; cf. 1 Tim. vi. 5. The word is used, Luke ix. 43, of the majesty of God, cf. 2 Pet. i. 16 (Friedrich, p. 30); in LXX, Jer. xl. (xxxiii.) 9; 1 Esd. i. 5, iv. 40, Dan. vii. 27.—ὅλη ἡ πόλις: "multitudo errantium non efficit veritatem"; Bengel. The temple was built by contributions from the whole of Asia, *totā Asia exstruente*, Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xvi., 40, so that the goddess was evidently held in veneration by the whole province, cf. *ibid.*, xxvi., 21; Liv., i., 45. According to the testimony of Pausanias, iv., 31, 8; cf. Xen., *Anab.*, v., 3, 4, no deity was more widely worshipped by private persons (Wetstein, Ramsay, Blass), see also

*Apuleius*, 2, quoted by Mr. Page from Wordsworth. For the way in which the imperial government allied itself with the Artemis worship and the revival of paganism in the second century, and the universal honour paid to Artemis by Greek and barbarian alike, cf. *Greek Inscriptions of the British Museum* (Hicks), iii., pp. 135, 145.—οἰκουμένη, see above on xi. 28. Plumptre points out that the language is almost identical with that of Apuleius (perhaps from this passage): "Diana Ephesia cujus nomen unicum . . . totus veneratur orbis".

Ver. 28. ἔκραζον: "they cried continuously," imperfect, see addition in D.—Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀ.: omitting ἡ we have apparently the popular cry, or rather invocation: Great Artemis! as it was actually used in the *cultus*—the cry was not an argument against Paul's doctrine, but rather a prayer to the goddess and queen of Ephesus, and so regarded it gives a vividness and naturalness to the scene, Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 135 ff., and "Diana," u. s., p. 105; see D, critical note.

Ver. 29. συγχύσεως: the noun only here in N.T. (συγχέω: only in Luke, see above p. 238), in LXX, Gen. xi. 9, 1 Sam. v. 11, 1 Sam. xiv. 20, used in classical Greek in the sense of confusion, disturbance; τε, the immediate result was that they rushed (Weiss), ὁμοθυμαδόν, see above i. 14, "with one accord," *uno animo*, Vulgate (not *simul*).—τὸ θέατρον: no doubt the great theatre explored by Mr. Wood, *Ephesus*, pp. 73, 74, *App.* vi.; Lightfoot, *Contemp. Rev.*, xxxii., p. 293; the theatre was the usual place for public assemblies in most towns, cf. Jos., *B. J.*, vii. 3, 3; Tac., *Hist.*, ii., 80; Blass, *in loco*, and Wetstein, and also Pseudo-Heraclitus, Letter vii., 47, condemning the Ephesians for submitting grave and weighty matters to the decision



μοὺς τοῦ Παύλου. 30. τοῦ δὲ Παύλου βουλομένου εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸν δῆμον, οὐκ εἶων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί. 31. τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν ὄντες αὐτῷ φίλοι, πέμψαντες πρὸς αὐτόν, παρεκάλουν μὴ δοῦναι

of the mobs in the theatre, *Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 65; Gore, *Ephesians*, p. 255. The theatre was capable of holding, it is calculated, 24,500 people, its diameter was 495 feet, and it was probably the largest in the world (Renan). Wetstein remarks that the position of the places tended in no small degree to increase and foment the tumult, since the temple was in full view of the theatre.—*συναρπάσαντες*, cf. vi. 12, i.e., being carried off with them in their rush; we are not told whether they met Gaius and Aristarchus by chance, and seized them as well-known companions of Paul, *συνεκδήμους*, or whether they searched for them in their lodgings, and seized them when they could not find the Apostle.—*Ἀρίσταρχον*: a native of Thessalonica, cf. xx. 4; he accompanied Paul on his last journey to Jerusalem, and hence to Rome, xxvii. 2. It is possible, as Lightfoot thinks, that the words "Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us" in the latter passage intimate that Aristarchus accompanied Luke and Paul on the former part of this route because he was on his way home, and that leaving Paul at Myra he may have returned to Thessalonica, Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 35. But however this may be, it is evident from Col. iv. 10, Philem., ver. 24, that he was with the Apostle at Rome, probably sharing his captivity. ὁ συναρπάσας αὐτόν, Col., u. s., can hardly refer to this incident at Ephesus, Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 11, "Aristarchus," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, or to a captivity in a spiritual sense, as bound and captive to Christ together with Paul; see also Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 383.—*Μακεδόνας*: nothing was more natural than that devoted Christians from Thessalonica should be among St. Paul's companions in travel when we consider his special affection for the Thessalonian Church. With this reading the Gaius here is of course to be distinguished from the Gaius of xx. 4, of Derbe, and from the Gaius of Rom. xvi. 23, 1 Cor. i. 14, a Corinthian. But if we could read *Μακεδόνα*, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 280, the Gaius here may be identified with the Gaius of xx. 4. In xx. 4 Blass connects *Δερβανός* with Timothy, making Gaius a Thessalonian with Aristarchus, Secundus, see *in loco*; but against this

we must place the positive statement of xvi. 1, that Timothy was a Lystran.—*συνεκδήμους*: used only by Luke and Paul, 2 Cor. viii. 19, not in LXX, but in Plut. and Josephus. The word may look forward to xx. 4 (so Ramsay, u. s.), or we may take it with Blass as referring to the part which the two men played as representatives of the Thessalonians, who were carrying with St. Paul the contribution to the Church at Jerusalem (2 Cor. ix. 4). These two men, as Weiss points out, may be our informants for some of the details which follow.

Ver. 30. τοῦ δὲ Π. βουλ.: St. Paul was not the man to leave his comrades in the lurch, and he would have followed them with his life in his hands to face the mob of Ephesus; if we may depend upon the picture of Ephesian life given us in Pseudo-Heraclitus, Letter vii., we can understand the imminent danger in which St. Paul was placed at the mercy of men who were no longer men but beasts, *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων θηρία γεγονότες* (*Die Heraklitischen Briefe*, p. 65 (Bernays), and Ramsay, u. s., p. 280).—*δῆμον*, ver. 33, xii. 22, xvii. 5, so sometimes in classical Greek of the *plebs*, *vulgus*—in N.T. only in Acts. Both before and after the riot the passions of the vulgar mob were no doubt a real and serious danger to St. Paul, cf. 1 Cor. xv. 32, xvi. 9, 2 Cor. i. 8-10. In the former passage the word *ἰθριομάχησα* is generally referred to this danger in Ephesus, the multitude in its ferocious rage being compared to wild beasts, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 230, "Ephesus," Hastings' B.D., and Plumptre's note, *in loco*. With the expression used in 1 Cor. xv. 32 we may compare Ignat., *Rom.*, v. 1, and cf. *Ephes.*, vii., 1; *Smyrn.*, iv., 1; so too Pseudo-Heraclitus, u. s., and Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 351, note; Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* McGiffert, p. 280 ff., maintains that the word *ἰθριομάχησα* refers to an actual conflict with wild beasts in the arena (so Weizsäcker), and that 2 Cor. i. 9 more probably refers to the danger from the riot of Demetrius; but if the literal interpretation of the verb in 1 Cor. is correct, it is strange that St. Paul should have omitted such a terrible encounter from his catalogue of dangers in 2 Cor. xi. 23; see also below at end of chapter.

ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. 32. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔκραζον· ἦν γὰρ ἡ ἐκκλησία συγκεχυμένη, καὶ οἱ πλείους οὐκ ᾔδεισαν τίνος ἕνεκεν συνεληλύθεισαν. 33. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄχλου<sup>1</sup> προεβίβασαν Ἀλέξανδρον, προβαλόντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων· ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, κατασεισας

<sup>1</sup> Instead of προεβίβασαν NABE, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V. read συνεβίβασαν, whilst D<sup>2</sup>HLP, Chrys. have προεβ. (so T.R.). προεβ. adds nothing to προβαλλόντων and the difficulty of συνεβ. might easily lead to change. D\* reads κατεβίβασαν, so Blass in both texts, cf. Hilgenfeld, *Zw. Th.*, pp. 364, 366, 1896, and note in comment. Gig., Vulg., "detraxerunt".

Ver. 31. Ἀσιάρχων: "the chief officers of Asia," R.V., cf. Γαλατάρχης, Βιθυνιάρχης, Συριάρχης, etc.; Mommsen, *Röm. Gesch.*, v., 318 (Knabenbauer), officers, i.e., of the province of Asia, and so provincial, not merely municipal officers. Each province united in an association for the worship of Rome and the Empire, hence Κοινὸν Ἀσίας, of which the Asiarchs would probably be the high priests. But in addition to their religious office the Asiarchs were called upon to provide games, partly if not solely at their own expense, and to preside over them. These festivals were called Κοινὰ Ἀσίας ἐν Σμύρνῃ, Λαοδικείῳ, κ.τ.λ. It is doubtful whether the office was annual, or whether it was held for four years; but as an Asiarch still retained his title after his term of office had expired, there may evidently have been in Ephesus several Asiarchs, although only one was actually performing his duties (cf. the title ἀρχιερεῖς amongst the Jews, iv. 6, 23). If there were a sort of Council of Asiarchs, this Council may well have assembled when the Κοινὰ Ἀσίας were being held, and this might have been the case at Ephesus in the narrative before us; such a festival would have brought together a vast crowd of pilgrims and worshippers actuated with zeal for the goddess, and ready to side with Demetrius and his followers. The title was one of great dignity and repute, as is evident from inscriptions which commemorate in various cities the names of those who had held the office. Whether the Asiarchs were in any sense high priests has been disputed, but see Polycarp, *Mart.*, cf. xii. 2 and xxi.; on the whole subject "Asiarch" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D. and B.D.<sup>2</sup>; St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp, ii., p. 987, Lightfoot; Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 353; Wendt, p. 318; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 102.—Φίλοι: not only does the notice show that St. Paul had gained at least the toleration of some of the leading men of the province,

but that the attitude of the imperial authorities was not unfriendly. We cannot of course suppose with Zimmermann that the Asiarchs were friendly because the Apostle had been less opposed to the imperial *cultus* than to that of Diana, and that so far the Asiarchs stood with him on common ground. See Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, on the probable attitude of the priests, and cf. chap. xiv.—δοῦναι ἑαυτὸν: only here in N.T., cf. Polyb., v., 14, 9, the expression involves the thought of danger, so in A. and R.V.

Ver. 32. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν: μὲν οὖν probably as often in Acts without any opposition expressed, but see Rendall, *Appl.*, p. 162; the antithesis may be in δὲ of ver. 33.—ἐκραζον: "kept on crying," imperfect.—ἐκκλησία, see below on ver. 39; here of an unlawful tumultuous assembly.—συγκεχ., see above ver. 29.—οἱ πλείους: "sensu vere comparativo" Blass = *major pars*.

Ver. 33. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄ., sc., τίνες, cf. xxi. 16. If we read συνεβίβασαν (see critical note), and render "instructed Alexander," R.V., margin; cf. 1 Cor. ii. 16, and often in LXX, it seems to mean that the Jews instructed Alexander, a fellow-Jew, to come forward and disassociate himself and them from any coalition with Paul and his companions against the Diana worship (ἀπολογεῖσθαι). Erasmus takes the word to mean that the Jews had instructed him beforehand as their advocate. συμβιβάζω in Col. ii. 19, Ephes. iv. 16 = to join together, to knit together, in Acts xvi. 10, to consider, to conclude, so Weiss thinks here that it = concluded that Alexander was the reason why they had come together; but the sentence and the context does not seem to bear out this rendering. Meyer retains T.R., and holds that Alexander was a Jewish Christian who was put forward by the Jews maliciously, hoping that he might be sacrificed to the popular tumult — hence ἀπολογεῖσθαι.



τὴν χεῖρα, ἤθελεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τῷ δήμῳ. 34. ἐπιγνόντων<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὅτι Ἰουδαῖός ἐστι, φωνὴ ἐγένετο μία ἐκ πάντων, ὥς ἐπὶ ὥρας δύο κραζόντων, Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμὶς Ἐφεσίων. 35. Καταστείλας δὲ ὁ γραμματεὺς τὸν ὄχλον, φησίν, Ἄνδρες Ἐφέσιοι, τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης<sup>2</sup> θεᾶς

<sup>1</sup> Instead of ἐπιγνόντων,  $\Sigma$ ABDEHLP, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg. read ἐπιγνόντες, and instead of κραζόντων (Hilg.), BDEHLP, which Lach., W.H., Blass retain in, Tisch., Weiss, Wendt read κραζόντες, following  $\Sigma$ A.

<sup>2</sup> θεᾶς om.  $\Sigma$ ABDE, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.

This latter view seems to be adopted practically by Blass (so by Knabenbauer), although he reads κατεβίβασαν (Luke x. 15), *descendere coegerunt*, i.e., into the theatre, as he cannot see that συνεβίβ. is intelligible; in which Grimm-Thayer agrees with him, and renders with R.V., margin, as above (see *sub v.*).—ὁ δὲ Ἄ.: if ὁ χαλκεὺς in 2 Tim. iv. 14 is taken in a wider sense to mean a worker in any metal, it is, of course, possible that Alexander might be so described as one of the craftsmen of Demetrius. But the name was very common, although the omission of τις may be taken to imply that Alexander in ver. 33 was well known in Ephesus (*cf. ver. 9 above*). We cannot pass beyond conjecture, especially as the notice in Acts, when compared with 2 Tim., contains no further mark of identification than the similarity of name, although the Alexander in the latter passage was no doubt in some way connected with Ephesus, or the warning to Timothy against him would be without force. Against the identification see Meyer-Weiss, *Die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus*, p. 347, and so also Holtzmann, *Pastoralbriefe, in loco* (who identifies the Alexander in 2 Tim. iv. 14 with the Alexander in 1 Tim. i. 20). Holtzmann's view is that the author of the Pastoral Epistles, whoever he may have been, mistook the notice in Acts, and concluded that the Alexander there mentioned was a Christian, and a treacherous one, who allowed himself to be utilised by the Jews against Paul. The pseudonymous author of 2 Tim. therefore names Alexander χαλκεὺς, and refers also to him the βλασφημεῖν of 1 Tim. i. 20.—κατασίεας τὴν χεῖρα, see on xii. 17.—ἀπολ.: peculiar to Luke and Paul, twice in St. Luke's Gospel, and six times in Acts, so in Rom. ii. 15, 2 Cor. xii. 19. In the last-named passage with same construction as here (see for various constructions Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*).

Ver. 34. ἐπιγνόντων: "when they recognised" by his dress and his features, "when they perceived," R.V. If we read ἐπιγνόντες, see critical note, φωνὴ ἐγέν. = "anacoluthon luculentissimum" *cf. Mark ix. 20* (Blass).—μία ἐκ πάντων: *callida junctura*, arresting the reader's attention (Hackett). Alexander was thus unable to obtain a hearing because he was a Jew, a fact which sufficiently justifies the apprehension for Paul entertained by his friends.—Μεγάλη κ.τ.λ., see on ver. 28, the cry in B, and β text is doubled, which marks its continuance and its emphatic utterance (Weiss).—ὥς ἐπὶ ὥρας δύο κραζ.: probably they regarded this as in itself an act of worship, *cf. 1 Kings xviii. 26*, and Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 142, "Diana," Hastings' B.D., p. 605. "A childish understanding indeed! as if they were afraid lest their worship should be extinguished, they shouted without intermission:" Chrys., *Hom.*, xlii.

Ver. 35. καταστείλας: only here in N.T. and in ver. 36, "had quieted," R.V., *cf. 2 Macc. iv. 31, 3 Macc. vi. 1, Aquila, Ps. lxiv. (lxv.) 8*, also in Josephus and Plutarch.—ὁ γραμματεὺς: "the secretary of the city" Ramsay; Lightfoot was the first to point out the importance of the officer so named—called also ὁ Ἐφεσίων γραμ. or γραμ. τοῦ δήμου; he was the most influential person in Ephesus, for not only were the decrees to be proposed drafted by him and the Strategoi, and money left to the city was committed to his charge, but as the power of the Ecclesia, the public assembly, declined under imperial rule, the importance of the secretary's office was enhanced, because he was in closer touch with the court of the proconsul than the other city magistrates, and acted as a medium of communication between the imperial and municipal government, "Ephesus" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D., p. 723, *Cities and*

Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ Διοπετοῦς; 36. ἀναντιρρήτων<sup>1</sup> οὖν ὄντων τούτων, δέον ἐστὶν ὑμᾶς κατεσταλμένους ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μηδὲν προπετὲς πράττειν. 37. ἡγάγετε γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους, οὔτε ἱεροσούλους

<sup>1</sup> ἀναντιρητων B\*L, so W.H. (not Weiss).

*Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i., 66; *St. Paul*, pp. 281, 304; Hicks, *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, iii., p. 154, and Wood's *Ephesus*, *App.*, p. 49, often with Asiarchs and proconsul; Lightfoot, *Contemp. Review*, p. 294, 1878. St. Luke's picture therefore of the secretary as a man of influence and keenly alive to his responsibility is strikingly in accordance with what we might have expected. — τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος: "what man is there then?" etc. Rendall: the γάρ looks back to the action of the speaker in quieting the crowd, as if he would say that there is no need for this excitement, for all that you have said about your goddess is universally acknowledged. — νεωκόρον: "temple-keeper," R.V., "a worshipper," A.V., *cultricem*, Vulgate, lit., "a temple-sweeper" (on derivation see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*), and so found in classical Greek, a sacristan, a verger, Lat., *adiutus*, cf. Jos., B. J., v., 9, 4, where = worshippers, οὗς ὁ θεὸς ἐαυτῶν νεωκόρους ἤγειν. The title "Warden of the Temple of Ephesus" was a boast of the city, just as other cities boasted of the same title in relation to other deities. It would seem that the title at Ephesus was generally used in connection with the imperial *cultus*; in the period of this narrative, Ephesus could claim the title as Warden of one Temple of this *cultus*, and later on she enjoyed the title of *δὲς*, *τρίς νεωκόρος*, as the number of the temples of the imperial *cultus* increased. But there is ample justification from inscriptions for the mention of the title in the verse before us in connection with the Artemis worship. For references, Ramsay, "Ephesus," Hastings' B.D., p. 722; *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i., 58; Wendt, Blass, *in loco*; Lightfoot, *Cont. Rev.*, p. 294, 1878; Wood, *Ephesus*, *App.*, p. 50.—τοῦ Δ., sc., ἄγαλμα: or some such word; the image was believed to have fallen from the sky (heaven, R.V. margin), like that of the Tauric Artemis, cf. Eur., *Iph. T.*, 977, 1384, where we find οὐρανοῦ πέσημα given as the equivalent and explanation of διωπετὲς ἄγαλμα (Herod., i., 11). The worship of Diana of the Ephesians was entirely Asian and not Greek, although the Greek colonists

attempted to establish an identification with their own Artemis on account of certain analogies between them. According to Jerome, *Præfat. ad Ephesios*, the Ephesian Artemis was represented as a figure with many breasts, *multimammia* ("quam Græci πολύμαστον vocant"), symbolising the reproductive and nutritive powers of Nature which she personified. This description is fully borne out by the common representations of the goddess on coins and statues. No one could say for certain of what the ἄγαλμα was made: according to Petronius it was made of cedar wood, according to Pliny of the wood of the vine, according to Xen. of gold, and according to others of ebony. For a fuller description of the image, and for some account of the wide prevalence of worship of the goddess and its peculiar character, Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, "Diana of the Ephesians," Hastings' B.D., B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Wendt, 1888, *in loco*; Farrar, *St. Paul*, ii., p. 13, and references in Wetstein.

Ver. 36. ἀναντιρρήτων: only here in N.T., but the adverb in x. 29, not in LXX but Symm., Job xi. 2, xxxiii. 13; Polyb., xxiii., 8, 11; on spelling see critical note.—δέον ἐστίν, 1 Peter i. 6 (1 Tim. v. 13), cf. Eccles., *Prol.*, vv. 3, 4, 1 Macc. xii. 11, 2 Macc. xi. 18, also in classical Greek.—προπετὲς: only in Luke and Paul in N.T., 2 Tim. iii. 4, of thoughtless haste (Meyer-Weiss); in LXX of rash talk, cf. Prov. x. 14, xiii. 3, Eccles. ix. 18, Symm., Eccles. v. 1, Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, i., 1, of persons.—κατεσταλμένους, see also on ver. 35; only in these two verses in N.T.

Ver. 37. γὰρ: "for," i.e., they had done something rash.—τοὺς ἄνδρ. τούτους: Gaius and Aristarchus, ἱεροσούλους, "robbers of temples," R.V., in A.V. "of churches," the word "church" being applied as often in the Elizabethan age to pagan temples. Ramsay however renders "guilty neither in act nor in language of disrespect to our goddess," i.e., to the established religion of our city, ἱεροσυλία = Latin, *sacrilegium*, and here for emphasis the speaker uses the double term οὔτε ἱεροσ. οὔτε βλασφ., "Churches, Robbers of," Hastings' B.D., Ramsay, and *St. Paul*, pp. 260, 282, 401.



οὔτε βλασφημοῦντας τὴν<sup>1</sup> θεὸν ὁμῶν. 38. εἰ μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τεχνῖται πρὸς τινα λόγον ἔχουσιν, ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται,  
καὶ ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν· ἐγκαλείτωσαν ἀλλήλοις. 39. εἰ δέ τι περὶ

<sup>1</sup> For τὴν θεὸν  $\Sigma$ ABD<sup>2</sup>E\*HL, Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass read τὴν θεον, and for ὁμῶν  $\Sigma$ ABD, Syr. P., Sah., Arm., Aeth., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt read ἡμῶν.

<sup>2</sup> After Δημ. D, Syr. Pesh., Ephr., Blass, Hilg. add οὗτος.

In 2 Macc. iv. 42 we have the same word *ιερόσυλος*, R.V., "Author of the sacrilege," "Church-robber," A.V., used of Lysimachus, brother of Menelaus the high priest, who perished in a riot which arose from the theft of the sacred vessels by his brother and himself (quoted by Ramsay, *u. s.*). Canon Gore, *Ephesians*, p. 41, note, however, points out that the word is used in the former sense of "robbers of temples," in special connection with Ephesus by Strabo, xiv. 1, 22, and Pseudo-Heraclitus, Letter vii., p. 64 (Bernays); cf. Rom. ii. 22. The cognate noun is found in inscriptions at Ephesus, describing a crime involving the heaviest penalties, Wood, *Ephesus*, vi., 1, p. 14; Lightfoot, *Cont. Rev.*, p. 294, 1878.

Ver. 38. λόγον ἔχουσιν: no exact equivalent elsewhere in N.T., but Grimm (so Kypke) compares Matt. v. 32 (see also Col. iii. 13).—ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται: "the courts are open," R.V., perhaps best to understand *σύνοδοι*, "court-meetings are now going on," i.e., for holding trials (in the forum or agora); Vulgate, *conventus forenses aguntur*, the verb being in the present indicative. Or *ἡμέραι* may alone be supplied = court days are kept, i.e., at certain intervals, not implying at that particular time, but rather a general statement as in the words that follow: "there are proconsuls," see Page, *in loco*. For ἄγειν, cf. Luke xxiv. 21, Matt. xiv. 6, 2 Macc. ii. 16, cf. Strabo, xiii., p. 932, Latin, *conventus agere*. Alford, so Wendt (1888), speaks of the distinction drawn by the old grammarians between ἀγοραῖος and ἀγόραιος as groundless, but see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 69.—ἀνθύπατοί εἰσιν: the plural is used: "de eo quod nunquam non esse solet," Bengel (quoted by Blass and Wendt), although strictly there would be only one proconsul at a time. There is no need to understand any assistants of the proconsul, as if the description was meant for them, or, with Lewin, as if there were several persons with proconsular power. It is quite possible that in both

clauses the secretary is speaking in a mere colloquial way, as we might say, "There are assizes and there are judges." Lightfoot calls it "a rhetorical plural" *Cont. Rev.*, p. 295, 1878, and quotes Eur., *I. T.*, 1359, κλέπτοντες ἐκ γῆς ξόανα καὶ θυηπόλους, though there was only one image and one priestess.—ἐγκαλείτωσαν ἀλλήλοις: "accuse," R.V. The verb need not have a technical legal sense as is implied by "impeal" in A.V. So in LXX it may be used quite generally, or of a criminal charge, and so in classical Greek, cf. *Wisd.* xii. 12 and *Eccles.* xvi. 19. In the N.T. it is used six times in Acts with reference to judicial process, and only once elsewhere by St. Paul in Rom. viii. 33 in a general sense. The verb only occurs in the second part of Acts in accordance no doubt with the subject-matter; see Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*, p. 147, note, and Weiss, *Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 570, note.

Ver. 39. εἰ δέ τι περὶ ἐτέρων: if we read *περαιτέρω*, cf. Plato, *Phædo*, p. 107 B, the meaning is anything further than an accusation against an individual, a public and not a personal matter: if they desired to get any resolution passed with regard to the future conduct of citizens and of resident non-citizens in this matter, see Ramsay, *Expositor*, February, 1896, reading *περαιτ.*—ἐπιλυθῆσεται (cf. Mark iv. 34), nowhere else in N.T. (the verb is found in LXX, Aquila, Gen. xl. 8, xli. 8, 12; Th., Hos., iii. 4; Philo., Jos.).—τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ: "the regular assembly," R.V. Mr. Wood, *Ephesus, App.*, p. 38, quotes an inscription in which it was enjoined that a statue of Minerva should be placed in a certain spot, κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐννομον ἐκκλησίαν. But A.V. has "the lawful assembly": which is the better rendering? "regular" seems to restrict us to νόμιμοι ἐκκλησίαι held on stated customary days, and to exclude from the secretary's statement any reference to extraordinary meetings, meetings summoned for special business, whereas he would be likely to use a term which would cover all legal

ἐτέρων<sup>1</sup> ἐπιζητεῖτε, ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπιλυθῆσεται. 40. καὶ γὰρ κινδυνεύομεν<sup>2</sup> ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως περὶ τῆς σήμερον, μηδενὸς αἰτίου ὑπάρχοντος περὶ οὗ δυνησόμεθα ἀποδοῦναι λόγον τῆς συστροφῆς ταύτης. 41. Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

<sup>1</sup> περὶ ἑτερων, so  $\Sigma$ ADHLP, so Tisch., R.V., Hilg., but B (d Gig., Vulg.), so Lach., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt have *πραιτερω*, see further Harris, *Four Lectures*, p. 29, on Ephrem's text. The *περὶ ἑτερων* is the correction of a word not found elsewhere in N.T. (so Wendt, p. 320 (1899)). E has *περ ἑτερον*.

<sup>2</sup> D has *σημερον ἐγκαλεισθαι στασεως*, *argui seditionis hodiernæ*, Vulg., *accusari quasi seditiosi hodie*, Gig., but these look like paraphrases. *περὶ οὐ οὐ* in W.H. and R.V. is supported by  $\Sigma$ BHLP, Syrr., P.H., Arm., Chrys.; and after *λογον* the addition of *περὶ* is supported by  $\Sigma$ BE, Arm., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. DE omit negative *οὐ*, and *περὶ* after *λογον* is omitted by D<sup>\*</sup>HLP d, so T.R. (Meyer and Lach.), Hilg. and Blass in both texts; see Wendt (1899), note p. 321. W.H., see *Ahr.*, p. 97, thinks some primitive error probable, perhaps *αιτιοι ὑπαρχοντες* instead of *αιτιου ὑπαρχοντος*. D has *οντος* instead of *υπαρ.*, so Blass in β.

meetings. But on the other hand Blass quotes the phrase given above from the inscriptions, and explains *ἐννομοι ἐκκλησίαι sunt, quæ ex lege certis diebus fiebant* (so too Wendt, Lightfoot); and if this is correct, "regular" would be the more appropriate rendering, *ἐννομος* = *νόμιμος*. But in Ephesus we have to consider how far the old Greek assembly *ἐκκλησία* was or was not under the control of the imperial government. In considering this with reference to the special incident before us, Ramsay, with whom Wendt agrees, p. 321 (1899), gives good reason for regarding the "regular" as equivalent to the "lawful" assemblies: *i.e.*, extraordinary assemblies which in the Greek period had been legal, but were now so no longer through the jealous desire of Rome to control popular assemblies, abroad as at home. The *ἐκκλησία* could not be summoned without the leave of the Roman officials, and it was not at all likely that that sanction would be extended beyond a certain fixed and regular number, Ramsay, *Expositor*, February, 1896: "The Lawful Assembly," and "Ephesus," Hastings' B.D., p. 723.

Ver. 40. *ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως περὶ τῆς σήμερον*, A.V., "to be called in question for this day's uproar," but R.V., "to be accused concerning this day's riot," rendering *ἐγκαλ.*, as in ver. 38, and *στάσεως*, as in Mark xv. 7. *θόρυβος* being rather the word for uproar or tumult, *cf.* Vulgate: "*argui seditionis hodiernæ*". But a further question arises from the marginal rendering of R.V., "to be accused of riot concerning this day": so Page, Meyer-Wendt, Zöck-

ler. But Blass, Weiss, Rendall, so Ramsay: "to be accused of riot concerning this day's assembly," *sc.*, *ἐκκλησία*, although Blass thinks it still better to omit *περὶ τῆς* altogether, and to connect *σήμερον* with *ἐγκαλ.*, *cf.* iv. 9.—*μηδενὸς αἰτίου ὑπάρχοντος*: with this punctuation R.V. renders "there being no cause for it," taking *αἰτίου* as neuter, and closely connecting the phrase with the foregoing, so W.H. Overbeck (so Felten, Rendall) takes *αἰτίου* as masculine: "there being no man guilty by reason of whom," etc., and Wendt considers that the rendering cannot be altogether excluded. Vulgate has "*cum nullus obnoxius sit*". But *αἰτίου* may be strictly a noun neuter from *αἶτιον* = *αἶτια*, and not an adjective as the last-mentioned rendering demands, *cf.* Plummer on Luke xxiii. 4, 14, 22, and nowhere else in N.T., so Moulton and Geden, who give the adjective *αἷτιος* only in Heb. v. 9.—*περὶ οὗ δυνησόμεθα*: Ramsay (so Meyer and Zöckler) follows T.R. and Bezan text in omitting the negative *οὐ* before *δυν.*, but see on the other hand Wendt (1899), p. 322; and critical note. R.V. (introducing negative *οὐ*, so Weiss and Wendt) renders "and as touching it we shall not be able to give account of this concourse".—*συστροφῆς*, Polyb., iv, 34, 6, of a seditious meeting or mob. In xxiii. 12 used of a conspiracy; *cf.* LXX, Ps. lxxiii. 2, Amos vii. 10.

Ver. 41. *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*: the word may imply, as Ramsay thinks, that the secretary thus recognised the meeting as an *ἐκκλησία* to shield it, as far as he could, from Roman censure. The attitude of the secretary is that of a man



XX. 1. ΜΕΤΑ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν ὄρυβον,<sup>1</sup> προσκαλεσάμενος ὁ Παῦλος τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος ἐξῆλθε πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν. 2. διελθὼν δὲ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα, καὶ<sup>2</sup> παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> For προσκαλ. ΞBE, Sah., Boh., Aethro., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Blass read μετακαλ.; Lach. follows T.R. according to ADHLP, Chrys. After καὶ AB 13, 33, Boh. add παρακαλέσας (καὶ παρακ. καὶ ασπασ. ΞE), Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss; T.R., so Meyer, om. παρακαλ. D, Gig. read ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδ., so Blass in β.

<sup>2</sup> παρακαλ. χρησάμενος λ. π., so D (and Blass in β) om. αὐτοὺς.

altogether superior to, and almost contemptuous of, the vulgar mob (*cf.* οὗτος in D, ver. 38), and there is no apparent desire on his part to deny Paul's right to preach, provided that the Apostle respected the laws and institutions of the city.

On the historical character of the incidents narrated at Ephesus, the graphic description and the intimate knowledge of the life of the city, see Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 143, and the same writer "Ephesus," Hastings' B.D. Every detail tends to confirm the faithfulness of the picture drawn of Ephesian society A.D. 57 (*cf.* Knabenbauer, p. 340). Wendt also is so impressed with the vividness of the scene as it is narrated, that he considers that we are justified in referring the narrative to a source which we owe to an actual companion of St. Paul, and in regarding it as an historical episode, and he refers in justification to Lightfoot, *Cont. Rev.*, p. 292 ff., 1878; see Wendt's edition, 1888, pp. 429, 430, and also edition 1899, p. 316, note. Whilst Baur and Overbeck give an unfavourable verdict as to the historical truthfulness of the Ephesian tumult, a verdict which Wendt condemns, Zeller is constrained to acknowledge the very minute details which tell in favour of the narrative, and for the invention of which there is no apparent reason. Amongst more recent critics, Weizsäcker can only see in the story the historian's defence of Paul and the same tendency to make events issue in the success of his missionary propaganda: 1 Cor. xv. 32 he takes literally, and the tumult recorded in Acts gives us only a faint and shadowy outline of actual reminiscences: nothing is left of the wild beasts except a tumult in the theatre, and the Apostle against whom the violence is mainly directed is himself absent. But as Wendt rightly maintains, 1 Cor. xv. 32 is much rather to be taken as referring figuratively to a struggle with men raging against the Apostle's

life; nor are we shut up of necessity to the conclusion that 1 Cor. xv. 32 and Acts xix. 23 ff. refer to one and the same event (so Hilgenfeld, Zöckler), see note on p. 414. McGiffert, whilst taking 1 Cor. xv. 32 literally (although he inclines to identify Acts xix. with 2 Cor. i. 8, so too Hilgenfeld), admits as against Weizsäcker the general trustworthiness of St. Luke's account, since it is too true to life, and is related too vividly to admit any doubt as to its historic reality (p. 282). Hilgenfeld too, *Zw. Th.*, p. 363, 1896, agrees that the whole narrative is related in a way true to life, and refers it with the possible exception of ὡς ἐπὶ ὄρας δύο in ver. 34 to his good source C: it could not possibly have been invented by the "author to Theophilus". Even here Clemen and Jüngst can only see an interpolation, referred by the former to Redactor, *i.e.*, vv. 15-41 with the possible exception of ver. 33 to Redactor Antijudaicus; and by the latter also to his Redactor, *i.e.*, vv. 23-41.

CHAPTER XX.—Ver. 1. μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσ.: the words may indicate not only the fact of the cessation of the tumult, but that Paul felt that the time for departure had come.—ὄρυξ, *cf.* Matt. xxvi. 5, xxvii. 24, Mark xiv. 2; three times in Acts, xxi. 34, xxiv. 18, and several times in LXX. In xxi. 34 it is used more as in classics of the confused noise of an assembly (*cf.* Mark v. 38), but in the text it seems to cover the whole riot, and may be translated "riot".—ἀσπασάμενος: "non solum salutabant osculo advenientes verum etiam discessuri," Wetstein, and references; so in classical Greek, *cf.* also xxi. 6, 7, 19.

Ver. 2. διελθὼν δὲ, see above on xiii. 6, "and when he had gone through," in a missionary progress τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα, *i.e.*, of Macedonia, the places where he had founded Churches, Thessalonica, Berea, Philippi. From Rom. xv. 19 it would appear that his work continued some time, and that round about even unto Illyricum he fully preached the Gospel,

λόγῳ πολλῷ, ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα· 3. ποιήσας τε μῆνας τρεῖς, γενομένης αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων<sup>1</sup> μέλλοντι ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς

<sup>1</sup> D, Syr. H. mg., Ephr. read after Ἰουδαίων ἠθελήσεν ἀναχθῆναι εἰς Σ., which gives rather a different idea, viz., that a plot of the Jews induced Paul to leave Corinth (so Belser, p. 108; Hilgenfeld also adopts, *Zw. Th.*, 1896, p. 368); but Blass transposes the clauses and reads in β: ποιη. τε μ. τ. ἠθελ. ἀναχθῆναι εἰς Σ. καὶ γενήθεισας αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῶν Ι.; see as against this transposition by Blass, Wendt (1899), p. 50. For εγενετο γνωμῆς του υπο. D, Syr. H. mg., Gig. read εἰπεν δε το πνευμα. Blass omits δε in β, and so the antithesis is not maintained. Weiss, p. 98 (note), condemns Blass for making εἰπεν το πν. the equivalent of εγεν. γνωμῆς, whilst in xix. 1 a distinction is decisively drawn between the ἰδια βουλη (= γνωμῆ) of the Apostle and the guidance of the Spirit. γνωμῆ, but gen. γνωμῆς is read by NAB\*E 13, 15, 18, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt.

On the connection of 2 Cor. with this part of Acts, see "II. Corinthians" (Robertson, Hastings' B.D., i., pp. 493, 495; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 286; and on the coincidence between Acts and Romans, *l. c.*, see Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, ii., 4.—τὴν Ἑλλάδα, i.e., Achaia in its Roman sense (approximately at all events); the stay might have included a visit to Athens, but at all events Corinth was visited. A wider sense of the epithet "Greek" would comprise Macedonia also, and Macedonia and Achaia are thus spoken of in close connection as forming the Greek lands in Europe, cf. xix. 21, and Rom. xv. 26, 2 Cor. ix. 2, 1 Thess. i. 8, "Achaia" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D.

Ver. 3. ποιήσας τε μῆνας τρεῖς, cf. xv. 33, xviii. 23.—ἐπιβουλῆς: only in Acts in N.T., see above on ix. 24; the plot may have been formed in the anticipation that it would be easy to carry it through on a pilgrim ship crowded with Jews of Corinth and Asia, hostile to the Apostle; or it may have been the purpose of the conspirators to kill Paul in a crowded harbour like Cenchreæ before the ship actually started.—μέλλ. ἀνάγ., see on xiii. 13. If we read ἐγέν. γνώμῆς (genitive) (cf. 2 Peter i. 20), nowhere else in N.T., cf. Thuc., i., 113, ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμῆς ἦσαν, see also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 269.—τοῦ ὑποσ., i.e., the return journey to Jerusalem (Ramsay), but see also Wendt (1899), p. 323.

Ver. 4. συνέπιετο δὲ αὐτῷ: only here in N.T., cf. 2 Macc. xv. 2, 3 Macc. v. 48, vi. 21, but frequent in classics.—ἄχρι τῆς Ἀ.: among more recent writers Rendall has argued strongly for the retention of the words, whilst he maintains, nevertheless, that all the companions of the Apostle named here accompanied him to Jerusalem. In his view the words are an antithesis to Ἀσιανοὶ δέ, so that whilst on the one hand one party, viz., six of the deputies, travel with Paul

to Philippi, on the other hand the other party consisting of two, viz., the Asian representatives, waited for them at Troas. At Philippi the six deputies and Paul were joined by St. Luke, who henceforth speaks of the deputation in the first person plural, and identifies himself with its members as a colleague. Then from Troas the whole party proceed to Jerusalem (*Acts*, pp. 119, 303). In this way οὔτοι in ver. 5 is restricted to Tychicus and Trophimus (see also Ramsay, as below), whereas A. and R.V. refer the pronoun to all the deputies, so too Weiss and Wendt. If this is so, the ἡμᾶς, ver. 5, might refer (but see further below) only to Paul and Luke, as the latter would naturally rejoin Paul at Philippi where we left him, cf. xvi. 17. Ramsay explains (*St. Paul*, p. 287) that the discovery of the Jewish plot altered St. Paul's plan, and that too at the last moment, when delegates from the Churches had already assembled. The European delegates were to sail from Corinth, and the Asian from Ephesus, but the latter having received word of the change of plan went as far as Troas to meet the others, οὔτοι thus referring to Tychicus and Trophimus alone (but see also Askwith, *Epistle to the Galatians* (1899), pp. 94, 95).

Wendt also favours retention of ἄχρι τῆς Ἀ. and prefers the reading προσελθόντες, but he takes ἡμᾶς in ver. 5 to exclude St. Paul, and refers it to other friends of the Apostle (as distinct from those who accompanied him through Macedonia "as far as Asia"), viz., the author of the "We" sections and others who only now meet the Apostle and his company at Troas. But this obliges us to make a somewhat artificial distinction between ἡμᾶς in ver. 5 with ἡμεῖς in ver. 6, and ἐξῆπ. and ἦλθομεν on the one hand, and διεπρίψαμεν, ver. 6, on the other, as the latter must be taken to include St.



τὴν Συρίαν, ἐγένετο γνώμη τοῦ ὑποστρέφειν διὰ Μακεδονίας. 4.  
 συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας<sup>2</sup> Σώπατρος<sup>3</sup> Βεροιαῖος. Θεσσα-

<sup>1</sup> *συνείπετο* δε αὐτῷ, Blass follows D and also inserts *προηρχοντο*, whilst D omits verb altogether, Syr. H. mg. reads *συνειποντο*. Apparently D takes *μεχρι της Α.* with *εξιεναι*, and the names may have been taken with *προηρχοντο* if Blass is right in regarding this as original; see his *Proleg.*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *αχρι της Ασίας* om. NB 13, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Aethpp., so Tisch., W.H. text, R.V. marg., Weiss; but retained ADEHLP, Syr. P. and H., Arm., Chrys.; (Gig., Wer.) Blass in β (*μεχρι*); see also W.H., *Abb.*, p. 97. Wendt also considers that it is probably to be retained, see note in comment.; cf. *προελθ.*, u. s.

<sup>3</sup> After *Σωπατρος* SABDE, Vulg., Boh., Syr. H. mg., Arm., Orig<sup>int</sup>, so Tisch., Alford, W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass add *Πυρρουν*.

Paul, St. Luke, and the whole company, although Wendt justifies the distinction by pointing out that in ver. 13 *ἡμεῖς* is used exclusive of Paul (cf. xxi. 12).

Mr. Askwith, u. s., p. 93 ff., has recently argued that *ἡμεῖς* in ver. 6 includes not only St. Luke and St. Paul, but with them the representatives of Achaia (who are not mentioned by name with the other deputies) who would naturally be with St. Paul on his return from Corinth, vv. 2, 3, and he would not travel through Macedonia unaccompanied. In 2 Cor. viii. St. Luke, "the brother," according to tradition, whose praise in the Gospel was spread through all the Churches, had been sent to Corinth with Titus and another "brother," and so naturally any representatives from Achaia would come along with them, pp. 93, 94. No names are given because St. Luke himself was amongst them, and he never mentions his own name, p. 96. The fact that Timothy and Sopater who had been with the Apostle at Corinth when he wrote to the Romans (chap. xvi. 21, if we may identify *Σωσίπατρος* with the *Σώπατρος Πύρρουν Βεροιαῖος*, Acts xx. 4) are amongst those who waited at Troas is accounted for on the supposition that Timothy and others might naturally go across to inform the Asiatic delegates of Paul's change of plan, and would then proceed with these Asian representatives to Troas to meet the Apostle (p. 94). The presence of Aristarchus and Secundus at Troas is accounted for on the ground that St. Paul, on his way to Achaia, did not expect to return through Macedonia, and so would naturally arrange for the Macedonian delegates, who were not accompanying him into Greece, to meet him somewhere. And the delegates from Thessalonica would naturally cross to Troas with the intention of proceeding to Ephesus (or Miletus), where St. Paul would have touched even if he had sailed

for Palestine from Cenchreae (cf. Acts xviii. 18, 19), p. 95. But against this it may be fairly urged that there is no reason to assume that the Macedonian delegates did *not* accompany Paul into Greece; Timothy and Sosipater had evidently done so, and all the delegates mentioned seem to have been together in St. Paul's company, *συνείπετο αὐτῷ*, ver. 4. In the uncertain state of the text it is difficult to come to any decision on the passage. The words *ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας* may easily have been omitted on account of the supposed difficulty connected with the fact that two at least of St. Paul's companions who are named, Trophimus and Aristarchus, went further than Asia, cf. xxi. 29, xviii. 2, while on the other hand it is somewhat hard to believe that the words could be inserted by a later hand.

On "The Pauline Collection for the Saints and its importance," and the representatives of the Churches in the different provinces, see Rendall, *Expositor*, November, 1893; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 287, and "Corinth," Hastings' B.D.; Wendt, p. 325 (1899); Hort, *Rom.* and *Ephes.*, pp. 39 ff. and 173. Nothing could more clearly show the immense importance which St. Paul attached to this contribution for the poor saints than the fact that he was ready to present in person at Jerusalem the members of the deputation and their joint offerings, and that too at a time when his presence in the capital was full of danger, and after he had been expressly warned of the peril, cf. Acts, xxiv. 17, Rom. xv. 25. On the suggestion for the fund and its consummation see 1 Cor. xvi. 1-8, Acts xx. 16, 2 Cor. viii. 10, ix. 2; A.D. 57-58, Rendall, Lightfoot; 56-57, Ramsay. Such a scheme would not only unite all the Gentile Churches in one holy bond of faith and charity, but it would mark their solidarity with the Mother Church

λονικῶν δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σέκουνδος,<sup>1</sup> καὶ Γάϊος Δερβαῖος καὶ Τιμόθεος<sup>2</sup>. Ἀσιανοὶ δέ, Τυχικὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος. 5.<sup>3</sup> οὗτοι προελθόντες ἔμενον ἡμᾶς ἐν Τρωάδι. 6. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐξεπλεύσαμεν μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἄζύμων ἀπὸ Φιλίππων, καὶ ἤλθομεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα

<sup>1</sup> καὶ Γαῖος Δ., Blass reads Δερβαῖος δε Τιμοθεος, but against this we have the "insurmountable" statement in xvi. 1, so Ramsay, p. 280, so too Wendt (1899), p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀσιανοὶ, D, Syr. H. mg. read Εφεσιοὶ, so Blass; Wendt approves; see Ramsay, C. R. E., p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> οὗτοι, add δε ἡ ΑΒΕ, Boh., Syr. H., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; omit Blass, with DHLP, Vulg., Gig. προελθόντες, this reading of T.R. is retained by Lach., Tisch., Weiss, R.V., W.H. mg.; Blass in text following B<sup>3</sup>D; and it corresponds with the omission of ἀχρι της Α. in ver. 4 and the view that Paul was included in the ημας of ver. 5. If, however, the words ἀχρι της Α. are retained, Wendt argues that προσελθόντες is quite intelligible, and that this verb, which he regards as best supported, ἡ ΑΒ\*ΕΗLP [so W.H.], becomes thus an indirect confirmation of the former disputed words in ver. 4. According to Wendt's view Paul is not included in the ημας of ver. 5, but the ημας refers to the writer of the "We" sections with one or two companions who had not journeyed with Paul through Macedonia to Asia, but only met him in Troas. But a difficulty connected with Wendt's solution would seem to lie in the fact that he is obliged to refer the ημεῖς in ver. 6 only to the writer of the "We" sections and those with him, whilst the first person in διειτριψαμεν includes Paul and his party who have been hitherto excluded from the ημεῖς and ημας. After εμενον D reads αυτον, so Blass in β, thus plainly separating Paul from the οὗτοι.

at Jerusalem; it would be a splendid fulfilment by their own generous and loyal effort of the truth that if one member of the body suffered all the members suffered with it. We know how this vision which St. Paul had before his eyes of a universal brotherhood throughout the Christian world seemed to tarry; and we may understand something of the joy which filled his heart, even amidst his farewell to the elders at Miletus, as he anticipated without misgiving the accomplishment of this διακονία to the saints, a "ministry" which he had received from the Lord Jesus, Acts xx. 24. On the coincidence between the narrative of the Acts cf. xx. 2, 3, xxiv. 17-19, and the notices in St. Paul's Epistles given above, see especially Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, chap. ii., 1.—Σώπατρος Πύρρου Β., see critical note; whether he is the same as the Sopater of Rom. xvi. 21 who was with St. Paul at Corinth we cannot say—possibly the name of his father may be introduced to distinguish him, but perhaps, as Blass says, added in this one case "quod domi nobilis erat".—Γάϊος Δ. καὶ Τ., see above on p. 414, and Knabenbauer's note as against Blass.—Τυχικὸς: Ephes. vi. 21, Col. iv. 7 show that Timothy was in Rome at the time of St. Paul's first imprisonment. He is spoken of as a beloved and faithful

minister, and it would appear that as St. Paul was about to send him to Ephesus, he was presumably the bearer of the Epistle which at all events included the Ephesian Church. In Tit. iii. 12 we have another reference which shows the high place Timothy occupied amongst St. Paul's trusted confidential friends, and from 2 Tim. iv. 12 we learn that he had been a sharer in the Apostle's second and heavier captivity, and had only left him to fulfil another mission to Ephesus.—Τρόφιμος: probably like Tychicus an Ephesian. In xxi. 29 he was with St. Paul at Jerusalem, and from 2 Tim. iv. 20 we learn that he was at a later stage the companion of the Apostle after his release from his first imprisonment, and that he had been left by him at Miletus sick. On the absurd attempt to connect this notice of Miletus in the Pastoral Epistles with Acts xx. 4 see Weiss, *Die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus*, p. 354; Salmon, *Introd.*, fifth edition, p. 401.

Ver. 5. προελθόντες, see critical note. If we read προσελ. render as in R.V. (margin), "these came, and were waiting for us at Troas," cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 287, and Rendall, *in loco*.—ἡμᾶς: the introduction of the word is fatal to the idea that Timothy could have been the author of this "We" section.



ἄχρις <sup>1</sup> ἡμερῶν πέντε, οὐ διετρίψαμεν ἡμέρας ἑπτά. 7. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων, συνηγμένων <sup>2</sup> τῶν μαθητῶν τοῦ κλάσαι ἄρτον, ὁ Παῦλος διελέγετο αὐτοῖς, μέλλων ἐξίναί τῃ ἐπαύριον, παρέτεινέ τε τὸν λόγον μέχρι μεσονυκτίου. 8. ἦσαν δὲ <sup>3</sup> λαμπαδες ἱκαναὶ ἐν τῷ ὑπερώῳ οὐ

<sup>1</sup> D has πεμπταιοι instead of ἀχ. η. π., so Blass in β. It may be simply explanatory of the difficult ἀχ. η. π. (Weiss).

<sup>2</sup> τῶν μαθητῶν, according to ΞABDE, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass ἡμῶν.

<sup>3</sup> λαμπαδες, D (not Blass in β) reads υπολαμπαδες. According to *Phylarch. ap. Ath. υπολ.* seems to be a sort of window or look-out (L. and S., edit. 7). This reading is suggestive, but Blass is of opinion that υπολ. "nusquam exstat".

Ver. 6. μετὰ τὰς ἡμ. τῶν ἁ., cf. xii. 3, i.e., the Passover. 1 Cor. v. 7 shows us how they would "keep the Feast". Ramsay's "fixed date in the life of St. Paul," *Expositor*, May, 1896, depends partly on the assumption that Paul left Philippi the very first day after the close of the Paschal week, but we cannot be sure of this, see Wendt's criticism on Ramsay's view, p. 326, edition 1899, and also Dr. Robertson "I. Corinthians" Hastings' B.D., p. 485.—ἄχρις ἡμ. πέντε: "in five days," i.e., the journey lasted until the fifth day, so D πεμπταιοι, cf. δευτεραῖοι, xxviii. 13. In xvi. 11 the journey only lasted two (three?) days, but here probably adverse winds must be taken into account; or the five days may include a delay at Neapolis, the port of Philippi, or the land journey to the port; on ἄχρις see above i. 2.—ἡμέρας ἑπτά, so as to include a whole week, and so the first day of the week, cf. 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13, which shows how reluctantly Paul left Troas on his former visit, but see on the other hand, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 295, who thinks that St. Paul would not have voluntarily stayed seven days at Troas.

Ver. 7. τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σ., "on the first day of the week," μιᾷ being used, the cardinal for the ordinal πρῶτος, like Hebrew **יָרֵךְ**, in enumerating the days of the month, see Plummer's note on Luke xxiv. 1 and cf. xviii. 12 (so Blass). We must remember that 1 Cor. had been previously written, and that the reference in 1 Cor. xvi. 2 to "the first day of the week" for the collection of alms naturally connects itself with the statement here in proof that this day had been marked out by the Christian Church as a special day for public worship, and for "the breaking of the bread". On the significance of this selection of the "first day," see Milligan, *Resurrection*,

pp. 67-69; Maclear, *Evidential Value of the Lord's Day*, "Present Day Tracts" 54; and for other references, *Witness of the Epistles*, pp. 368, 369; Wendt (1899), p. 326.—μέλλων: Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, p. 71.—παρέτεινε, see μῦθον, Arist., *Poet.*, xvii., 5, λόγους, and ix. 4, μῦθον.—μεσονυκτίου, cf. xvi. 25.

Ver. 8. λαμπαδες ἱκαναί, see critical note and reading in D. The words have been taken to indicate clearly that the accident was not due to darkness coming on through Paul's lengthy discourse (so Weiss and Wendt), whilst Meyer regards them as introduced to show that the fall of the young man was not perceived at once. Others (so Felten) hold that the words mark the joy at the Sacramental Presence of the Lord and Bridegroom of the Church (Matt. xxv. 1), and Nösgen sees in them a note of joy in the celebration of the Christian Sunday (see also Kuinoel). But it is also allowable to see in this notice the graphic and minute touch of one who was an eye-witness of the scene, and who described it, as he remembered it, in all its vividness (Hackett, Blass). We can scarcely see in the words with Ewald an intention on the part of the narrative to guard against any suspicion attaching to the night meetings of the Christians (so Calvin, Bengel, Lechler); the date, as Nösgen says, is too early (so too Overbeck). Lewin also takes Ewald's view, but with the alternative that the lights may have been mentioned to exclude any suspicion in the reader's mind of any deception with regard to the miracle.

Ver. 9. Εὐτυχος: we are not told what position he occupied, but there is no hint that he was a servant.—ἐπὶ τῆς θυρ.: on the window sill—there were no windows of glass, and the lattice or door was open probably on account of the heat from the lamps, and from the number present—the fact that Eutychus thus sat

ἦσαν συνηγμένοι. 9. καθήμενος δέ τις νεανίας ὀνόματι Εὐτυχος ἐπὶ τῆς θυρίδος, καταφερόμενος ὑπνω<sup>1</sup> βαθεῖ, διαλεγόμενου τοῦ Παύλου ἐπὶ πλείον, κατενεχθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρισιτέγου κάτω, καὶ ἤρθη νεκρός. 10. καταβάς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ, καὶ συμπεριλαβὼν εἶπε, Μὴ θορυβεῖσθε· ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔστιν. 11. ἀναβάς δὲ καὶ κλάσας<sup>2</sup> ἄρτον καὶ γευσάμενος, ἐφ' ἱκανὸν

<sup>1</sup> D, Gig., so Blass in β, βαρει pro βαθει.

<sup>2</sup> Before ἄρτον Ν\*ABCD\* 13, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt add τον.

at the window points to the crowded nature of the assembly, *cf.* 2 Kings i. 2, where a different word is used in LXX, although θυρίς is also frequently found.—καταφερ. ὕ. β.: the two participles are to be carefully distinguished (but R.V. does not); “who was gradually oppressed,” or “becoming oppressed with sleep,” present participle; “being borne down by his sleep,” *i.e.*, overcome by it, aorist. Rendall takes ἐπὶ πλείον with κατενεχθεὶς (so W.H. margin), “and being still more overcome with the sleep,” but the words are usually taken with διαλεγ. See Bengel, Nösgen, Alford, Holtzmann, Weiss, Ramsay, Page on the force of the participles: “sedentem somnus occupavit . . . somno oppressus cecidit,” Bengel. καταφέρεσθαι: used only in Luke in N.T., and in no corresponding sense in LXX; a medical term, and so much so that it was used more frequently absolutely than with ὕπνος in medical writings, and the two participles thus expressing the different stages of sleep would be quite natural in a medical writer.—βαθεῖ: one of the epithets joined with ὕπνος by the medical writers, see Hobart, pp. 48, 49, and his remarks on Luke xxii. 45, p. 84. The verb is also used in the same sense by other writers as by Aristotle, Josephus, see instances in Wetstein, but Zahn reckons the whole phrase as medical, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 436.—καὶ ἤρθη νεκρός: the words positively assert that Eutychus was dead—they are not ὥσεὶ νεκρός, *cf.* Mark ix. 26, and the attempt to show that the words in ver. 10, “his life is in him,” indicate apparent death, or that life is still thought of as not having left him (so apparently even Zöckler, whilst he strongly maintains the force of the preceding words), cannot be called satisfactory; see on the other hand Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 290, 291, and Wendt, *in loco*.

Ver. 10. καταβάς: by the outside staircase common in Eastern houses.—

ἐπέπεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ συμ., *cf.* 1 Kings xvii. 21, 22; 2 Kings iv. 34; there as here the purport of the act was a restoration to life.—Μὴ θορ.: “make ye no ado,” R.V., *cf.* Mark v. 39 (Mark ix. 23), where the word is used of the loud weeping and wailing of the mourners in the East; see above on ix. 39.—ἡ γὰρ ψ., see above.

Ver. 11. κλάσας ἄρτον: if we read τὸν ἄρ., see critical note, “the bread,” so R.V., *i.e.*, of the Eucharist; so Syriac. The words evidently refer back to ver. 7, see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 148.—γευσ.: often taken to refer not to the Eucharist, but to the partaking of the *Agape* or common meal which followed. If so, it certainly appears as if St. Paul had soon taken steps to prevent the scandals which occurred in Corinth from the Holy Communion being celebrated during or after a common meal, 1 Cor. ix. 23, since here the Eucharist precedes. Luckock, *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by St. Luke*, ii., 199. Wendt, who still identifies the breaking of the bread with the *Agape* (so Holtzmann, Weiss), protests against the view of Kuinoel and others that reference is here made to a breakfast which St. Paul took for his coming journey. Dean Plumptre refers to the use of γεύομαι in Heb. vi. 4 as suggesting that here too reference is made to the participation of the Eucharist; but, on the other hand, in Acts x. 10 (see Blass, *in loco*) the word is used of eating an ordinary meal, and Wendt refers it to the enjoyment of the *Agape* (*cf.* also Knabenbauer, *in loco*). Weiss urges that the meaning of simply “tasting” is to be adopted here, and that τὸ shows that Paul only “tasted” the meal, *i.e.*, the *Agape*, and hurried on with his interrupted discourse, whilst Lewin would take γευσ. absolutely here, and refer it to a separate ordinary meal; although he maintains that the previous formula κλάσ. τὸν ἄρτον must refer to the Eucharist. In LXX the verb is



τε ὁμιλήσας ἄχρις αὐγῆς, οὕτως ἐξῆλθεν. 12.<sup>1</sup> ἤγαγον δὲ τὸν παῖδα ζῶντα, καὶ παρεκλήθησαν οὐ μετρίως. 13. Ἡμεῖς δὲ<sup>2</sup> προελθόντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον, ἀνίχθημεν εἰς τὴν Ἄσσον, ἐκείθεν μέλλοντες ἀναλαμβάνειν τὸν Παῦλον· οὕτω γὰρ ἦν διατεταγμένος, μέλλων αὐτὸς

<sup>1</sup> Instead of ἤγαγον D has ἀσπαζόμενον δε αὐτων ἤγαγεν τὸν νεανίσκον ζῶντα. Blass and Hilgenfeld, however, read ἤγαγον in the β text. But Wendt thinks that ἤγαγεν may not be a mere error, and that Paul is conceived of in D as himself bringing the boy alive at the scene of departure, and thus conferring comfort, Wendt (1899), p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> προελθόντες B<sup>3</sup>CL, Tisch., W.H. text, Weiss, Wendt; but προσ- AB<sup>\*</sup>EHP, W.H. marg. D has κατελθόντες. ἐπὶ for εἰς B<sup>3</sup>ABCE, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt.

frequent, but there is no case in which it means definitely more than to taste, although in some cases it might imply eating a meal, e.g., Gen. xxv. 30; for its former sense see, e.g., Jonah iii. 7. In modern Greek γευματίζω = to dine, so γεῦμα = dinner.—ἐφ' ἱκανόν τε ὁμιλ.: on St. Luke's use of ἱκανός with temporal significance see above on p. 215, cf. with this expression 2 Macc. viii. 25. ὁμιλ.: only in Luke in N.T., cf. Luke xxiv. 14, 15, Acts xxiv. 26; here, "talked with them," R.V., as of a familiar meeting, elsewhere "communed," R.V.; so in classical Greek, and in Josephus, and also in modern Greek (Kennedy); in LXX, Dan. i. 19: ὁμιλῆσεν αὐτοῖς ὁ β., "the king communed with them". In the passage before us the alternative rendering "when he had stayed in their company" is given by Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*—ἄχρις αὐγῆς, cf. Polyaen., iv., 18, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην αὐγὴν τῆς ἡμέρας (Wetstein); only here in N.T., found in Isa. lix. 9, 2 Macc. xii. 9, but not in same sense as here.—οὕτως, cf. xx. 7, after a participle, as often in classical Greek, Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 175, see also xxvii. 17, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 190 (1893).

Ver. 12. ἤγαγον: the subject must be supplied; probably those who had attended to the boy, and who, now that he was sufficiently recovered, brought him back to the room. Rendall thinks that the expression means that they took the lad home after the assembly was over. The comfort is derived from the recovery of the boy, as is indicated by ζῶντα, and it is forced to refer it to the consolation which they received from the boy's presence, as a proof which the Apostle had left behind him of divine and miraculous help (so Wendt, Weiss); see also D, critical note, and Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 291.—ζῶντα: the word is

pointless unless on the supposition that the accident had been fatal. It is in fact impossible to deny that a miracle is intended to be narrated; otherwise the introduction of the whole story is meaningless, as Overbeck insists against Baur and Renan. The word νεκρός, the action of Paul, the word ζῶντα all point to an actual death, whilst the vivid details in the narrative also indicate the presence of an eye-witness as an informant. Schneckenburger has shown exhaustively, as Zeller admits, that an actual raising of the dead is intended; but we are asked to see in the narrative only an attempt to set off the raising of Eutychus against the raising of Tabitha at Joppa, a parallel between Paul and Peter; so Baur, and recently Overbeck and Weizsäcker. But the conclusion of Overbeck is disappointing in face of the fact that he dwells (p. 333) most pointedly upon the difference between the narrative here and in ix. 36—how in this latter case we have the expectation of the miracle emphasised, whilst here it is entirely wanting; how too the laudatory description of Tabitha may be contrasted with the simple mention of the name, Eutychus here.—οὐ μετρίως: often in Plutarch, cf. 2 Macc. xv. 38. On Luke's use of οὐ with an adjective, to express the opposite, see Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 62; Klostermann, *Vindiciae Lucanae*, p. 52; and four times in "We" sections (twelve times in rest of Acts, rare in rest of N.T.), xx. 12, xxvii. 14, 20, xxviii. 2; Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, p. 153.

Ver. 13. ἡμεῖς, i.e., without Paul.—Ἄσσον: south of Troas in the Roman province of Asia, and some miles east of Cape Lectum. The opposite coast of Lesbos was about seven miles distant. Its harbour gave it a considerable importance in the coasting trade of former days. A Roman road connected it with

πεζεύειν. 14. ὥς δὲ<sup>1</sup> συνέβαλεν ἡμῖν εἰς τὴν Ἄσσον, ἀναλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἤλθομεν εἰς Μιτυλήνην· 15. κακείθεν ἀποπλεύσαντες, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ κατηγτήσαμεν ἀντικρὺ Χίου<sup>2</sup>. τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ παρεβάλομεν εἰς Σάμον·

<sup>1</sup> συνέβαλεν CDH<sup>3</sup>, Blass, Hilg.; this is more fitting to the sense than the imperfect (Wendt), but the latter tense, συνεβαλλεν, is read in **NA**BEP 40, 100, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of **ε**τερᾶ B 15, 19, 73, has the remarkable reading **ε**σπερᾶ, which Weiss accepts, W.H. marg. But Wendt (1899), p. 428, discusses and rejects, on the ground that the charge was introduced by a scribe who did not take **κατην. αντικρυ Χίου** as meaning a station for the night at Chios, and therefore represented the next station as the stopping place for the night of the same day.

Troas and the Troad coast. The sculptures from the Temple of Athena erected on the hill on which Assos itself was built form some of the most important remains of archaic Greek art: most of them are now in Paris. "Assos" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D., B.D.<sup>2</sup>. Steph. Byz. describes Assos as situated ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ὀρέος καὶ δυσανόδου τόπον. —ἀναλαμβάνειν: *assumere in navem*; cf. Polyb., xxx., 9, 8. The only other instance at all parallel in N.T. is 2 Tim. iv. 11, where we might render "to pick him up on the way," Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, p. 437. —διατεταγ.: with middle significance, cf. vii. 44, xxiv. 23; Winer-Moulton, xxxix., 3. —πεζεύειν: "to go by land," R.V. (margin, "on foot"): "de terrestri (non necessario pedestri) itinere," Blass; a much shorter route than the sea voyage round Cape Lectum. The land journey was about twenty miles, *Itin. Anton.*, B.D.<sup>2</sup>. Probably Paul took the journey in this way for ministerial purposes; others suggest that he did so for the sake of his health, others to avoid the snare of the Jews, or from a desire for solitude. But it may be questioned whether this somewhat lengthy foot journey would be accomplished without any attendant at all. It does not follow, as has been supposed, that the ship was hired by Paul himself, but that he used its putting in at Assos for his own purpose.

Ver. 14. συνέβαλεν, cf. xvii. 18. The verb is peculiar to St. Luke; its meaning here is classical, cf. also Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 7, 5. Rendall thinks that the imperfect (see critical note) may mean that Paul fell in with the ship while still on his way to Assos, and was taken on board at once; he therefore renders "as he came to meet us at Assos". —Μιτυλήνην: the capital of Lesbos, about thirty miles from Assos, and so an easy day's journey; Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 84, cf. Hor., *Od.*, i., 7, 1; *Ep.*, i., 11, 17. Its northern harbour

into which the ship would sail is called by Strabo, xiii., 2, μέγας καὶ βαθύς, χώματι σκεπαζόμενος (Wetstein).

Ver. 15. κακείθεν, see on xvi. 12, xiv. 26.—κατηγτήσαμεν, cf. xvi. 1, xviii. 19, 24, "we reached a point on the mainland," Ramsay, ἀντικρὺ Χ. over against, i.e., opposite Chios; often in Greek writers, only here in N.T., but W.H., Weiss, ἀντικρυς, 3 Macc. v. 16 (Neh. xii. 8, see Hatch and Redpath). On καταντᾶν εἰς, and καταντᾶν ἄντ. as here, see on xvi. 1, xviii. 19; Klostermann, *Vindicia Lucanæ*, p. 49.—Χίου: The island Chios (*Scio*) in the *Ægean* was separated from the Asian coast by a channel which at its narrowest was only five miles across. The ship carrying St. Paul would pass through this picturesque channel on its way south from Mitylene. An interesting comparison with the voyage of St. Paul may be found in Herod's voyage by Rhodes, Cos, Chios and Mitylene, towards the Black Sea (Jos., *Ant.*, xvi., 2, 2). Amongst the seven rivals for the honour of being the birthplace of Homer, the claims of Chios are most strongly supported by tradition. On the legendary and historic connections of the places named in this voyage see Plumptre, *in loco*, and "Chios" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D.—τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ: (see critical note). Wetstein calls attention to the variety of phrases, τῇ ἐτ., τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, τῇ ἑχομ. The phrase before us is found in xxvii. 3, so that it only occurs in the "We" sections and nowhere else in Acts, but the expression "the next day" occurs so much more frequently in the "We" sections than in any other passages of the same length that we might expect a larger variety of phrases to express it, Hawkins, *Horæ Synop.*, pp. 153, 154; and Klostermann, *Vindicia Lucanæ*, p. 50.—παρεβάλομεν εἰς Σ.: "we struck across to Samos," Ramsay, cf. Thuc., iii., 32, where the verb means "to cross over to Ionia" (see Mr. Page's note, and



καὶ <sup>1</sup> μείναντες ἐν Τρωγυλλίῳ, τῇ ἐχομένῃ ἤλθομεν εἰς Μίλητον. 16. ἔκρινε <sup>2</sup> γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος παραπλεύσαι τὴν Ἐφεσον, ὅπως μὴ γένηται αὐτῷ χρονοτριβῆσαι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ· ἔσπευδε γάρ, εἰ δυνατόν <sup>3</sup> ἦν αὐτῷ, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς γενέσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ μείναντες ἐν Τ., so DHLP, Syr. P. H., Sah., Chrys., so Meyer, Alford, Blass in β, and even by Weiss (not by Wendt), *Introd.*, p. 57, and Codex D, p. 109; cf. xxi. 1. Corssen, too, regards favourably, *G. G. A.*, p. 441, 1896, supported by Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 294, Belser and Zöckler. Weiss cannot see any reason for its omission, and therefore retains it. The words may, however, have been omitted because in the text Trogyllium seems to be placed in Samos, but see also Wendt, note, p. 328 (1899). For the omission,  $\aleph$ ABCE, Vulg., Boh., Arm., Aethpp., Tisch., R.V. only in marg., W.H. describe as Western and Syrian; these authorities read in text τῇ δε ἐχομ. Ramsay's interesting note, *C. R. E.*, p. 155, should also be consulted in favour of the retention of the words. Τρωγυλιᾶ, so Blass in β, see note *in loco*; Τρωγυλιῳ W.H. and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> κεκρίκει is read for ἐκρινε in  $\aleph$ AB\*DE, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Blass. Instead of ὅπως μὴ γένηται α. χρονοτριβ. D (Gig.) has μηποτε γενηθη αυτω κατασχεσις τις—Weiss considers this as a mere explanation of the rare χρονοτριβ. κατασχεσις is used twice in N.T., Acts vii. 5, 45, but not in the sense required here; "mora" in Gig. Blass accepts in β text, and there is much better authority for χρονοτριβ. in classical Greek than for κατασχεσις in the sense of this passage.

<sup>3</sup> ἦν, but εἴη is supported by  $\aleph$ ABCE 13, 15, 18, 36, 180, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. Meyer and Alford regard as gram. corr., but too well supported (Wendt).

the passage quoted also in Wetstein, and L. and S.). On the frequency of this and other nautical terms in Acts cf. Klostermann, *u. s.*, p. 49.—καὶ μείν. ἐν Τρω., see critical note.—Μίλητον: practically the port of Ephesus. The latter city had long gained the pre-eminence once enjoyed by Miletus, the former capital of Ionia, Pliny, *N. H.*, v., 31; cf. Herod., v., 28-36, for the revolt of Miletus against Persia and its disastrous consequences. Miletus had been the mother of some eighty colonies. Here Thales and Anaximander were born. The silting up of the Menander had altered its position even in St. Paul's day, and now it is several miles from the sea; Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 90; Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 501; Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 480.

Ver. 16. ἔκρινε (see critical note) . . . παραπλεύσαι τὴν Ἐ.: "to sail past Ephesus." R.V., *i.e.*, without stopping there. The words have sometimes been interpreted as if St. Paul had control over a ship which he had hired himself, and could stop where he pleased, so Alford, Hackett, Rendall. But if so, there seems no definite reason for his going to Miletus at all, as it would have been shorter for him to have stopped at Ephesus, or to have made his farewell address there. According to Ramsay the probabilities are that Paul experienced

at Troas some delay in continuing his journey. In starting from Troas he had therefore to choose a vessel making no break in its voyage except at Miletus, or a vessel intending to stop at Ephesus, perhaps as its destination, perhaps with a previous delay elsewhere. He determined for the former by the shortness of the time, and his desire to reach Jerusalem. He may no doubt have been also influenced to some extent by the thought that it would be difficult to tear himself away from a Church which had so many claims upon him, and by the reflection that hostilities might be aroused against him and his progress further impeded (cf. McGiffert, p. 339, who thinks that the author's reason for St. Paul's desire not to visit Ephesus "is entirely satisfactory").—χρονοτριβ.: nowhere else in N.T. or in LXX, but in Arist., Plut.—γένηται αὐτῷ, cf. xi. 26 for construction.—ἔσπευδε γάρ: if the verb expresses as the imperfect intimates the whole character of the journey (Blass, *Gram.*, p. 216), the repeated long delays at first sight seem inexplicable, but we know nothing definitely of the special circumstances which may have occasioned each delay, and we must not lose sight of the fact that the Apostle would have to guard against the constant uncertainty which would be always involved in a coasting voyage. Whether St. Paul reached

17. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου πέμψας εἰς Ἔφεσον, μετεκαλέσατο τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας. 18. ὥς δὲ παρεγένοντο πρὸς αὐτόν,<sup>1</sup> εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν,<sup>2</sup> πῶς μεθ' ὑμῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐγενόμην, 19. δουλεύων τῷ Κυρίῳ μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης καὶ πολλῶν δακρύων καὶ πειρασμῶν, τῶν συμβάντων μοι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

<sup>1</sup> After αὐτον (A)D (E, Gig., Vulg.) add ὁμοσε ὄντων αὐτων, so Blass in β text. Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., p. 61, thinks conflation here of α and β, so Gig. is double and reads "cum convenissent ad eum simulque essent".

<sup>2</sup> After Ἀσίαν D adds ὡς τριετιαν ἡ καὶ πλεον, the form of the phrase does not look original; τριετια occurs in xx. 31 and nowhere else in N.T. Vogel, it may be noted, classes it as one of the medical words in Luke's writings; see on ver. 31. For πῶς D has ποταπῶς, nowhere else in N.T.; but ποταπος six times in N.T., twice in Luke, only once in LXX.

Jerusalem in time we are not told. St. Chrysostom maintained that he did, see also Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 296, 297; McGiffert, p. 340 (on the other hand, Weiss, Renan, Felten). Mr. Turner, *Chron. of N. T.*, p. 422, holds that the Apostle probably reached Jerusalem just in time, while Farrar sees in xxiv. 11 an intimation that he arrived on the very eve of the Feast. The Pentecostal Feast was the most crowded, most attended by foreigners, cf. ii. 1.

Ver. 17. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μ. π.: Apparently the Apostle could reckon on a stay of some days at Miletus. If we take into account the landing, the despatching a messenger to Ephesus, and the summoning and journeying of the elders to Miletus, probably, as Ramsay thinks, the third day of the stay at Miletus would be devoted to the presbyters.—μετεκαλέσατο: "called to him," R.V., cf. ii. 39 (and see on vii. 14, only in Acts), indicating authority or earnestness in the invitation.—τοὺς πρεσβ., see on xii. 25, and also below on ver. 28. For Pauline words and phraseology characterising the addresses, see following notes.

When Spitta remarks (*Apostelgeschichte*, p. 252 ff.) that the speech at Miletus is inferior to no part of Acts, not even to the description of the voyage in chap. xxvii., in vividness of expression and intensity of feeling, he expresses the opinion of every unbiassed reader. He justly too lays stress upon the fact that while criticism admits the forcible and direct impression derived from the speech, it fails to account for it in the most natural way, viz., by the fact that whilst for the addresses delivered in the Pisidian Antioch and in Athens we are dependent upon a report

derived from hearsay, we are here in possession of the testimony of an eyewitness, and of a hearer of the speech (p. 252). Spitta (p. 254) defends the speech against the usual objections. It is disappointing to find that Hilgenfeld is content to regard the whole speech as interpolated by his "author to Theophilus". Clemen refers the whole speech to his R. or to R.A.; thus whilst ver. 19a is referred to R., 19b with its reference to the plots of the Jews is ascribed to R.A. (Redactor Antijudaicus); Jüngst ascribes ver. 19b from the words καὶ δακρύων . . . Ἰουδ. to the Redactor, but the previous part of the chap. xxi. to ταπεινοφροσύνης, ver. 19, to his source A. So ver. 38 with its reference to ver. 25 is referred to the Redactor; whilst Clemen refers ver. 38a to his R.A., 38b to R.

Ver. 18. Ὑμεῖς: "ye yourselves," R.V., *ipsi*, emphatic, cf. x. 37, xv. 7.—ἀπὸ π. ἡ.: to be connected with what follows, although it is quite possible that the word may hold a middle place (Alford), connected partly with ἐπίσ. and partly with ἐγεν.—ἐπέβην: "set foot in Asia," R.V., only in Acts, except Matt. xxi. 5, also with the dative of place, Acts xxv. 1, but the local meaning is doubtful (LXX, Josh. xiv. 9). Rendall renders "I took ship for Asia," but although the expression elsewhere refers to a voyage, cf. xxi. 2, 4, 6, xxvii. 2, it is not always so used, e.g., xxv. 1.—πῶς μεθ' ὑ. . . ἐγεν., cf. vii. 38 (*versor cum*), ix. 19, Mark xvi. 10. Bethge points out that the phrase is always used of intimate association and contrasts the less intimate significance of σύν. See also critical note and reading in D.

Ver. 19. δουλεύων: the word occurs



20. ὡς οὐδὲν ὑπεστειλάμην τῶν συμφερόντων, τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑμῖν καὶ διδάξαι ὑμᾶς δημοσίᾳ καὶ κατ' οἴκου, 21. διαμαρτυρόμενος

six times in St. Paul's Epistles of serving God, the Lord, Christ, 1 Thess. i. 9, Rom. xii. 11 (R., margin, τῷ καιρῷ), xiv. 18, xvi. 18, Ephes. vi. 7, Col. iii. 24 (once in Matthew and Luke, of serving God, Matt. vi. 24, Luke xvi. 13), and cf. St. Paul's expression δούλος of himself, Rom. i. 1, Gal. i. 10, Phil. i. 1, Tit. i. 1.—μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφ.: this use of πᾶς may be called eminently Pauline, cf. Ephes. i. 3, 8, iv. 2, vi. 18, 2 Cor. viii. 7, xii. 12, 1 Tim. iii. 4; 2 Tim. iv. 2, Tit. ii. 15, iii. 2 (see Hackett's note). ταπειν., a word which may justly be called Pauline, as out of seven places in the N.T. it is used five times by St. Paul in his Epistles, and once in his address in the passage before us; Ephes. iv. 2, Phil. ii. 3, Col. ii. 18, 23, iii. 12 (elsewhere, only in 1 Peter v. 5). It will be noted that it finds a place in three Epistles of the First Captivity, although used once disparagingly, Col. iii. 18. In pagan ethics ταπεινός was for the most part a depreciatory characteristic, although some few notable exceptions may be quoted, Trench, *Synonyms*, i., 171 ff. In the LXX and Apocrypha it has a high moral significance and is opposed to ὑβρις in all its forms. The noun is not found either in LXX or Apocrypha, and the adjective ταπεινόφρων (1 Peter iii. 8) and the verb ταπεινοφρονεῖν (not in N.T.), although each found in LXX once, the former in Prov. xix. 23 and the latter in Ps. cxxx. 2 (cf. instances in Aquila and Symmachus, Hatch and Redpath), cannot be traced in classical Greek before the Christian era, and then not in a laudatory sense. The noun occurs in Jos., B. J., iv., 9, 2, but in the sense of pusillanimity, and also in Epictet., *Diss.*, iii., 24, 56, but in a bad sense (Grimm-Thayer). But for St. Paul as for St. Peter the life of Christ had conferred a divine honour upon all forms of lowliness and service, and every Christian was bidden to an imitation of One Who had said: πρᾶτς εἰμι καὶ ταπεινὸς τῇ καρδίᾳ, Lightfoot on Phil. ii. 3; "Ethics" (T. B. Strong), Hastings' B.D., i., 786; Cremer, *Wörterbuch*, sub v. ταπεινός.—δακρύων, cf. ver. 31, 2 Cor. ii. 4, Phil. iii. 18. "Lachrymæ sanctæ . . . cum his tamen consistit gaudium": Bengel. St. Paul was no Stoic, for whom ἀπάθεια was a virtue, the accompaniment of wisdom and the passport to perfection;

see Rom. xii. 15: "in every age the Christian temper has shivered at the touch of Stoic apathy". Here the word refers not to the Apostle's outward trials which were rather a source of joy, but to his sorrow of heart for his brethren and for the world, ἐπασχε γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων, Chrysostom.—πειρασμῶν, cf. St. Paul's own words, 1 Thess. iii. 3, Phil. i. 27, 2 Cor. i. 6, vi. 4-10, 2 Cor. xi. 26, κινδύνους ἐκ γενους (Gal. iv. 14). In our Lord's own life and ministry there had been "temptations," Luke iv. 13, xxii. 28; and a beatitude rested upon the man who endured temptation, James i. 12 and 2. The noun is found no less than six times in St. Luke's Gospel, but only here in Acts. It occurs four times in St. Paul's Epistles, and may be fairly classed as Lucan-Pauline (Bethge). On its use in N.T. and LXX see Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, p. 71 ff., and compare Mayor, *Epistle of St. James*, i., 2.—ἐπιβ. τῶν ἱ.: evidently classed amongst the πειρασμῶν, Hatch, *u. s.*, although we must not suppose that St. Luke tells us of all the Apostle's dangers, trials and temptations here any more than elsewhere. Nothing of the kind is mentioned in connection definitely with the Ephesian Jews, "sed res minime dubia, xxi. 27," Blass. The noun has not been found in any classical author, but it occurs in Dioscorides, *Præf.*, i., see Grimm, *sub v.*, and several times in LXX, six times in Ecclus. and in 1 Macc. ii. 52.

Ver. 20. ὑπεστειλάμην: "how that I shrank not from declaring unto you anything that was profitable," R.V., cf. ver. 27, where βουλὴν follows the same verb ἀναγγεῖλαι, here followed by οὐδέν; on the construction see Page's note, *in loco*. The verb means to draw or shrink back from, out of fear or regard for another. In the same sense in classical Greek with οὐδέν or μηδέν: "locutio Demostenica." Blass and Wendt, cf. also Jos., B. J., i., 20, 21; *Vita*, 54; in LXX, Deut. i. 17, Exod. xxiii. 21, Job xiii. 8, Wisd. vi. 7, Hab. ii. 4; see Westcott on Heb. x. 38. It is used once in Gal. ii. 12 by Paul himself. It is possible that the verb may have been used metaphorically by St. Paul from its use in the active voice as a nautical term to reef or lower sail, and there would be perhaps a special appropriateness in the metaphor, as St. Paul had just landed, and the sails

Ιουδαίοις τε καὶ Ἑλλήσι τὴν εἰς<sup>1</sup> τὸν Θεὸν μετάνοιαν, καὶ πίστιν τὴν εἰς τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. 22. καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δεδεμένος τῷ πνεύματι πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ συναντήσοντά μοι μὴ εἰδώς, 23. πλὴν ὅτι τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον κατὰ πόλιν διαμαρτύρεται λέγον, ὅτι δεσμά με καὶ θλίψεις μένουσιν.

<sup>1</sup> τον Θεον, *om.* art. **NBCE**, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass; after πιστιν **NBCD** 18, 36, *Arm. om.* την, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass. At end of verse BHL<sup>P</sup>, Sah., Syr. H., Aethro., Lucif., so W.H., Weiss, Wendt (probably), read simply Ἰησουν; but Tisch., R.V. text, W.H. marg. (Blass) ἰ. Χριστόν with **NAC(D)E**, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Boh., Arm., Aethro. Blass reads gen. with D, δια του Κυριου; *cf.* iii. 16.

of the ship may have been before his eyes in speaking, to say nothing of the fact that the word would become familiar to him day by day on the voyage (see Humphry, Plumptre, Farrar); but it is not well to press this special metaphorical usage too far here, especially as the word is frequently used elsewhere of military rather than nautical matters (see Lightfoot's note on Gal. ii. 12, and the use of the verb in Polybius).—τῶν συμφ., *cf.* 1 Cor. vii. 35, x. 33; Pauline: "the things profitable for their salvation," a message not always agreeable, but which nevertheless the Apostle spoke with the same παρρησία (ὑποστέλλεσθαι is the opposite of παρρησιάζεσθαι, Page) which characterised him. Blass compares also the whole phrase ὑποστellaσθαι περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν συμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι, Dem., i., 16.—*δημ. καὶ κατ' οἴκους*: *publice et privatim*, another and a further glimpse of the Apostle's work at Ephesus: publicly in the synagogue and in the school of Tyrannus, privately as in the Church in the house of Aquila and Priscilla, 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

Ver. 21. διαμαρτ., see above on p. 92; Lucan - Pauline.—μετάν. καὶ πίστιν, *cf.* the earliest notes in the preaching of Jesus, Mark i. 15, and these were equally the notes of the preaching of St. Peter and St. Paul alike. Whether Paul was preaching to Jews or Gentiles, to philosophers at Athens or to peasants at Lystra, the substance of his teaching was the same under all varieties of forms, *cf.* xiv. 15, xvii. 30, xxvi. 20. It is quite arbitrary to refer μετάνοια to the Gentile and πίστις to the Jew.—Ἰουδ. τε καὶ Ἑλλήσι, Pauline, *cf.* Rom. i. 16, ii. 9, 10, iii. 9, 12, 1 Cor. i. 24.

Ver. 22. καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ: the exact phrase occurs again in ver. 25, and only once elsewhere in words ascribed to Paul, xiii. 11 (ἰδοὺ νῦν, twice in Paul only, 2 Cor. vi. 2).—δεδεμένος τῷ πνεύ-

ματι: "bound in the spirit," *compulsus animo*, Blass; so δέω in classical Greek, Xen., Cyr., viii., 1, 12; Plato, Rep., viii., p. 567 c, *cf.* xix. 21, xviii. 25, 1 Cor. v. 3. The fact that the Holy Spirit is specifically so called in ver. 23 seems to decide for the above rendering in this verse; but see Weiss on ver. 23; Ramsay also renders "constrained by the Spirit". Possibly πνεῦμα is named as that part of the man in closest union with the Spirit of God, *cf.* Rom. viii. 16, so that the sense is not affected. If we compare with xix. 21 the expression presents an advance in the Apostle's thought—his purpose becomes plainer, and the obligation more definite, as the Spirit witnesses with his spirit. The expression may mean that the Apostle regarded himself as already bound in the spirit, *i.e.*, although not outwardly bound, he yet knows and feels himself as one bound. For St. Paul's frequent use of πνεῦμα *cf.* Rom. i. 9, viii. 16, xii. 11, 1 Cor. ii. 11, v. 3, 4, xiv. 14, etc. Oecumenius and Theophylact take πνεύματι with πορεύομαι, *i.e.*, bound, as good as bound, I go by the leading of the Spirit to Jerusalem; but this seems forced. Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, ii., 5, remarks on the undesigned coincidence with Rom. xv. 30.—συναντήσοντά μοι: the verb is found only in Luke in N.T. (except Heb. vii. 10 as a quotation, Gen. xiv. 17), and only here in this sense, *cf.* Eccles. ii. 14, ix. 11, also Plut., Sulla, 2; Polyb., xx., 7, 14; middle, τὰ συναντώμενα. On the rarity of the future participle in Greek, and its use in this passage "an exception which proves the rule," see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 126.

Ver. 23. πλὴν ὅτι: The collocation is found nowhere else in N.T. except in Phil. i. 18, *only that* (so Alford, Lightfoot, W.H., see Lightfoot, *l. c.*, for parallels), *i.e.*, knowing one thing only, etc., "I do not ask to see the distant scene;



24.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγον ποιῶμαι, οὐδὲ ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν μου τιμίαν ἐμαυτῷ, ὡς τελειῶσαι τὸν δρόμον μου μετὰ χαρᾶς, καὶ τὴν διακονίαν ἣν ἔλαβον παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, διαμαρτύρασθαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Θεοῦ. 25. καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ οἶδα, ὅτι οὐκέτι ὄψεσθε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς πάντες, ἐν οἷς διῆλθον κηρύσσων τὴν<sup>2</sup> βασιλ-

<sup>1</sup> T.R. is supported by EHLP; Lachmann's reading, which is the same as Blass in β text, ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγον ἐχω οὐδὲ ποιῶμαι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμ. (= D, with add. of μοι after ἐχω and μου after ψυχὴν), is found in ℵ<sup>ca</sup> 13, 40, 43, 68, Vulg. But R.V. is supported by Tisch., W.H., Weiss, following ℵ<sup>3</sup>BCD<sup>2</sup>, so Sah., Boh., Syr. P., Arm., Gig., Lucif., Or. See also Field., *Ot. Nov.*, iii., p. 85; Weiss, Codex D, p. 100. ὡς τελειῶσαι, but W.H. (Weiss, Rendall) ὡς τελειώσω (-σαι W.H. mg.); see comment. Blass in α conjectures ὥστε τελειώσαι; τε could easily drop out before the τελ. In β Blass reads του τελειώσαι with D; ὥστε E; ὡς το C. μετὰ χαρᾶς om. ℵABD 13, 40, 81, Vulg., several verss., Tisch., Blass, W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. After διαμαρτ. D, Sah., Gig., Lucif., Ephr. insert ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλλησι, see ver. 21.

<sup>2</sup> After βασ. ℵABC 13 omit του Θ., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. D, Sah., Hilg. read του Ἰησου (Gig., Lucif. *domini* I.); Blass rejects—contrary to usage of Acts (Weiss).

one step enough for me," so from step to step κατὰ πόλιν, on his journey, St. Paul was warned and guided, cf. xxi. 4, 11.—κατὰ πόλιν, Lucan-Pauline; κατὰ used several times by Luke, alone amongst the synoptists, in his Gospel and in the Acts with this distributive force in connection with πόλις; Luke viii. 1, 4, xiii. 22, cf. xv. 21; in the text, as also in Titus i. 5; the only other passage in which the collocation occurs in N.T., the phrase is adopted by St. Paul.—δεσμὰ καὶ θλίψεις: δεσμὰ in St. Luke; Luke viii. 29, Acts xvi. 26, but it is noticeable that the two nouns are found together in Phil. i. 17, and in 2 Cor. i. 8. θλίψις is used of the affliction which befel the Apostle in Asia, including that of public danger, as well as illness and mental distress. On the variation between masculine and neuter in δεσμός and in other nouns see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 28.—μένουσιν: only twice in N.T., with accusative of the person, here and in ver. 5.

Ver. 24. See critical note. "But I hold not my life of any account, as dear unto myself," R.V., reading λόγου for λόγον, omitting οὐδὲ ἔχω and μου. Both verbs ἔχω and ποιῶμαι are found in similar phrases in LXX, Tobit vi. 16, Job xxii. 4, so also in classical Greek (Wetstein). The former verb is used in N.T. as = *habere, astimare*, cf. Luke xiv. 18 and by St. Paul, Phil. ii. 29.—ὡς τελειῶσαι, see critical note. "So that I may accomplish my course," R.V., "in comparison of accomplishing my course," margin. Difficulty has arisen

because this is the only case in the N.T. in which ὡς appears in a final clause, Burton, p. 85 (but see W.H., Luke ix. 52, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 74 (1893)). The whole phrase is strikingly Pauline, cf. Phil. iii. 12, where the same verb immediately seems to suggest the δρόμος (Alford), Gal. ii. 2, 1 Cor. ix. 24, 2 Tim. iv. 7.—μετὰ χαρᾶς, see critical note, cf. Phil. i. 4, Col. i. 11, Heb. x. 34. The words are strongly defended by Ewald.—τὴν διακονίαν, see above on p. 422 "*saepe apud Paulum*," cf. Rom. xi. 13. Apostleship is often so designated, Acts i. 17, 25, xxi. 19, 2 Cor. iv. 1, and other instances in Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 204.—διαμαρτ., cf. vi. 4, where the διακ. τοῦ λόγου is the highest function of the Apostles.

Ver. 25. καὶ νῦν, see on ver. 22.—οἶδα: no infallible presentiment or prophetic inspiration, but a personal conviction based on human probabilities, which was overruled by subsequent events. The word cannot fairly be taken to mean more than this, for in the same context the Apostle himself had distinctly disclaimed a full knowledge of the future, ver. 23. And if οἶδα is to be pressed here into a claim of infallible knowledge, it is difficult to see why it should not be also so pressed in Phil. i. 25, where the Apostle expresses his sure conviction πεποιθώς οἶδα of a release from his Roman imprisonment, cf. xxvi. 27 where Paul uses the same verb in expressing his firm persuasion of Agrippa's belief, but surely not any infallible knowledge of Agrippa's heart. For a full discussion of the word

εἶαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. 26.<sup>1</sup> διὸ μαρτύρομαι ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ, ὅτι  
καθαρὸς ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος πάντων · 27.<sup>2</sup> οὐ γὰρ ὑπεστειλάμην τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> For διο **Σ**ABEP read διοτι, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt; but Blass as T.R. But in β text Blass reads (instead of διο . . . οτι) αχρι ουν της σημερον ημερας with D<sup>1</sup> (possibly point not grasped—Weiss). After καθαρὸς **Σ**BCDE, Vulg., Syr. H., Sah., Iriat., Lucif. read εμι, so Tisch., R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt; T.R. = xviii. 6 (Wendt).

<sup>2</sup> Instead of ου γαρ υπεστ. του μη αναγ. υμιν Gig., Lucif., so Blass in β, read και ου διελιπον κηρυσσων. Gig., Lucif. also omit υμιν, but Blass retains with emphasis as last word in verse, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Alford, following **Σ**\*BC(D) 13, 81, Vulg.

see amongst recent writers Steinmetz, *Die zweite römische Gefangenschaft des Apostels Paulus*, p. 14 ff. (1897); Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 436.—οὐκέτι ὀψέσθαι: "shall no longer see," see Rendall, whereas A. and R.V. rendering "no more," οὐκέτι, give the impression that St. Paul definitely affirms that he would never return. Rendall compares Rom. xv. 23, but on the other hand Acts viii. 39 seems to justify the usual rendering. The Apostle's increasing anxiety is quite natural when we remember how even in Corinth he had thought of his journey to Jerusalem with apprehension, Rom xv. 30, Paley, *Horæ Paulinæ*, ii., 5. On the inference drawn by Blass from this passage as to the early date of Acts, see his remarks *in loco*, and *Proleg.*, p. 3, and to the same effect, Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 407, fifth edition.—διήλθον: the word taken in the sense of a missionary tour, see xiii. 6, indicates that representatives not only of Ephesus but of other Churches were present, hence ὑμεῖς πάντες, διήλθον κηρύσσων, coalescing into a single idea; the Apostle could not say διήλθον ὑμᾶς, and so we have ἐν ὑμῖν substituted. If the word is Lucan it is also Pauline, and that too in this particular sense, cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 5.—κηρ. τὴν βασ.: if Lucan, also Pauline—cf. Col. iv. 11. As our Lord had sent His first disciples to preach (κηρύσσειν) the kingdom of God, and as He Himself had done the same, Luke viii. 1, ix. 2, we cannot doubt that St. Paul would lay claim to the same duty and privilege; in his first Epistle, 1 Thess. ii. 12, as in his latest, 2 Tim. iv. 18, the kingdom of God, its present and its future realisation, is present to his thoughts; in his first journey, xiv. 22, no less than in his third it finds a place in his teaching and exhortation; in his first Epistle, 1 Thess. ii. 9, as in his latest, 2 Tim. i. 11, iv. 17, he does the work of a herald, κῆρυξ. No less than five times in 1 Corinthians, one of the Epistles written during his stay at Ephesus, the phrase

βασιλεία Θεοῦ occurs (it is not found at all in 2 Corinthians).

Ver. 26. If we read διότι, critical note, we have a word which is not used by the other Evangelists, but three times in Luke's Gospel and five times in Acts; in each passage in Acts it is referred to Paul, xiii. 35, xviii. 10 (2), xx. 26, xxii. 18, and it occurs nine or ten times in Paul's Epistles. On account of the Apostle's approaching departure, such a reckoning is demanded.—μαρτύρομαι: only in Luke and Paul, and in both cases in Acts referred to Paul, here and in xxvi. 22, Gal. v. 3, Ephes. iv. 17, 1 Thess. ii. 12, "I protest," properly "I call to witness," but never = μαρτυρῶ in classical Greek; in Judith vii. 28 we have the fuller construction, of which this use of the dative here is a remnant, Lightfoot, *Gal.*, v., 3. The verb occurs once more in 1 Macc. ii. 56 S (but AR, *al.*).—ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ: Attic, τήμερον, i.e., ἡμ. with pronom. prefix (cf. Matt. xxviii. 15 but ἡμέρας [W. H.]), the very day of my departure; the exact phrase occurs twice elsewhere, but both times in Paul's writings, 2 Cor. iii. 14, W. H., Rom. xi. 8 (quotation); "Hoc magnam declarandi vim habet," Bengel. Several times in LXX, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xiii., 2, 3, found frequently in classical Greek.—καθαρὸς ἀπὸ, cf. xvii. 6, where a similar phrase is used by St. Paul; the adjective is found seven times in St. Paul's Epistles, but only here and in xvii. 6 in Luke's writings. In LXX, cf. Job xiv. 4, Prov. xx. 9, Tobit iii. 14, Susannah, ver. 46; in *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii. 41, and, for the thought, Ezek. iii. 18-20. In classics for the most part with genitive, but in later Greek with ἀπό, see however Blass, *Gram.*, p. 104, and instances from Demosthenes; and Deissmann for instances from papyri, *Neue Bibelstudien*, pp. 24, 48; Ramsay, "Greek of the Early Church," etc.; *Expository Times*, December, 1893, p. 108. Only a Paul



μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑμῖν πᾶσαν τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ. 28. προσέχετε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἣν περιποιήσατο

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ, so **NB** 68, Vulg., Syr. H. (Syr. Pesh. MSS.), Epiph., Bas., Ps.-Ath., Theod.-Mops., Cyr.-Al.: τοῦ κυρίου AC\*DE, 13, 15, 36, 40, 69, 110, 118 (eight others), Gig., Sah., Boh., Syr. H. mg., Arm., Iriat., Const., Ath., Did., Chrys., Jer., Lucif. Here W.H., Weiss have Θεοῦ, so Bengel, Alford in later editions; Tisch., R.V. marg., Blass, Wendt, Hilg. κυρίου; τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ C<sup>3</sup>HLP, most mins., Slavonic, Theophl.; and there are other variations. Against Θεοῦ it is objected that St. Paul would not apply the word to Christ, although we have in Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, ii., 1; Ignat., *Ephes.*, i., 1; *Rom.*, vi., 3; Tert., *Ad Uxor.*, ii., 3; Clem. Alex., *Quis dives salv.*, xxxiv., similar language; but there are also passages in the N.T., e.g., *Rom.* ix. 5, *Tit.* ii. 13, in which there is at least a very considerable amount of evidence for referring Θεός to Jesus, "and when it is objected that these are disputed passages, it is just to remind the objector that this will exclude his original statement as well as the rebuttal of it" (Warfield). The evidence in its favour comes to us afforded by a strong combination (*cf.* too the intrinsic evidence in its favour from Ps. lxxiv. 2, W.H., *App.*, 99); so far from the unusual nature of the phrase being regarded as fatal to its genuineness, it might be fairly maintained that Θεοῦ as it is the more difficult reading is also on that very ground recommended to our confidence. We should also give weight to the fact that the words ἐκκλησία του θ., which find a place in this address full of Pauline expressions, are found no less than eleven times in St. Paul's Epistles, but that ἐκκ. του κυρίου is not found at all in the N.T. (we have αἷμα του Κ. once in 1 *Cor.* xi. 27). Weiss endeavours to solve the difficulty by taking ιδίου, masc., the blood of his own; *cf.* *Rom.* viii. 32. But while disagreeing with this solution, Hort, in W.H., *App.*, 99, thinks it by no means impossible that υἱον dropped out after του ιδίου (its insertion solves every difficulty (so too Rendall)). Hort, reading δια του αιματος του ιδίου, renders "through the blood that was His own," i.e., His Son's, following **NABCDE** 13, 36, 40, Vulg., so too Weiss, R.V.; *cf.* the language which finds repeated expression in the *Apost. Const.*, and embodies a conception familiar to us in one of our Ember Collects (1662). See further W.H., *u. s.*; Dr. Ezra Abbot, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, p. 313 ff. (1876); Page, *in loco*; Wendt (1899), p. 335; Warfield, *Textual Criticism*, pp. 184-189, 5th edit. Mr. Page, *Classical Review*, p. 317, 1897, warmly approves of the note of Dr. Blass on Acts xx. 28, and of his support of the reading Κυρίου, on the ground that Θεός would be easily substituted for it in days when "moris factum erat ut Θεός Jesus diceretur"; but is this explanation so certain? Dr. Hort indicates that the prevalent instinct would be to change του Θεοῦ into του κ., and not *vice versa*, as the fear of sanctioning "Monarchian," or (in later times) "Monophysite" language would outweigh any other doctrinal impulse.

could say this with fitness; we could not dare to say it, Chrys., *Hom.*, xlv.

Ver. 27. ὑπεστ., see above on ver. 20.—τὴν β. τοῦ Θεοῦ, see on ii. 23, and *cf.* especially *Ephes.* i. 11 for the phrase, and iii. 4 for the thought. No Epistle excels that to the Ephesians in the richness of its thoughts, and in its conception of a divine purpose running through the ages; no Epistle dwells more fully upon the conception of the Church as the Body of Christ, or exhorts more touchingly to diligence in keeping the unity of the Spirit, or insists more practically upon the sanctifying power of the One Spirit, and the sense of a divine membership in every sphere of human life. The rich and full teaching of the

Epistle is addressed to men who are able to understand the Apostle's knowledge of the mystery of Christ; in other words, to those to whom he had announced more fully than to others the counsel of God. The *Ephesian* Epistle may have been an encyclical letter, but it was addressed principally to the Ephesians as the representatives of the leading Church of the province of Asia. See amongst recent writers Gore, *Ephesians*, pp. 42, 43; and Lock, "Ephesians," *Hastings' B.D.*, p. 718.—ὑμῖν: emphatically at the end, W.H.; this revelation had been made to the presbyters before him, and the responsibility would rest with them of communicating it to others when their spiritual father had left them.

διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος. 29. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα τοῦτο, ὅτι εἰσελεύσονται μετὰ τὴν ἄφιξίν μου λύκοι βαρεῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς, μὴ φειδόμενοι τοῦ

Ver. 28. προσέχετε . . . ἑαυτοῖς (cf. 1 Tim. iv. 16), Luke xvii. 3, xxi. 34, Acts v. 35, viii. 6. In LXX with ἑμᾶντῳ, Gen. xxiv. 6, Exod. x. 28, Deut. iv. 9. "Non tantum jubet eos gregi attendere, sed primum sibi ipsis; neque enim aliorum salutem sedulo unquam curabit, qui suam negliget . . . cum sit ipse pars gregis," Calvin, *in loco*, and also Chrys. (Bethge, p. 144).—ποιμνίω: the figure was common in the O.T. and it is found in St. Luke, xii. 32, in St. John, in St. Peter, but it is said that St. Paul does not use it, cf. however Ephes. iv. 11, where, and nowhere else, he writes καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε . . . τοὺς δὲ ποιμένας.—ἐν ᾧ: "in the which," R.V., not "over which".—ὕμᾶς is again emphatic, but the presbyters were still part of the flock, see Calvin, u. s.—ἔθετο, cf. 1 Cor. xii. 28, 1 Tim. i. 12, ii. 7, 2 Tim. i. 11. There is no ground whatever for supposing that the ἐπισκόποι here mentioned were not ordained, as the words τὸ Π. τὸ Ἄγ. ἔθετο may be used without any reference whatever to the actual mode of appointment. Dr. Hort allows that here the precedent of vi. 3-6 may have been followed, and the appointment of the elders may have been sealed, so to speak, by the Apostle's prayers and laying-on-of-hands, *Ecclesia*, pp. 99, 100. The thought of appointment by the Holy Spirit, although not excluding the ordination of Apostles, may well be emphasised here for the sake of solemnly reminding the Presbyters of their responsibility to a divine Person, and that they stand in danger of losing the divine gifts imparted to them in so far as they are unfaithful to their office.—ποιμαίνειν: "to tend" as distinct from βόσκειν "to feed," although the act of feeding as well as of governing is associated also with the former word; see on John xxi. 16. The figurative pastoral language in this passage was probably not unknown as applied to Jewish elders, Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 282; Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 101.—ἐπισκόπους: the word, which occurs five times in the N.T., is applied four times to officers of the Christian Church: in this passage, again at Ephesus in 1 Tim. iii. 2, at Philippi in Phil. i. 1, at Crete in Titus i. 7; and once to our Lord Himself, 1 Peter ii. 25 (cf. the significant passage, Wisdom i. 6, where it is applied to God). In the LXX it is used in various senses, e.g., of the overseers of

Josiah, 2 Chron. xxxiv. 12, 17; of task-masters or exactors, Isa. lx. 17; of minor officers, Neh. xi. 9, 14; of officers over the house of the Lord, 2 Kings xi. 18; and in 1 Macc. i. 51 of overseers or local commissioners of Antiochus Epiphanes to enforce idolatry, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xii., 5, 4. In classical Greek the word is also used with varied associations. Thus in Attic Greek it was used of a commissioner sent to regulate a new colony or subject city like a Spartan "harmost," cf. Arist., *Av.*, 1032, and Boeckh, *Inscr.*, 73 (in the Roman period ἐπιμεληταί); but it was by no means confined to Attic usage. In another inscription found at Thera in the Macedonian period mention is made of two ἐπίσκοποι receiving money and putting it out at interest, and again at Rhodes, in the second century B.C., ἐπίσ. are mentioned in inscriptions, but we do not know their functions, although Deissmann claims that in one inscription, *I. M. A. e.*, 731, the title is used of a sacred office in the Temple of Apollo, but he declines to commit himself to any statement as to the duties of the office: cf. also Loening, *Die Gemeindeverfassung des Urchristenthums*, pp. 21, 22; Gibson, "Bishop," B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Gwatkin, "Bishop," Hastings' B.D.; Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 57; Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 95. M. Waddington has collected several instances of the title in inscriptions found in the *Haurān*, i.e., the south-eastern district of the ancient Bashan (see the references to Le Bas-Waddington in Loening, u. s., p. 22, note, and Gore, *Church and the Ministry*, p. 402), but none of these give us precise and definite information as to the functions of the ἐπίσκοποι. But it is important to note that M. Waddington is of opinion that the comparative frequency of the title in the *Haurān* points to the derivation of the Christian use of the word from Syria or Palestine rather than from the organisation of the Greek municipality (*Expositor*, p. 99, 1887). It has been urged that the officers of administration and finance in the contemporary non-Christian associations, the clubs and guilds so common in the Roman empire, were chiefly known by one or other of two names, ἐπιμελητής or ἐπίσκοπος, Hatch, *B.L.*, p. 36, and hence the inference has been drawn that the primary function of the primitive ἐπίσκοποι in the Christian Church was



ποιμνίου· 30. καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀναστήσονται ἄνδρες λαλοῦντες  
 διεστραμμένα, τοῦ ἀποσπᾶν τοὺς μαθητὰς ὀπίσω αὐτῶν. 31. διδ

the administration of finance; but Dr. Hatch himself has denied that he laid any special stress upon the financial character of the ἐπίσκοποι, although he still apparently retained the description of them as "officers of administration and finance," see *Expositor*, u. s., p. 99, note, thus adopting a position like that of Professor Harnack, who would extend the administration duties beyond finance to all the functions of the community. But however this may be (see below), there is certainly no ground for believing that the title ἐπίσκοπος in the Christian Church was ever limited to the care of finance (see the judgment of Loening on this view, u. s., p. 22), or that such a limitation was justified by the secular use of the term. If indeed we can point to any definite influence which connects itself with the introduction of the title into the Christian Church, it is at least as likely, one might say more likely when we consider that the Apostles were above all things Jews, that the influence lies in the previous use in the LXX of ἐπίσκοπος and ἐπισκοπή, and the direct appeal of St. Clement of Rome, *Cor.*, xlii., 5, to Isaiah (LXX) lx. 17 in support of the Christian offices of ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι may be fairly quoted as pointing to such an influence. But whatever influences were at work in the adoption of the term by the early believers, it became, as it were, baptised into the Christian Church, and received a Christian and a higher spiritual meaning. This one passage in Acts xx. 28 is sufficient to show that those who bore the name were responsible for the spiritual care of the Church of Christ, and that they were to feed His flock with the bread of life (see the striking and impressive remarks of Dr. Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 266). This one passage is also sufficient to show that the "presbyter" and "bishop" were at first practically identical, cf. vv. 17<sup>a</sup> and 28, Steinmetz, *Die zweite römische Gefangenschaft des Apostels Paulus*, p. 173, 1897, and that there is no room for the separation made by Harnack between the two, see his *Analecta zu Hatch*, p. 231, or for his division between the "patriarchal" office of the πρεσβύτεροι and the "administrative" office of the ἐπίσκοποι (Loening, u. s., pp. 23-27; Sanday, *Expositor*, u. s., pp. 12, 104; Gwatkin, u. s., p. 302). In the Pastoral

Epistles the identity between the two is even more clearly marked, although Harnack cannot accept Tit. i. 5-7 as a valid proof, because he believes that vv. 7-9 were interpolated into the received text by a redactor; cf. also for proof of the same 1 Tim. iii. 1-7, 8-13, v. 17-19; 1 Pet. v. 1, 2, although in this last passage Harnack rejects the reading ἐπίσκοποι ὄντες (and it must be admitted that it is not found in <sup>MS</sup>B, and that it is omitted by Tisch. and W. H.), whilst he still relegates the passages in the Pastoral Epistles relating to bishops, deacons and Church organisation to the second quarter of the second century, *Chron.*, i., p. 483, note. In St. Clement of Rome, *Cor.*, xlii., 4, xlii., 1, 4, 5, the terms are still synonymous, and by implication in *Didaché*, xv., 1 (Gwatkin, u. s., p. 302, and Gore, u. s., p. 409, note). But if we may say with Bishop Lightfoot that a new phraseology began with the opening of a new century, and that in St. Ignatius the two terms are used in their more modern sense, it should be borne in mind that the transition period between Acts and St. Ignatius is exactly marked by the Pastoral Epistles, and that this fact is in itself no small proof of their genuineness. In these Epistles Timothy and Titus exercise not only the functions of the ordinary presbyteral office, but also functions which are pre-eminent over those of the ordinary presbyter, although there is no trace of any special title for these Apostolic delegates, as they may be fairly called. The circumstances may have been temporary or tentative, but it is sufficiently plain that Timothy and Titus were to exercise not only a general discipline, but also a jurisdiction over the other ministers of the Church, and that to them was committed not only the selection, but also the ordination of presbyters (Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 151 ff.; Bright, *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, p. 28 ff., 1898; *Church Quarterly Review*, xlii., pp. 265-302).—τὴν ἐκκ. τοῦ Θεοῦ, see critical note.—περιποιήσατο, cf. Psalm lxxiv. 2. It has been thought that St. Paul adopts and adapts the language of this Psalm; in comparing his language with that of the LXX we can see how by the use of the word ἐκκλησία instead of συναγωγή in the Psalm he connects the new Christian Society with the ancient

γρηγορεῖτε, μνημονεύοντες ὅτι τριετίαν νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐπαυσά-  
μην μετὰ δακρύων ρουθετῶν ἓνα ἕκαστον. 32. καὶ τανῦν παρατίθεμαι  
ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί,<sup>1</sup> τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος αὐτοῦ, τῷ δυναμένῳ  
ἐποικοδομῆσαι καὶ δοῦναι ἡμῖν κληρονομίαν ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις

<sup>1</sup> τῷ Θεῷ, but B 33, 68, Sah., Boh., so Gig., W.H. text, R.V. marg., and Weiss read τῷ Κυρίῳ (Wendt doubtful), Alford, Tisch., Blass, R.V. text follow T.R., so W.H. marg. For ἐποικοδ. ABCDE 18 read οἰκοδ., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, so Blass in β; DE, Gig. οἰκοδ. νμας.

ἐκκλησία of Israel, whilst in employing περιποιήσατο instead of ἐκτήσω (LXX), and retaining the force of ἐλυτρώσω, LXX, by reference to the λύτρον of the new Covenant, a deeper significance is given to the Psalmist's language: a greater redemption than that of Israel from the old Egyptian bondage had been wrought for the Christian Ecclesia (Hort, *Ecclesia*, pp. 14 and 102). The verb περιποιεῖσθαι only in St. Luke and St. Paul in N.T., but in a different sense in the former, Luke xvii. 33. In 1 Tim. iii. 13 (1 Macc. vi. 44) it is found in the sense of "gaining for oneself," so in classical Greek. But it is to be noted that the cognate noun περιποίησις is associated by St. Paul in his Ephesian letter with the thought of redemption, εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως "unto the redemption of God's own possession," R.V.—τοῦ ἰδ. τοῦ αἵμ., see critical note.

Ver. 29. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα, see critical note. Baur and Zeller could only see in this assertion a *vaticinium post eventum*—the heresiarchs are portrayed in the general expressions in vogue in the second century; so too Renan thinks that the writer gives us the ideas of a later date, although he does not carry us further than 75-80 A.D. But if we accept the early date of the *Didachē*, that document is quite sufficient to show us that similar phraseology to that in the address before us was current in the Church at an earlier date than Baur and Zeller supposed. If St. Paul had been engaged all his life in struggling with false teachers, it would have been inconceivably short-sighted if he had thought that such dangers would cease after his departure, and still more inconceivable if with such presentiments he had neglected to warn the Church. The vagueness of the description of the heretical teachers is in itself a proof of genuineness, and a writer of a later date would have made it far less general, and more easily to be identified with some current error. It has been

further objected by Zeller and Overbeck, and even by Wendt, that it is strange that with present opponents before him, 1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9, St. Paul should speak only of the future; but whilst he had himself been present among them he had been their protector against their enemies, but now that he was about to withdraw from them nothing was more natural than that he should warn them against the subtle attacks which might be more easily made when his own careful superintendence was no more.—εἰσελεύσονται: so men outside the fold—the *when* of their entrance is not specified precisely, but the words were amply fulfilled in the presence of the emissaries of the Judaizers, creeping in from the Jewish communities into the Churches of Asia, as they had slunk into the Churches of Galatia, cf. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 130-146, on the teaching of the Judaizers and its evil influence in the Pastoral Epistles. There is at all events no need to refer the words with Grotius to outward persecution, such as that of Nero.—ἄφιξιν, i.e., his departure from amongst them (not necessarily including his death), not arrival, although the latter meaning attaches to the word in classical Greek, so too 3 Macc. vii. 18; Jos., *Ant.*, iv., 8, 47 (but see both Alford and Blass, *in loco*).—λύκοι: continuing the imagery of ver. 28, cf. Matt. vii. 15, Luke x. 3, John x. 12; so in the O.T. λύκοι of presumptuous and cruel rulers and judges, Ezek. xxii. 27, Zeph. iii. 3. The similar kind of language used by Ignat., *Philadelph.*, ii., 1, 2; Justin Martyr, *Apol.*, i., 58; Iren., *Adv. Har.*, i., Praef. 2, may well have been borrowed from this, not *vice versa* as Zeller maintained; but such imagery would no doubt be widely known from its employment in O. and N.T. alike.—βαρεῖς, cf. for the sense of the adjective, Hom., *Il.*, i., 89; Xen., *Agas.*, xi., 12; so too Diog. Laert., i., 72.—μὴ φειδ.: *litotes*, cf. John x. 12. The verb occurs six times in St. Paul's Epistles, twice in Romans and four



πάσιν. 33. ἀργυρίου ἢ χρυσίου ἢ ἱματισμοῦ οὐδενὸς ἐπεθύμησα.  
34. αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup> δὲ γινώσκετε ὅτι ταῖς χρεαίαις μου καὶ τοῖς οὔσι μετ' ἐμοῦ

<sup>1</sup> δε omit. after αὐτοί, W.H., R.V. on overwhelming evidence. After χρεαίαις μου Blass adds πασαις in β; D has πασιν.

times in the Corinthian Epistles (only twice elsewhere in N.T. in 2 Pet.).

Ver. 30. καὶ ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν: αὐτῶν adds emphasis, "from your own selves". The Pastoral Epistles afford abundant evidence of the fulfilment of the words, cf. 1 Tim. i. 20, 2 Tim. i. 15, ii. 17, iii. 8, 13. To some extent the Apostolic warning was effectual at all events in Ephesus itself, cf. Rev. ii. 2; Ignat., *Ephes.*, vi., 2.—ἀναστήσονται: common word in Acts, see on v. 17, used here perhaps as in v. 36.—διεστραμμένα, cf. LXX, Deut. xxxii. 5. The verb is found twice in Luke ix. 41 (Matt. xvii. 17), xxiii. 2, three times in Acts xiii. 8, 10, and once again by St. Paul, Phil. ii. 15, in a similar sense, cf. Arist., *Pol.*, iii., 16, 5, viii., 7, 7; Arrian, *Epict.*, iii., 6, 8.—ἀποσπᾶν τοὺς μαθητάς: "the disciples," R.V. with art. meaning that they would try and draw away those that were already Christians, μαθ. always so used in Acts. ἀποσπ. to tear away from that to which one is already attached; used by St. Matt. xxvi. 51, and elsewhere only by St. Luke xxii. 41, Acts xxi. 1; compare with the genitive of purpose after ἀνίστημι, 2 Chron. xx. 23.—ὀπίσω αὐτῶν, "after themselves," cf. v. 37, not after Christ, Matt. iv. 19.

Ver. 31. γρηγ.: the pastoral metaphor continued; verb used four times by St. Paul, and it may well have passed into familiar use in the early Church by the solemn injunction of our Lord on the Mount of Olives to watch, cf. also Luke xii. 37, 1 Pet. v. 8, Rev. iii. 2, 3, xvi. 15, and the names *Gregory*, *Vigilantius*, amongst the early converts.—τριετίαν: the three years may be used summarily i.e., as speaking in round numbers, or literally. It would have seemed out of place in such an appeal to say "two years and three months," or whatever the exact time may have been. The intention was to give a practical turn to this watchfulness: *triennium celeste*, Bengel. The word is regarded by Vogel as a decided employment of a medical term by Luke from Dioscorides, see also to the same effect Meyer-Weiss, *Evangelium des Lukas*, note on i., 1. The word is found only here in N.T., not at all in LXX, but used by Theophr., Plut., Artem.—νύκτα: perhaps placed first

because it corresponded more closely to the idea of watching against attacks, or perhaps because it emphasised the ceaselessness of the Apostle's labours, cf. xxvi. 7, 1 Thess. ii. 9, iii. 10, 1 Tim. v. 5, 2 Tim. i. 3.—μετὰ δακρῶν, cf. 2 Cor. ii. 4, Chrys., *Hom.*, xlv. "Quod cor tamen saxatum, ut hisce lacrimis non emolliatur? qui non fleat flente Paulo?" Corn. à Lapidé; see also Farrar, *St. Paul*, ii., 283.—νουθετῶν: only here in Acts, but seven times in St. Paul's Epistles, but nowhere else in N.T., "admonish," R.V. In classical Greek it is joined both with παρακαλεῖν and κολάζειν; St. Paul too used it in gentleness, or "with a rod". In LXX, Job iv. 3; Wisd. xi. 10, xii. 2.—ἐνα ἕκαστον, 2 Cor. xi. 29 and John x. 3; εἰς ἕκαστος twice in St. Luke's Gospel, iv. 40, xvi. 5, six times in Acts, five times in St. Paul's Epistles (only once elsewhere in N.T., Matt. xxvi. 22, but not in T.R.).

Ver. 32. καὶ τὰ νῦν, see above on iv. 29.—παράτιθ., cf. xiv. 23.—τῷ λόγῳ τῆς χάριτος: as in the fourth Gospel, John i. 14-17, so here and in the Epistle to the Ephesians, we find great stress laid on χάρις, but we cannot conclude with Stier and others that in the word λόγος we have any reference here to the Word of St. John's Gospel, although the similarity between St. John's doctrine of the Word and St. Paul's conception of our Lord's Person is very close elsewhere; the thought here is however closely akin to that of St. James i. 21 (Heb. iv. 12). In his earliest Epistle the Apostle had spoken of the Word, 1 Thess. ii. 13, ὅς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν. The Word here is able to build up and to give, etc., which certainly seems to ascribe to it a quasi-personal character, even more so than in 2 Tim. iii. 15, where the Apostle uses a somewhat similar phrase of the O.T. Scriptures, τὰ δυνάμενά (the same verb as here) σε σοφίαις εἰς σωτηρίαν κ.τ.λ. The same phrase as here occurs in Acts xiv. 3, which points to its derivation from one imbued with Paul's words and habits of thought, if not from the Apostle himself (Alford). Weiss and others refer τῷ δυν. to τῷ Θεῷ (Κυρίῳ, see critical note), cf. Rom. xvi. 25, Ephes. iii. 20, Gal. iii. 21, on the ground that although ἐποικοδομησαί (οἰκοδ.) may re-

ὑπῆρέτησαν αἱ χεῖρες αὐται. 35.<sup>1</sup> πάντα ὑπέδειξα ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὕτω κοπιῶντας δεῖ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν ἀσθενούντων, μνημονεύειν τε τῶν λόγων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπε, “Μακάριόν ἐστι διδόναι

<sup>1</sup> Lach. and Blass add πάντα to the previous verse, so Overbeck, Nösgen, Bethge (Wendt doubtful). For τῶν λόγων LP read τον λογον; Bengel τον λογον; no doubt changes made because only one saying is quoted. D<sup>1</sup>, Gig. read μακαριος ἐστι μαλλον διδ. η λαμβ.; Blass in β reads μακαριον μαλλον τον διδοντα υπερ τον λαμβανοντα; cf. Const. Apost., iv., 3, μακαριον εἶπεν εἶναι τον διδοντα ηπερ (υπερ Anastas. Sin.) τον λαμβανοντα.

fer to λόγος, yet the λόγος cannot be said δοῦναι κληρ. To the latter phrase Bethge, p. 158, strives to find some Scriptural analogies in the work attributed to ὁ λόγος, cf. 1 Cor. i. 18, John xii. 48. But it is best and simplest on the whole to regard the entire phrase τῷ Θ. καὶ τῷ λ. as one, “quasi una notio sunt; agit enim Deus per verbum suum,” Blass; so Page. —ἐποικοδ., Ephes. ii. 20, in the passive, see critical note. Whether we read the compound or the simple verb, the metaphor of building is prominent in the Ephesian Epistle ii. 21; iv. 12, 16, 29, as also in 1 Cor., cf. iii. 10 (2), 12, 14; iii. 9, xiv. 3, 5, 12, 26, and cf. 2 Cor. v. 1, x. 8, xii. 19, xiii. 10. See note above on ix. 31. τὴν κληρ., vii. 5, see note; nowhere else in Acts, cf. for the thought Ephes. iii. 18, i. 11; and words elsewhere spoken by St. Paul, Acts xxvi. 18; the word itself occurs three times in Ephesians, i. 14, 18, v. 5. In Ephes. iii. 18 we have closely conjoined with κληρ. the ἡ βασιλ. τοῦ χ., cf. St. Paul's words ver. 25 above. The word is frequent in *Psalms of Solomon*, cf. xiv. 6, 7, where the inheritance of the saints is contrasted with the inheritance of sinners in the Messianic consummation, and also xv. 11, 12, xvii. 26; see further on the word, Kennedy, p. 100.

Ver. 33. Cf. 1 Sam. xii. 3, ἵματ., frequent in LXX, in N.T. only in Luke and Paul (except John xix. 24, quotation); Luke vii. 25, ix. 29, 1 Tim. ii. 9. In 1 Macc. xi. 24 we have silver, gold and raiment, joined together as in this verse, describing Eastern riches, cf. James v. 2, 3.—ἐρεθ., “he takes away that which is the root of all evil, the love of money”; he says not “I have not taken,” but “not even coveted,” Chrys., *Hom.*, xlv.

Ver. 34. αὐτοί: placed first for emphasis, so too emphasised in ii. 22, xvi. 37, xviii. 15. In 1 Cor. iv. 12 we may see an undesigned coincidence, and cf. the word κοπιῶντας in ver. 35, Paley, *H.P.*, iii., 6.—ταῖς χρεαῖς μου καὶ τοῖς οὖσι μετ' ἐμοῦ: so the work of the

Christian convert ἐργαζ. τὸ ἀγ. ταῖς χερσίν is to be done ἵνα ἔχη μεταδιδόναι τῷ χρεῖαν ἔχοντι, Ephes. iv. 28, and for the word χρεῖα as used by St. Paul elsewhere in same sense, cf. Rom. xii. 13, Phil. ii. 25, iv. 16, Tit. iii. 14.—ὑπῆρέτησαν: only in Acts xiii. 36, used by Paul, xxiv. 23, used of Paul (cf. 1 Cor. iv. 1); Wisd. xvi. 24.—αὐται: “callosæ, ut videtis,” Bengel, so Blass; quite in Paul's manner, cf. xxvi. 29, xxviii. 20; so also πάντα, 1 Cor. ix. 25, x. 33, xi. 2, Ephes. iv. 15. Paul pursued his trade at Ephesus probably with Aquila and Priscilla, possibly with Philemon, Philem. ver. 17.

Ver. 35. πάντα ὑπέδ.: “in all things I gave you an example,” R.V., see also critical note. The verb and the cognate noun are both used in Greek in accordance with this sense, Xen., *Oec.*, xii., 18, *Isocr.*, v., 27, see Plummer on Luke iii. 7, etc., so ὑπόδειγμα, Xen., *De re eq.*, ii., 2, and for other instances of the similar use of the word see Westcott on Heb. viii. 5, Eccles. xlv. 16, 2 Macc. vi. 28, 31, 4 Macc. xvii. 23, cf. also Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, v., 1, xlvii., 1. οὕτως, i.e., as I have done, cf. Phil. iii. 17.—κοπιῶντας: not of spiritual labours, but of manual, as the context requires. No doubt the verb is used in the former sense, 1 Cor. xvi. 16, Rom. xvi. 12, 1 Thess. v. 12, but also in the latter, 1 Cor. iv. 12, Ephes. iv. 28, 2 Tim. ii. 6 (so also κόπος by Paul). In St. Paul's writings it occurs no less than fourteen times, in St. Luke only twice, Luke v. 5 (xii. 27). In classical Greek, so in Josephus, it has the meaning of growing weary or tired, but in LXX and N.T. alone, *laboro viribus intentis* (Grimm).—δεῖ, see above on p. 63.—ἀντιλαμβ.: only in Luke and Paul, Luke i. 54, 1 Tim. vi. 2, cf. 1 Cor. xii. 28. The verb = to take another's part, to succour (so too cognate noun), in LXX, Isa. xli. 9, Eccles. ii. 6, iii. 12, xxix. 9, 20, of helping the poor, cf. also *Psalms of Solomon*, xvi. 3, 5, vii. 9, see further *Psalms*



μᾶλλον ἢ λαμβάνειν". 36. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, θεῖς τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ, σὺν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς προσηύξατο. 37. Ἰκανὸς δὲ ἐγένετο κλαυθμὸς πάντων· καὶ ἐπιπεσόντες ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον τοῦ Παύλου κατεφίλουσαν αὐτόν· 38. ὁδυνώμενοι μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ ᾧ εἰρήκει, ὅτι οὐκέτι μέλλουσι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ θεωρεῖν. προέπεμπον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον.

of Solomon, Ryle and James edit., p. 73; on ἀντιληψίς, H. and R., *sub. v.* In classical Greek used in middle voice with genitive as here.—τῶν ἀσθενούν., *cf.* 1 Thess. v. 14, for a similar precept. The adjective need not be limited to those who sought relief owing to physical weakness or poverty, but may include all those who could claim the presbyters' support and care, bodily or spiritual, *cf.* Rom. xii. 13. The usage of the gospels points to those who are weak through disease and therefore needing help, *cf.*, *e.g.*, Matt. x. 8, Mark vi. 56, Luke ix. 2, John v. 3, so also by St. Paul, Phil. ii. 26, 27, 2 Tim. iv. 20, although there are instances in LXX where the word is used of moral rather than of physical weakness. When the word is used of moral or spiritual weakness in the N.T., such a meaning is for the most part either determined by the context, or by some addition, *e.g.*, τῇ πίστει, Rom. xiv. 1.—μνημονεύειν τε: the verb is used seven times by St. Paul in his Epistles, once by St. Luke in his Gospel, Luke xvii. 32, and twice in Acts in the words of St. Paul, *cf.* ver. 31. Twice in the Epistle of St. Clement of Rome we find a similar exhortation in similar words, chap. xiii. 1 and xlv. 7, and in each case the word may refer to a free combination of our Lord's words (*cf.* Luke vi. 30, xiv. 14), so too in St. Polycarp, *Epist.*, ii., 3. From what source St. Paul obtained this, the only saying of our Lord, definitely so described, outside the four Gospels which the N.T. contains, we cannot tell, but the command to "remember" shows that the words must have been familiar words, like those from St. Clement and St. Polycarp, which are very similar to the utterances of the Sermon on the Mount. From whatever source they were derived the references given by Resch, *Agarpha*, pp. 100, 150, show how deep an impression they made upon the mind of the Church, Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, ii., 1, *Did.*, i., 5, *Const. Ap.*, iv., 3, 1; *cf.* also Ropes, *Die Sprüche Jesus*, p. 136. In thus appealing to the words of the Lord Jesus, St. Paul's manner in his address is very similar to that employed in his

Epistles, where he is apparently able to quote the words of the Lord in support of his judgment on some religious and moral question, *cf.* 1 Cor. vii. 10, 11, 12, 25, and the distinction between his own opinion, γνώμη, and the command of Christ, ἐπιταγή (*Witness of the Epistles*, p. 319). τε: Weiss (so Bethge) holds that the word closely connects the two clauses, and that the meaning is that only thus could the weak be rightly maintained, *viz.*, by remembering, etc., ὅτι being causal. But however this may be, in this reference, ὅτι αὐτὸς εἶπεν, "how he himself said," R.V. (thus implying that the fact was beyond all doubt), we may note one distinctive feature in Christian philanthropy, that it is based upon allegiance to a divine Person, and upon a reference to His commands. The emphatic personal pronoun seems to forbid the view that the Apostle is simply giving the sense of some of our Lord's sayings (see above). Similar sayings may be quoted from pagan and Jewish sources, but in Aristotle, *Eth. Nicom.*, iv., 1, it is the part τοῦ ἐλευθερίου to give when and where and as much as he pleases, but only because it is beautiful to give; even in friendship, generosity and benevolence spring from the reflection that such conduct is decorous and worthy of a noble man, *Eth. Nicom.*, ix., 8. In Plato's *Republic* there would have been no place for the ἀσθενεῖς. Even in Seneca who sometimes approaches very nearly to the Christian precept, when he declares, *e.g.*, that even if we lose we must still give, we cannot forget that pity is regarded as something unworthy of a wise man; the wise man will help him in tears, but he will not weep with him; he helps the poor not with compassion, but with an impassive calm.—μακάριον: emphatic in position, see critical note. Bengel quotes from an old poet, *cf.* Athenæus, viii., 5, μακάριος, εἴπερ μεταδίδωσι μηδενί . . . ἀνόητος ὁ διδούς, εὐτυχὴς δ' ὁ λαμβάνων. The lines are by no means to be regarded as the best expression of pagan ethics, but the μακάριον, which occurs more than thirty

XXI. 1. Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἀναχθῆναι ἡμᾶς<sup>1</sup> ἀποσπασθέντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν, εὐθυδρομήσαντες ἤλθομεν εἰς τὴν Κῶν, τῇ δὲ ἐξῆς εἰς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> W.H. in marg., following BE<sup>3</sup>L, read ἀποσπασθέντες, placing a comma after ἡμᾶς; Weiss here is uninfluenced by B, and reads as in text. Κῶν, but Κω ὩABCDE, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss. At beginning of sentence β text ἀποσπασθέντων δε ἡμῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιβάντες ἀνηχθήμεν; D<sup>1</sup> has καὶ ἐπιβάντες ἀνηχθήμεν ἀποσπασθέντων δε ἡμῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Either from next verse, or from the usual desire of reviser to take nothing for granted (Weiss).

times on the lips of our Lord, bids us aim at something altogether higher and deeper and fuller than happiness—blessedness. In Judaism, whilst compassion for the poor and distressed is characteristic of a righteous Israelite, we must still bear in mind that such compassion was limited by legality and nationality; the universality of the Christian precept is wanting, Uhlhorn, *Christian Charity*, pp. 1-56, E.T., instances in Wetstein, and Bethge and Page, *in loco*.

Ver. 36. θείσ τὰ γόν., see above on p. 203.

Ver. 37. ἱκανός, cf. viii. 13.—ἐπιπρόσόντες: exact parallel only in Luke xv. 22 (cf. also κατεφίλησεν in same verse), cf. above on ἐπιτίπτειν and in LXX, Gen. xxxiii. 4, xlv. 14, xlv. 29, Tobit xi. 8, 3 Macc. v. 49.—κατεφίλουν, imperfect, i.e., repeatedly and tenderly. The verb occurs three times in St. Luke's Gospel, vii. 38, 45, xv. 20, and once in Matthew and Mark of the kiss of Judas, cf. Xen., *Mem.*, ii., 6, 33.

Ver. 38. δδυνάμενοι: common in Luke and Acts, only three times elsewhere in N.T., Luke ii. 48, xvi. 24, 25.—θεωρεῖν, Lucan, cf. xvii. 16, 22, "to behold," R.V., to gaze with reverence upon his face.—μέλλουσι, see above p. 157.—προέπεμπον δὲ αὐτόν: "and they brought him on his way," R.V., cf. xv. 3 (see note), xxi. 5; the harbour was some little distance from the town.

CHAPTER XXI.—Ver. 1. ἀναχθῆναι, see above on xiii. 13.—ἀποσ., cf. xx. 30, "were parted from them," R.V. The word expresses a separation difficult and painful; it adds to the pathos of the scene, and marks the close affection which could not bear the thought of a parting, "divulsi ab eorum complexu," Blass (see Chrys., comment. *in loco*).—εὐθυδ., see on xvi. 11.—Κῶν, *Stanchio* or *Stanko*, an island of great trading importance off the coast of Caria, south of Miletus and Samos, and north of Rhodes. Historically it had several points of connection with the Jews, cf. 1 Macc. xv. 23, Jos., *Ant.*, xiv. 7, 2, and 10, 15, B. J., i., 21, 11, and owing to its commerce it

became one of the centres of Jewish life in the Ægean. It lay about forty nautical miles from Miletus, and it was famous as the birthplace not only of Hippocrates, but of Apelles, and as being one of the great medical schools of the ancient world. See further "Cos" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D., and B.D.<sup>2</sup>; Farrar, *Saint Paul*, ii., 284; Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 96; cf. Strabo, xiv., 2, Hor., *Od.*, iv., 13, 13, Tac., *Ann.*, xii., 61. C. and H. think that the chief town of the same name at the east of the island is referred to in the narrative before us. The place must have had, as C. and H. note, a special interest for St. Luke.—Ῥόδον: off the south coast of Caria. According to the proverb the sun shone every day on Rhodes, and it might well be called the sunny island of roses. Her coins, stamped on one side with Apollo's head radiated, and on the other with the rose-flower, bear their witness to the brightness and fertility of the island. Moreover, it was a seat not only of commerce but of learning. St. Paul does not appear to have landed, but only to have touched at the island. The great Colossus representing the sun, counted as one of the wonders of the world, lay prostrate, having been broken down by an earthquake, Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv., 18; Strabo, xiv., 2. In the time of the Peloponnesian War Rhodes had been famous for its strong navy, as its timber was abundant. A notice of Jewish residents in Rhodes meets us in 1 Macc. xv. 23. On subsequent history see the excellent account in C. and H., small edit., p. 357; Farrar, *Saint Paul*, ii., p. 285.—Πάταρα: a seaport on the Lycian coast, now in ruins, but probably a place of some importance and splendour. C. and H. say that Patara was to the city Xanthus what the Piræus was to Athens. On the modern discoveries in Patara see C. and H., small edit., note p. 560, cf. Herod., i., 182, Hor., *Od.*, iii., 4, 64, Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 99, O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 101. "The voyage may be taken as typical of the course which hun-



ῥόδον, κακείθεν εἰς Πάταρα.<sup>1</sup> 2. καὶ εὐρόντες πλοῖον διαπερῶν εἰς φοινίκην ἐπιβάντες ἀνήχθημεν. 3.<sup>2</sup> ἀναφανέντες δὲ τὴν Κύπρον, κα καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν εὐώνυμον, ἐπλέομεν εἰς Συρίαν, καὶ κατήχθημεν εἰς Τύρον· ἐκεῖσε γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλοῖον ἀποφορτιζόμενον τὸν γόμον. 4. καὶ ἀνευρόντες τοὺς μαθητάς, ἐπεμείναμεν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· οὔτινες τῷ Παύλῳ ἔλεγον διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος, μὴ<sup>3</sup> ἀναβαίνειν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> After Πάταρα D (Gig., Wer., Sah.) add καὶ Μυρα, so Blass in β, and Hilg., another accurate geographical touch; cf. xx. 15 and Ramsay, *C. R. E.*, p. 153, and *St. Paul*, p. 297; but after a long discussion of the passage in *Expositor*, March, 1895, Ramsay decides against the originality of the reading, but see also Zöckler, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 138, who declines to be persuaded by these recent arguments urged by R. Wendt thinks that it may be original, p. 338 (1899), so Corssen, *G. G. A.*, p. 441. Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 109, while accepting D in xx. 15, finds here assimilation to xxvii. 5. On the other hand the words may have been omitted in view of Paul's haste in xx. 16 (Wendt). See also Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.*, i., 54.

<sup>2</sup> ἀναφανέντες NB\* 66, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Blass, but -φανέντες AB<sup>3</sup> CEHLP, Lach., Treg., Alford. κατήλθομεν for κατήχ. NABE, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Syr. H., Aeth., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss.

<sup>3</sup> For ἀναβ. NABC, mins., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, read ἐπιβ.

dreds of ships took every year," Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 297, and cf. the illustrations from Roman history in C. and H., p. 560 note.

Ver. 2. They went at Patara on board a ship about to start on the direct Syrian course, ἐπιβ., cf. xx. 18.

Ver. 3. ἀναφ.: "when we had come in sight of," R.V., Doric form of 1st aorist active, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 112, here a technical word (only in Luke, cf. Luke xix. 11, but in a different sense), i.e., after we had rendered Cyprus visible (to us) = *facere ut appareat* (Blass); Virgil, *Aeneid*, iii., 275, 291, see also Rendall's note in *loco* (for the opposite idiom, ἀποκρύπτειν, cf. Thuc., v., 65).—καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν εὐώ.: sailing south-east they would have passed close to Paphos in Cyprus.—ἐπλέομεν: "imperf. cursum, aorist. κατήλθομεν finem denotat" (Blass).—εἰς Τύρον: now a free town of the R. province of Syria, Strabo, xvi., 2, in honour of its ancient greatness; it is still a place of considerable commerce and consequence, still famous for its fabrics and its architecture. At present it numbers amongst its five thousand inhabitants a few Jews, the rest being Mohammedans and Christians. Besides O.T. references, see 1 Macc. xi. 59, 2 Macc. iv. 18, 44, and further for its history, C. H., small edit., p. 563, Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 7, 998, Schaff-Herzog, *Encyclopædia*, iv., "Tyre".—ἐκεῖσε: the adverb may be used here with something of its proper force, but in xxii. 5, the only other

place in which it occurs in N.T., simply = ἐκεῖ, Simcox, *Language of the New Testament*, p. 179. Page (*in loco*) renders "for there the ship was unloading her cargo," ἐκεῖσε being used because of the idea of movement and carrying into the town contained in the "unloading".—ἦν ἀποφ.: taken sometimes as the present for the future, Burton, p. 59, but see also Winer-Moulton, xlv., 5, and Wendt (1888) *in loco* (Philo, *De Præm. et Pæn.*, 5; and Athenæus, ii., 5, of lightening a ship in a storm).—γόμον (γέμω): so in classical Greek, Herod., Dem., etc., in LXX of the load of a beast of burden, Exod. xxiii. 5, 2 Kings v. 17; in N.T. only elsewhere in Rev. xviii. 11, of any merchandise.

Ver. 4. ἀνευρόντες τοὺς μ.: more than simply to find, *quaerendo reperire*, Blass; "having found out," as colloquially "having looked up"; only in Luke, cf. Luke ii. 16, but in middle, 4 Macc. iii. 14.—τοὺς μαθ.: W. H. The article indicates that the existence of the disciples was known, but it was difficult to find out their whereabouts in a great town, cf. xv. 3, 41.—ἐπεμείναμεν, see on x. 48.—ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ: the period would at all events enable Paul to enjoy a first day of the week with the Church. Apparently he and his went on in the same ship, ver. 6, evidently it was a trading vessel of the larger size, as it took this time to unload; on the genuineness of the narration here see Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 300.—διὰ τοῦ Π.: there is no contradiction between this state-

Ἱερουσαλήμ. 5. ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο<sup>1</sup> ἡμᾶς ἐξαρτίσαι τὰς ἡμέρας, ἐξελθόντες ἐπορευόμεθα, προπεμπόντων ἡμᾶς πάντων σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἕως ἕξω τῆς πόλεως, καὶ θέντες τὰ γόνατα ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν προσηυξάμεθα. 6. καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἀσπασάμενοι ἀλλήλους, ἐπέβημεν εἰς τὸ

<sup>1</sup> ημας εξαρτισαι Ν(\*σ)<sup>2</sup>, CHLP, so Tisch., W.H. marg.; but εξαρ. ημας AB\*E 68, W.H. text, Weiss. At beginning of verse, instead of οτε . . . τας ημερας d, so Blass in β, has *sequenti die*—τῇ δε εξης ημερα.

<sup>2</sup> προσευξαμενοι απησπασαμεθα in R.V., Tisch., W.H., Blass. Instead of T.R., Ν\*AC, Tisch. have ανεβημεν, so Wendt (probably); but ΝcBE 68, 73, Chrys., so Lach., W.H., R.V., Weiss ενεβημεν.

ment and St. Paul's assertion that he was proceeding to Jerusalem under the same divine guidance. That the prophets at Tyre should foresee the Apostle's danger was only in accordance with his own words in xx. 23, and their affectionate regard for him might well prompt them to dissuade him from such perilous risks. There is therefore no occasion to suppose that the clause has been interpolated into the "We" source. Hilgenfeld refers οἱτινες . . . Ἱερ. (ver. 4), as also the whole of ver. 9, *τοῦτω δὲ . . . προφ.* to his "author to Theophilus," on the ground that this writer had already spoken of Paul's tribulations as awaiting him in city by city, xx. 23, and that the notices in vv. 4 and 9 here are added by him in confirmation. But Hilgenfeld (with Clemen and Jüngst) retains vv. 10-14, the episode of Agabus, as belonging to the "We" source, and sees a fitness in the prophecy of Agabus foretelling, after the manner of the O.T. prophets, in the last station before Jerusalem, the imprisonment of the Apostle, whilst Paul in spite of all entreaties is unmoved in his determination. But (1) it is quite arbitrary to refer the whole speech at Miletus (see above, chap. xx.) to the "author to Theophilus," and (2) although it was quite fitting that the warning of danger should be more vivid on its approach, yet one fails to see why the more definite symbolical act of Agabus should exclude previous intimations of danger on the part of affectionate friends speaking of the Holy Ghost. In ver. 9 nothing is said as to the prophecies of the daughter of Philip and Paul's imprisonment, but see below.

Ver. 5. *ἐξαρτίσαι*: here in the sense of accomplishing the days, *i.e.*, finishing the time, the seven days during which we had to remain for the cargo to be unloaded or for other business = *ἀπαρτίζειν* (and *cf.* Luke xiv. 28), Vulgate, "expletis diebus," Chrys., *πληρώσαι*,

so Oecum., Theoph. The verb is only used once elsewhere in N.T., and there by St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 17 = furnishing, completing, so Jos., *Ant.*, iii., 2, 2, where the verb is used as in 2 Tim., *l. c.*, and some have thought that here the verb means that the ship was completely prepared for the continuance of her voyage. So Rendall who takes ἡμᾶς (reading *ἐξαρ.* ἡμᾶς) as the object, and renders "and when it proved that the days furnished us"; on St. Paul's stay and its reason see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 300, and for other explanations, Nösgen and Weiss, *in loco*. There is no reason to interpret the words as meaning that the Apostle found that his desire, xx. 16, could not be fulfilled, and that so he was content to remain the seven days.—*προπεμ.*, see above: *πάντων*. The clause has been taken (Wendt) to intimate that the number of disciples at Tyre was small; this was probably the case, but it is not clear from the words here. *σὺν γυν. καὶ τέκ.*, a descriptive touch of an eyewitness (Zöckler); on this local use of *ἕως* as characteristic of Luke, *cf.* Friedrich, p. 20.—*θέντες* . . . *αἰγ.*, see xx. 36. *αἰγ.*, a smooth shore in distinction to one precipitous and rocky, xxvii. 39, also found in Matt. xiii. 2, 48, John xxi. 4. In LXX, Judg. v. 17, Eccles. xxiv. 14 (*S<sup>2</sup> al.*, and *cf.* note in *Speaker's Commentary*, *in loco*). See Hackett's note on this accurate description of the beach on both sides of the site of the ancient Tyre, and also a parallel to the scene described in this passage from modern missionary life.

Ver. 6. R.V. *ἀπησπασάμεθα* ἄλλ. "bade each other farewell," see critical note. *ἀσπασάμεθα*: only here in N.T., in Tobit x. 13 *S* (AR *al.*); Himerius, p. 194; here of salutations at departure as simple verb in ver. 7, of salutations on arrival (1 Macc. xii. 17).—*τὸ πλοῖον*: article indicates that it was the same ship (ver. 2 without the article) which



πλοῖον, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὰ Ἱδια. 7. Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν πλοῦν διανύσαντες ἀπὸ Τύρου κατηγνήσαμεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα, καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐμείναμεν ἡμέραν μίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς. 8. τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἐξεληθόντες <sup>1</sup> οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἤλθομεν εἰς Καισάρειαν· καὶ εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, τοῦ ὄντος ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> οἱ περὶ τὸν Π. *om.* **ABCE**, *Vulg.*, and other *verss.*; *Tisch.*, *W.H.*, *R.V.*, *Weiss*, *Wendt*, *Blass*.

was going on to Ptolemais.—εἰς τὰ Ἱδια, *cf.* John xvi. 32, xix. 27, *cf.* β text v. 18, xiv. 18 (τὰ Ἱδια not in Synoptists, but *cf.* Luke xviii. 28), in LXX, Esther v. 10, vi. 12, 3 Macc. vi. 27, 37, vii. 8.

Ver. 7. διανύσαντες: "and when we had finished the voyage from Tyre we arrived at Ptolemais," *R.V.* (so in effect *A.V.*), but Page (so *Wendt*) renders "but we having (thereby) completed our voyage (*i.e.*, from Macedonia, xx. 6), came from Tyre to Ptolemais," on the ground that διανύω would not be used of the short journey to Ptolemais from Tyre.—Πτολεμαίδα: the ancient Accho and the modern *Acre*, Arab. *Akka*; *St. Jean d'Acre*, mentioned here for the last time in Scripture. About thirty miles south of Tyre. In Judg. i. 31 it was assigned to Asher, but it was never taken by Israel, and was always reckoned as belonging to the Philistine towns, and later by the Greeks as belonging to Phœnicia. In its stormy history it was held in succession by Babylonians and Persians (*Strabo*, xvi., 2, 25), and on the first division of Alexander's kingdom it was assigned to Ptolemy Soter (Ptolemy I.), from whom it may have derived its name (so *Hamburger*). *Schürer* however refers the name to Ptolemy II. (Philadelphus), and others to Ptolemy Lathurus. In the Syro-Egyptian wars its importance as a military station was manifested, since the power which held it could close the road down the Syrian coast to Egypt. To the Jews it was always hostile, 1 Macc. v. 15, Jos., *Ant.*, xii., 8, 2, 1 Macc. xii. 45, Jos., *Ant.*, xiii., 6, 2, and later in history when the Jewish War broke out against Rome, the Jews, two thousand in number, were slaughtered in Ptolemais, Jos., *B. J.*, ii., 18, 5. After falling to the Parthians, it finally passed under the dominion of Rome, but although it was called *colonia Ptolemais* under the Emperor Claudius, *Pliny*, v., 19, it does not seem to have possessed the actual privileges of a colony (*Schürer*). See on its earlier and modern history, *Hamburger*, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, i., 1,

p. 41; "Accho," *Hastings' B.D.*, "Accho," *B.D.*<sup>2</sup>; *Schürer*, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 90, *E.T.* It was only separated from Tyre by a short day's voyage, if the wind was favourable. Here Herod landed on his return from Italy to Syria, Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 15, 1.—τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς: a Christian Church at Ptolemais; founded perhaps by Philip the Evangelist. It is also very possible that a Church may have existed there ever since the dispersion after the death of St. Stephen, Acts xi. 19. On the times which St. Paul probably visited it see "Ptolemais" *B.D.*<sup>1</sup>.

Ver. 8. Φ. τοῦ εὐαγγ.: the title, as *Wendt* and *Hilgenfeld* think, may have been given to Philip on account of his evangelising work, *cf.* viii., 12, 40; "the Evangelist": the honourable title gained by some signal service to the Gospel; and the two incidents noted in his career, his preaching to the Samaritans, and to the Ethiopian eunuch, each mark an advance in the free development of the Church (*Lightfoot*, *Galatians*, p. 299). He had originally been set apart for other work, vi. 2, but both he and St. Stephen had been called to higher duties, and it is not sufficient to say that he was called an "evangelist" to distinguish him from Philip the Apostle, for that would have been done sufficiently by calling him "one of the Seven". The word only occurs twice elsewhere in the *N.T.*, Ephes. iv. 11, 2 Tim. iv. 5. In the former passage the Evangelists are placed between the Apostles and Prophets on the one hand, and the Pastors and Teachers on the other. The latter two offices suggested those who were attached to a settled community, whilst the Apostles and Prophets were non-local. Between the two pairs stood the Evangelists, whose work like that of Philip was to preach the Word. But it is to be carefully noted that as the title is used of the work of Philip, "one of the Seven," and of that of Timothy, an Apostolic delegate, 2 Tim. iv. 5, it may have denoted an employment rather than an office, "a work rather than an order," and it

τῶν ἑπτά, ἐμείναμεν παρ' αὐτῶ. 9. τούτῳ δὲ ἦσαν θυγατέρες  
παρθένοι τέσσαρες προφητεύουσαι. 10. ἐπιμερόντων δὲ ἡμῶν  
ἡμέρας πλείους, κατῆλθέ τις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας προφῆτης ὀνόματι

might be truly said that every Apostle was an Evangelist, but that not every Evangelist was an Apostle. At the same time their work may well have been more restricted locally than that of the Apostles, cf. Theodoret on Ephes. iv. 11, and also Eusebius, *H.E.*, ii., 3, iii. 37, itinerant work of an Evangelist, "Evangelist," B.D.<sup>2</sup>. The title is not found in the Apostolic Fathers or in the *Didachē*, and the latter omission Harnack would explain on the ground that the "Apostles" in the *Didachē* were just Evangelists; but it would seem, if we admit the reference to 2 Tim. iv. 5, that the title was already in general use, and that it was not limited to Apostles. Meyer sees in the Evangelists those who transmitted orally the facts of our Lord's life and teaching, before the existence of written Gospels; but however tempting this view may be, we can scarcely define the Evangelists' work so precisely, and still less thus distinguish it from that of the Apostles; but see, however, as favouring Meyer's view, "Evangelist," Hastings' B.D. Ewald's remarks on Philip as an Evangelist are still of interest, *Die drei ersten Evangelien*, i., 48 ff.; on the mistake which confused this Philip with Philip the Apostle, see Salmon, *Introd.*, 313.—εἰς Κ.: on two occasions St. Paul had already visited Cæsarea, ix. 30, xviii. 22, and he would probably have met Philip previously; but we have no knowledge of any previous meeting between St. Luke and Philip. We can conceive something of the importance of such a meeting when we remember the advantage which the latter's knowledge of the events in the early history of the Church would possess for the future historian. Philip's presence in Cæsarea at once connects itself with the notice in viii. 40, and thus indicates a unity of authorship in the whole book.—ὄντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτά: the notice shows us how the early part of the book is taken for granted by the writer of the latter part (so Lightfoot and Salmon). This is surely more intelligible and satisfactory than to refer the words to the "author to Theophilus," or to regard it with Clemen as a later addition perhaps by his R., who already betrayed, xiv. 8, a knowledge of the sources of the first part of the book, or perhaps by R.J., who then connected *Historia Petri*

and *Historia Pauli*. Jüngst refers the notice in viii. 40 to a Reviser who thus seeks to connect the Philip of chap. viii. with Cæsarea, and so to identify him with the Philip here.

Ver. 9. παρθένοι: an unwedded life might enable them to wait on the Lord without distraction, and thus to be more free for the exercise of their gift of prophecy, but nothing is said of any separate order, or anything to lead us to suppose that they did not share the home life of their father, or that they had devoted themselves to God by any special vow (see however in support of this latter view Felten, Knabenbauer, Plumptre, C. and H.). St. Jerome, *Epist.*, v., 8, cviii., 8, in relating the story of Paula mentions how she saw at Cæsarea the house of Cornelius now turned into a Christian church, and the humble abode of Philip, and the chambers of his daughters, the four virgins "which did prophesy".—προφητεύουσαι, cf. Joel ii. 28, 29, Acts ii. 17, xix. 6, 1 Cor. xi. 5, xiv. 24, although nothing is said of their possessing the power of prediction, or foretelling anything concerning Paul. Since women were forbidden to teach it would seem that the prophet as such was not a teacher; Bigg, *Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 29. But whilst there is no reason to suppose that they prophesied in the church, although even Felten supposes that in Churches not founded by Paul different rules might have prevailed, they would be able to speak and to teach in private or at home especially amongst the women both Jews and Gentiles, to whom in the East men would have had no access (Luckock, *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by St. Luke*, ii., p. 214). This verse is regarded by Hilgenfeld as an addition made by the "author to Theophilus" (so Renan). Spitta however thinks that something ought to have been said as to the nature of the prophecies uttered by the four daughters, but that instead of this we have the notice of Agabus in ver. 10. He therefore believes that the "We" section was interrupted at ver. 10, and that the verses following are interpolated from his inferior source B. The reference to weeping in ver. 13 is much more natural if we presuppose the presence of women, so he therefore reads



"Αγαθος· 11. καὶ ἔλθων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἄρας τὴν ζώνην τοῦ Παύλου, δήσας<sup>1</sup> τε αὐτοῦ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, εἶπε, Τάδε λέγει τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον· Τὸν ἄνδρα οὗ ἐστιν ἡ ζώνη αὕτη, οὕτω δήσουσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ παραδώσουσιν εἰς χεῖρας ἐθνῶν. 12. ὥς δὲ ἠκούσαμεν ταῦτα, παρεκαλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἱ ἐντόπιοι, τοῦ μὴ ἀναβαίνειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. 13.<sup>2</sup> ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ Παῦλος, Τί ποιεῖτε κλαίοντες καὶ συνθρύπτοντές μου τὴν καρδίαν; ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ μόνον δεθῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ

<sup>1</sup> Instead of τε αὐτου  $\Sigma$ ABCD E, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt read εαυτου (HLP αὐτοῦ, others αὐτοῦ), see W.H., *Arb.*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup>  $\Sigma$ ABC\*E, Tisch., W.H. (omit ο).  $\Sigma$ AE add καὶ εἶπεν, so Tisch. (Wendt perhaps); but om., W.H., R.V., Weiss, after BCHLP, Bas., Chrys., D has εἶπεν δε πρὸς ἡμας ο Π., so Blass and Hilg. Instead of συνθ. D has θορυβουντες; D also reads δεθῆναι βουλομαι, but not Blass.

"they prophesied with tears over the fate of Paul" (p. 339); so somewhat similarly Jüngst (p. 177).

Ver. 10. ἡμέρας πλείους: "many days," R.V., "some" margin; literally "more days," the phrase is used vaguely with what Ramsay calls Luke's usual defective sense of time, cf. xiii. 31, xxv. 14. The phrase is also found in xxvii. 20, so that it occurs twice in the "We" sections and twice in the rest of Acts, but nowhere else in N.T., see Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 151, Klostermann, *Vindicia Lucanæ*, p. 53. Often in LXX. Weiss thinks that the phrase here, cf. ver. 4, shows that Paul had given up all idea of reaching Jerusalem for Pentecost; but see on the other hand Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 297, and Salmon, *Intro.*, p. 300: probably the Apostle had several days to spare when he reached Cæsarea, and he would naturally calculate his time differently when he had made a prosperous voyage, so that there is no contradiction with xx. 16.—προφ. ὄνομ. "A.": probably the same who is mentioned in xi. 25, since he too came from Jerusalem. It has seemed strange to Blass and to others that St. Luke mentions Agabus here so indefinitely, but in this "We" section it would seem that St. Luke refers to Agabus in this vague way because this was the first time that he had seen the prophet (unless we accept D in xi. 28). It is therefore quite unnecessary to regard the mention of his name in xi. 28 as an interpolation. Agabus is evidently enabled not only to declare the will of God, but also to predict the future.

Ver. 11. ἄρας τὴν ζώνην: the symbolic action by Agabus reminds us of

the O.T. prophets, cf. 1 Kings xxii. 11, Isa. xx. 2, Jer. xiii. 1, Ezek. iv. and v. Agabus as a dweller in Jerusalem would know something of that bitter feeling against Paul, and would wish to warn him.—παραδώσ. εἰς χ., cf. the words of our Lord, Luke ix. 44, xxiv. 7; phrase frequent in LXX both in Psalms and Prophets, cf. Eccclus. iv. 19, xi. 6; 1 Macc. iv. 30.

Ver. 12. παρεκ. ἡμεῖς: St. Luke joins in the entreaty.—ἐντόπ., i.e., the Christians of Cæsarea, including of course the inmates of Philip's house; not in LXX or Apocr., but in classical Greek.—τοῦ μὴ ἀναβ., Burton, p. 159.

Ver. 13. τί ποιεῖτε κλαί.: what do ye, weeping? (as we might say "what are you about?" etc.), cf. Mark xi. 5 (Acts xiv. 15).—συνθ.: in Attic Greek, to break, to break in pieces, and so ἀποθρύπτω is used of (1) breaking in pieces, (2) breaking in spirit, enervating τὰς ψυχάς, cf. Plat., *Rep.*, 495 E.; here συνθ. means to weaken the Apostle's purpose rather than to break his heart in sorrow.—ἐγὼ, emphatic, I for my part.—οὐ μόνον in N.T., rather than μὴ μόνον with the infinitive, Burton, p. 183.—ἐτοίμως ἔχω: the exact phrase only once elsewhere in N.T., and there used by St. Paul, 2 Cor. xii. 14 (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 5): "qui paratus est, ei leve onus est," Bengel. Ewald compares this firm determination and courage of St. Paul with our Lord's last journey to Jerusalem, cf. Luke ix. 51.

Ver. 14. ἠσυχάσαμεν: only in Luke and Paul, cf. Luke xiv. 3, Acts xi. 18. In LXX, Job xxxii. 6, Neh. v. 8.—τὸ θελ. τοῦ K., cf. Matt. vi. 10, Luke xxii. 42, and also St. Paul's own expression in

έτοιμῶς ἔχω ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. 14. μὴ πειθομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡσυχάσαμεν εἰπόντες, Τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Κυρίου γενέσθω.

15. Μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας <sup>1</sup> ἀποσκευασάμενοι ἀνεβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ. 16. συνήλθον δὲ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν ἀπὸ Καισαρείας σὺν ἡμῖν, <sup>2</sup> ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν, Μνάσωνί τινι Κυπρίῳ, ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of ἀποσ. LABELP, Tisch., Wendt, Weiss, R.V., W.H. read ἐπισ. D has ἀποταξαμένοι, so Blass in β, and Hilg. Blass proposed ἀπασπασάμενοι, but did not put in text; see Ramsay's criticism of Blass on this passage, *Expositor*, March, 1895.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of ἀγοντες κ.τ.λ. Blass in β text (following D, Syr. H. mg.) οὗτοι δε ἦγον ἡμᾶς πρὸς οὓς ξενισθῶμεν, καὶ παραγενομένοι εἰς τινα κωμὴν ἐγενομεθα παρα Μνάσωνι Κ. μαθητῇ ἀρχ. κακειθεν ἐξίοντες ἦλθομεν εἰς Ι. From the trans. given in comment. it would appear that the Cæsarean disciples accompanied Paul on a journey of no less than sixty-four miles to Jerusalem to introduce him to Mnason, who lived in the Holy City. But the improbability of this has been justly urged by Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 128 (so too Salmon, *Hermathena*, xxi., p. 239; Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 343), not only on account of the long distance, too long for one day, but also because Paul might presumably have relied upon the hospitality of private friends, already known in Jerusalem, to say nothing of the brethren referred to in ver. 17. But the β text makes Paul rest at the house of Mnason, not at Jerusalem, but at some village on the way, and the Cæsarean disciples might naturally accompany Paul to a village known to them, but not to Paul, where their fellow-disciple (Mnason) dwelt. The originality of the β text is supported not only by Belser and Zöckler, but by Holtzmann, *Th. Zs.*, p. 81, 1896, and Hilgenfeld; but, on the other hand, see Corssen, *G. G. A.*, p. 438, 1896, and Weiss, *Codex D*, p. 101; Page, *Classical Review*, pp. 318, 319 (1897), Wendt (1899), p. 342, and Schmiedel, *u. s.* Wendt cannot see why, if β text was original, it could have been altered into T.R., whereas if we note that the arrival of Paul at Jerusalem is only notified in ver. 17, the lodging with Mnason might well have been placed previously at some village on the route. But if we give the proper force to ἀνεβαίνομεν, ver. 15, the α text properly understood (as Zahn admits) implies the same fact as is brought out in β, *viz.*, that Mnason entertained the company, not at Jerusalem, but on the evening of the first day of their journey thither; ver. 15, they set about the journey; ver. 16, they lodged with Mnason on the introduction of the Cæsarean disciples; ver. 17, they came to Jerusalem, see especially Ramsay, *Expositor*, March, 1895, and his preference for the "Eastern" as against the "Western" reading (although Zöckler is still unpersuaded by Ramsay's arguments, *Greifswalder Studien*, p. 138).

xviii. 21, 1 Cor. iv. 19, xvi. 7 (Heb. vi. 3), *cf.* Mayor's note on James iv. 15 for similar phrases amongst Greeks and Romans, as also amongst Jews and Arabians, Taylor's *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 29, 95, 128, 2nd edit.

Ver. 15. ἀποσ.: A.V., "took up our carriages," but the latter word is not used now in a passive sense for luggage or *impedimenta*, as in O.T., Judg. xviii. 21, 1 Sam. xvii. 22, Isa. x. 18, *cf.* Shakes., *Tempest*, v. 1, 3: "Time goes upright with his carriage" (burden); see also Plumptre's interesting note on the word. R.V., reading ἐπιω., renders "we took up our baggage," margin "made ready our baggage," τὰ πρὸς τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν λαβόντες, Chrys., Ramsay renders "having

equipped horses," Xen., *Hell.*, v., 3, 1, and see *St. Paul*, p. 302: the journey on foot, some sixty-four miles, was scarcely probable for Paul, especially if, as it would seem from D, it was accomplished in two days. Grotius took it as = "sarcinas jumentis imponere," as if ὑποζύγια, Xen., *Hell.*, vii., 2, 18. Hackett and Rendall refer the word to the packing up of the valuable alms which St. Paul was carrying to Jerusalem, but this interpretation seems fanciful, although Hackett supposes that the contribution might have consisted in part of raiment or provisions. Belser still more curiously refers it to getting change in the current money of Palestine for the alms collected in the coin of various lands.—ἀνεβ.: imperfect,



17. ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἀσμένως<sup>1</sup> ἐδέξαντο ἡμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοί. 18. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ εἰσῆει ὁ Παῦλος σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς Ἰάκωβον, πάντες τε παρεγένοντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι. 19. καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτούς, ἐξηγεῖτο καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον ὧν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι διὰ τῆς διακονίας οὗτου. 20. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν<sup>2</sup> Κύριον· εἰπόν τε αὐτῷ, Θεωρεῖς, ἀδελφέ, πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν<sup>3</sup> Ἰουδαίων τῶν πεπιστευκότων· καὶ πάντες ζῆλωται τοῦ νόμου

<sup>1</sup> ἐδεξαντο, but **Ν**ABCE, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt ἀπεδ.

<sup>2</sup> Κυρίου, but **Θ**εον **Ν**ABCEL, Syr. Pesh., Boh., Aeth., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss.

<sup>3</sup> After μυριάδες εἰσιν ABCE, Vulg., Boh., Aeth. 13, 36, 40, W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt εν τοις Ιουδαιοις; om. in Tisch. with **Ν**\* 34\*, 95\*, 97. D, Syr. Pesh., Par., Sah., Aug. read εν τη Ιουδαια, so Blass in β text.

to denote the start on the journey (cf. viii. 25: ὑπέστρεφον, R.V.). Both A. and R.V. here render "went up," but it should be rendered "we set about the journey to Jerusalem," end of third m. j.

Ver. 16. ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισ-.: A. and R.V. render "bringing with them Mnason with whom we should lodge," but Meyer-Wendt, so Page and Rendall, render "bringing us to the house of Mnason," etc., cf. also Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 234. This is more in accordance with Codex D, on which see critical note = ἄγ. πρὸς Μνάσ. ἵνα ξενισθῶμεν παρ' αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., see Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 171, 213, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 229. Vulgate (so Erasmus, Calvin) renders "adducentes secum apud quem hospitaremur Mnasonem," but harsh, and presupposes that Mnason was at Cæsarea.—Μνάσωνι, Att. Μνήσων, in late MS., Νάσων and Ἰάσων, a name common among the Greeks, and Mnason was probably a Hellenist.—ἀρχαίῳ, cf. xv. 7, may mean that he was an early disciple, R.V., or even from the beginning, the great Pentecost, xi. 15 (Humphrey), see also Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 303; he may have been converted by his fellow-countryman Barnabas. If Blass is right in β, Acts xi. 2, he may have been a convert instructed by St. Peter (and in this sense ἀρχαῖος).

Ver. 17. There is no good reason to doubt that they were in time for the Feast; it is a legitimate inference from their tarrying at Cæsarea that they were easily able to reach Jerusalem: possibly the presence of Jews from Asia may be taken, as Rendall points out, to indicate that the time of the Feast was near at hand.—ἀσμένως: only here, significantly; omitted in ii. 41 (R.V., W.H.); 2 Macc.

iv. 12, x. 33 A, 3 Macc. iii. 15, v. 21, so in classical Greek. Even if the welcome only came, as Wendt supposes, from those who were comparatively few amongst many in Jerusalem, St. Paul found himself a brother amongst brethren.—ἐδέξ-, see on xviii. 27, ἀποδέχομαι.

Ver. 18. τῇ ἐπιούσῃ, three times in "We" sections, twice in rest of Acts; nowhere else in N.T. (in vii. 26 with ἡμέρῃ), Hawkins, u. s.—σὺν ἡμῖν: the writer thus again claims to be an eyewitness of what passed; it may well have been the occasion for the reception of the alms collected from the Churches.—Ἰάκωβον: on the authoritative position of St. James as further shown here see Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 105, and Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, p. 147. Nothing is said of the Apostles, and they may have been absent from Jerusalem on missionary work, or at least the chief of them. They would scarcely have been included under the term πρεσβ. as Wendt supposes.

Ver. 19. ἀσπαζ-: used of farewell greetings, xx. 1, xxi. 6, and of greetings on arrival, xviii. 22, xxi. 7, for its use here cf. 1 Macc. xi. 6.—ἐξηγ-, see on x. 8, etc.—καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον: "one by one," R.V., cf. Ephes. v. 33.—διακονίας, see note on vi. 1, 2.

Ver. 20. ἐδόξ-: "recte imperf. quia finis verbo εἶπαν indicatur," Blass.—θεωρεῖς: the word seems to imply that Paul had already become cognisant of the fact by his own observations in his ministerial work.—ἀδελφέ: St. Paul is recognised as an ἀδελφός not only by St. James but by the assembled elders (see also Weiss, *in loco*).—Ἰουδ-, see critical note.—μυριάδες, cf. Luke xii. 1, of a large but indefinite number (cf. 1

ὑπάρχουσι. 21.<sup>1</sup> κατηχήθησαν δὲ περὶ σοῦ, ὅτι ἀποστασίαν διδάσκεις ἀπὸ Μωσέως τοὺς κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη πάντας Ἰουδαίους, λέγων μὴ περιτέμνειν αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα, μηδὲ τοῖς ἔθεσι περιπατεῖν. 22. τί οὖν ἐστι; πάντως<sup>2</sup> δεῖ πλῆθος συνελθεῖν· ἀκούσονται γὰρ ὅτι ἐλήλυθας. 23. τοῦτο οὖν ποίησον ὃ σοι λέγομεν· εἰσὶν ἡμῖν ἄνδρες τέσσαρες εὐχὴν ἔχοντες<sup>3</sup> ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν· 24. τούτους παραλαβὼν ἀγνίσθητι σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δαπάνησον<sup>4</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ἵνα<sup>5</sup> ξυρῇσονται τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ γνῶσι πάντες ὅτι ὢν κατηχῆνται περὶ σοῦ οὐδέν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ στοιχεῖς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> D<sup>1</sup>, Gig. κατηκησαν, *diffamaverunt*, instead of κατηχηθησαν, not Blass.

<sup>2</sup> Δεῖ πλῆθος συνελθεῖν *om.* BC\* 15, 36, 137, 180, several verss., W.H., R.V. Weiss, but retained by Tisch., Blass, with  $\aleph$ AC<sup>2</sup>DEHLP, Vulg., Chrys. γαρ. *om.* R.V., W.H., Weiss.

<sup>3</sup> ἐφ' εαυτων W.H. marg., in text αφ', following  $\aleph$ B, but Weiss reads ἐφ'.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπ' αυτοῖς  $\aleph$ ACorr.BCEHLP, ἐπ' αυτοῖς, A\* 13, 27, Theodrt.; Blass in β reads εἰς αὐτοὺς with D.

<sup>5</sup> ξυρῇσονται AB<sup>3</sup>CHL, so Lach., Weiss, Blass; ξυρῇσονται  $\aleph$ B\*D<sup>2</sup>, EP, Tisch. W.H., R.V. γνῶσι HLP, Chrys.; γνῶσσονται  $\aleph$ ABCDE, W.H., Blass, Weiss Wendt, R.V.

Cor. iv. 15), referring to the number of believers not only in Jerusalem but in Judæa present in large numbers for the Feast. The word cannot refer to Jewish Christians in a wider sense, as Overbeck took it, because they would not need to be informed of Paul's teaching relative to the Mosaic law.—*ζηλωταὶ τοῦ ν.*, cf. Gal. i. 14, Tit. ii. 14, 1 Pet. iii. 13 (2 Macc. iv. 2, we have the same phrase, cf. 4 Macc. xviii. 12). The extreme party of the Pharisees prided themselves on the title "zealots of the law, zealots of God"; it was a title which St. Paul himself had claimed, Lightfoot, Gal. i. 14.

Ver. 21. κατηχήθησαν: the word seems to imply definite instruction, not merely *audierunt*, Vulgate. Hort refers to the term as implying here assiduous talking and lecturing, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 107.—ἀποστασίαν, cf. 1 Macc. ii. 15 (Σ ἀπόστασιν) when the officers of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the time of Mattathias, tried to compel the people of Modin to forsake the law and to sacrifice upon the idol altar.—μὴ περιτέμνειν: these words and those which follow were an entire perversion of St. Paul's teaching, just as his enemies gave a perverted view of the Apostle's supposed intrusion with Trophimus into the temple, ver. 29. The exemption from the Mosaic law was confined to Jewish converts, xvi. 3, 1 Cor. vii. 18.—τοῖς ἔθεσι, cf. vi. 14, xv. 1.—περιπατεῖν: only here in Luke, but often in the Epistles in this sense, cf. Mark vii. 5.

Ver. 22. τί οὖν ἐστι; cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 26, cf. vi. 3 in β text.—δεῖ πλῆθος συνελθεῖν, see critical note.—ἀκούσονται, i.e., the Judaizing Christians referred to in κατηχήθησαν, ver. 26. The words refer, not to an assembly of the whole Church, or to a tumultuary assembly, ver. 27, but to an assembly of the Judaizing Christians as above.

Ver. 23. εἰσὶν ἡμῖν, cf. xviii. 10. The four men certainly seem to have been members of the Church at Jerusalem, i.e., Jewish Christians.—εὐχὴν ἔχοντες: a temporary Nazirite vow, Num. vi. 1 ff. The length of time was optional, but thirty days seems to have been the shortest time, Jos., B.Ḳ., ii., 15, 1.—ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν, see critical note, the Nazirite vow lies upon them as an unfulfilled obligation. If we read ἀφ' it would mean him to affirm that the vow had been taken by them of their own will, on their own initiation, cf. Luke xii. 57, 2 Cor. iii. 5, John v. 19, 30, etc., see further Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* ἀπόβ, ii., 2 d, aa; and Rendall, *in loco*. Blass however renders ἐφ' "quia votum *in se* receperunt," so that it is difficult to distinguish very definitely.

Ver. 24. παραλαβὼν, cf. ver. 26, xv. 39 (xvi. 33): take in a friendly way, associate thyself with them as a companion.—ἀγνίσθητι σὺν αὐτοῖς: the advice is characteristic of the Apostle who had lived as St. James had lived, Eusebius, *H.E.*, ii., 23, and it certainly seems to demand that St. Paul should place him-



αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον φυλάσσω. 25. περὶ δὲ τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἐθνῶν ἡμεῖς<sup>1</sup> ἐπεστείλαμεν, κρίναντες μηδὲν τοιοῦτον τηρεῖν αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ φυλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς τὸ τε εἰδωλόθυτον καὶ τὸ αἷμα καὶ πνικτὸν καὶ πορνείαν. 26. Τότε ὁ Παῦλος παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας, τῇ<sup>2</sup> ἐχομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀγνισθεὶς εἰσήει εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ, ἕως οὗ προσηνέχθη ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπεστείλαμεν DACEHLP, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Chrys., Tisch., W.H. marg., R.V. text, Weiss (*cf.* xv. 20); ἀπεστείλαμεν BD 40, Syr. H., Arm., W.H. text, R.V. marg., Wendt, Blass; see Wendt, p. 346 (1899). After ἐθνῶν D, Gig., Sah. add οὐδεν ἐχουσι λεγειν προσ σε· ημεις γαρ, so Blass in β, Hilgenfeld, *Zw. Th.*, p. 382 (1896). The words in T.R. (after κρίναντες) μηδεν . . . εἰ μὴ are supported by DCEHLP, Gig., Syr. H., Chrys., so Meyer, Alford, Blass, but *om.* DAB 13, 81, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Sah., Boh., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss (Codex D, p. 103), καὶ πνικτον *om.* D, Gig., Sah., Jer., Aug.

<sup>2</sup> ἐχομένη, D has ἐπιουση; for εως ου D has οπως, but not Blass.

self on a level with the four men and take upon himself the Nazirite vow, *cf.* Num. vi. 3. The σὺν αὐτοῖς can hardly be explained otherwise. But how far the obligation of the vow extended in such a case is not clear (Edersheim, *Temple and its Services*, p. 326), and the time specified does not seem to allow for the commencement and completion of a vow on the part of the Apostle, although we cannot satisfactorily explain such expressions as the one before us, *cf.* ἡγνισμένον, xxiv. 18, on the supposition that St. Paul only associated himself with the company of the four votaries and incurred the expenses of their sacrifices. Dr. Hort suggests that the Apostle may have been himself about to offer sacrifices in the Temple in connection with some previous vow, or that in connection with the Gentile offerings which he had brought to Jerusalem and safely delivered (as it would seem) he may have proposed to offer a solemn peace-offering in the Temple, *cf.* καὶ προσφοράς, xxiv. 17, and Rom. xv. 16, *Judaistic Christianity*, pp. 109, 110; on the verb ἀγνίζω see also Hort's *First Epistle of St. Peter*, p. 87.—δαπάνησον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: "be at charges for them," R.V., spend money upon them. It was considered a meritorious act thus to defray the expenses of their sacrifices for poor Nazirites; Josephus, *Ant.*, xix., 6, 1, how King Agrippa on his arrival at Jerusalem acted thus with a view to conciliate popular favour, Edersheim, *u. s.*, p. 326, Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 519, Kypke, *Observ.*, ii., 113; *cf.* Mishna, *Nazir.*, ii., 6. J. Weiss supposed that the money would have been furnished out of the contributions brought by Paul, and that such em-

ployed for the poor members of the Jerusalem Church would have been quite in accordance with the objects for which the contributions were made; but on the other hand, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 310.—ἵνα ξυρήσ., see critical note; at the conclusion of their vow, Num. vi. 18, when the sacrifice was offered by the Nazirites, Num. vi. 14.—On the future indicative with ἵνα in N.T. in pure final clauses see Burton, p. 86, if we adopt R.V. If we read γινώσκονται, see critical note, the future is not dependent on ἵνα, "and all shall know," R.V., *viz.*, by this act of thine. On this independent future see Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 81 (1893).—καὶ αὐτὸς, *i.e.*, as well as other Jewish Christians.—στοιχεῖς: a neutral word, as the walk might be right or wrong, but here to be taken with φυλάσσω, "so walkest as to keep the law," Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, no need for "orderly".

Ver. 25. ἡμεῖς, *cf.* reading in β text, but in any case ἡμεῖς is emphatic, intimating that St. James and the Church at Jerusalem could not condemn St. Paul's attitude towards Gentile Christians, since they had themselves consented to place these Gentile Christians on a different footing from that of the born Jews who became Christians.—ἐπεστείλαμεν, see critical note, *cf.* xv. 20 (Zöckler).—μηδὲν τοιοῦτον τηρ., see critical note.—Wendt with Schürer objects to the whole reference to the Apostolic Conference, and sees in the verse the hand of a Redactor, as in xvi. 4 (see note, p. 346, edit. 1899). But the reference may well imply that St. James on his part was quite prepared to adhere to the compact entered into at the Conference with regard to

ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἢ προσφορά. 27. ὡς δὲ ἔμελλον<sup>1</sup> αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι συντελεῖσθαι, οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι, θεασάμενοι αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ;<sup>2</sup> συνέχεον πάντα τὸν ὄχλον, καὶ ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπ' αὐτόν,

<sup>1</sup> αἱ ἑπτα ημ., art. om. in E (in a text Blass brackets), D has συντελουμένης δε της εβδομης ημερας (so Blass in β text, Hilg.).

<sup>2</sup> συνεχεαν is preferred by Blass with C and some mins., who thinks that the 1st aor. is to be read here, because usually χυνω is pres. in N.T., but see, on the other hand, Wendt (1899), p. 350 (Winer-Schmiedel, p. 111). επεβαλαν ζζ' A, so W.H., Weiss (Winer-Schmiedel, p. 112). Blass in β reads επιβαλλουσιν with D, so Hilg.

Gentile Christians, and that he expects St. Paul on his side to show that he has no desire to disparage the law in the eyes of Jewish Christians.

Ver. 26. τότε ὁ Παῦλος: St. Paul's conduct was another illustration of the rule laid down for himself when writing to Corinth, cf. 1 Cor. ix. 20. This is in itself an answer to the captious criticism which doubts the truth of his action on this occasion, so amongst recent writers Hilgenfeld (1896). The vow of Acts xviii. 18 is sufficient to show us that there is no reason to suppose that the Apostle was merely acting a part in following the advice of St. James. McGiffert discusses the question at length, p. 340 ff., and concludes that the Apostle may well have done just what he is reported to have done; and further, that as a simpler explanation of Paul's arrest would have answered every purpose, the explanation given may fairly be assumed to be the true one. Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 517, also accepts the narrative as an illustration of St. Paul's own principle referred to above in 1 Cor. ix. 20, so too Wendt, J. Weiss, Pfeleiderer. It seems strange that Wesley should have gone so far in the opposite direction as to believe that the Apostle actually suffered for his compliance with the wishes of James, ver. 33, cf. *Speaker's Commentary*, in loco.—τῇ ἔχομ. ἡμέρᾳ, taken either with παραλ. or with σὺν αὐτοῖς ἄγν., so R.V.; only in Luke, cf. Luke xiii. 33, Acts xx. 15, without ἡμέρᾳ (so in Polybius); cf. xiii. 44, W. H. margin. In LXX 1 Chron. x. 8; 2 Macc. xii. 39 (1 Macc. iv. 28).—εἰσῆλθαι: according to our interpretation of the passage, the word means that Paul entered into the Temple, and stayed there for seven days with the four poor men until the period of their vow was fulfilled, Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 520; but the expression need not mean more than that he entered into the Temple to give notice, or rather, giving notice, for the convenience of the priests of the day when the vow would be ended, and the

necessary offerings brought.—διαγγέλλων: "declaring," R.V., i.e., to the priests, not *omnibus edicens* (Grotius, so Grimm), "to signify" as in A.V., makes the participle future; verb only used by St. Luke in N.T. (Rom. xi. 17, quotation from LXX), 2 Macc. i. 33 (cf. its use in the sense of publication, Ps. ii. 7, lviii. 13, cf. 2 Macc. i. 33, iii. 34, Ecclesiast. xliii. 2).—τῇν ἑκπ. τῶν ἡ. τοῦ ἁγ., i.e., the seven days, ver. 27, which remained until the period of the vow was fulfilled, when the sacrifice was offered. Others however take ἕως οὗ with εἰσῆλθαι, "he entered in . . . (and remained) until the offering," etc.—ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν: there is no need to suppose with Nösgen that these words mean that the period of the full accomplishment of the vow was different in each of the four cases—at all events the whole period of "purification" did not extend over more than seven days.

Ver. 27. αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι: it does not appear that the seven days were enjoined by the law—not even in Num. vi. 9; indeed it would appear from Jos., B. J., ii. 15, that a period of thirty days was customary before the sacrifice could be offered. The seven days cannot therefore include the whole period of the vow, although they might well include the period of the Apostle's partnership with the four men. Wendt and Weiss suppose that a reference is here made to a rule that the interval between the announcement to the priest and the conclusion of the Nazirite vow should include a period of seven days, but as there is admittedly no reference to any such ordinance elsewhere, it is precarious to depend too much upon it. It seems impossible to refer the expression to the seven days observed as the Feast of Pentecost; the article before ἑπτὰ ἡμ. refers to the "days of purification" just mentioned, see further critical note and Knabenbauer for summary of different views.—οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀ. ἰ.: "the Jews from Asia," R.V., cf. vi. 9, where we



28. κράζοντες, ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλῖται, βοηθεῖτε· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ τόπου τούτου πάντας<sup>1</sup> πανταχοῦ διδάσκων· ἔτι τε καὶ Ἑλλήνας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ<sup>2</sup> κεκοίνωκε τὸν ἅγιον τόπον τούτον. 29. (ἦσαν γὰρ προεωρακότες Τρόφιμον τὸν Ἐφέσιον ἐν τῇ πόλει σὺν αὐτῷ, ὃν<sup>3</sup> ἐνόμιζον ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἱερόν εἰσήγαγεν ὁ Παῦλος.) 30. ἐκινήθη τε ἡ πόλις ὅλη, καὶ ἐγένετο συνδρομὴ τοῦ λαοῦ· καὶ ἐπιλαβόμενοι τοῦ Παύλου, εἶλκον αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ·

<sup>1</sup> πανταχῇ  $\Sigma$ ABCDE (W.H. and Blass in  $\beta$ - $\chi\eta$ ), so Weiss; var. often in classical Greek.

<sup>2</sup> For κεκοίνωκε D<sup>1</sup> has ἐκοινωνήσεν, D<sup>2</sup> ἐκοίνωσεν, but Blass follows T.R.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνομίζον, D has ἐνομισάμεν, not Blass.

read of the Jews of Cilicia, etc., who disputed with Stephen.—*θεασάμ., cf. xxiv. 18*, where St. Paul tells us how these Jews had found him in the Temple purified, *i.e.*, with the Nazirite vow upon him, and in the act of presenting offerings—not of creating a disturbance, as his enemies alleged. These Jews, who were of course not believers, may have come from Ephesus, and were full of enmity against the Apostle for escaping them there, *cf. xx. 3*—they had come up to worship at Pentecost.—*συνέχεον*, see on ix. 22.—*ἐπέβ. τὰς χ., cf. xii. 1*.

Ver. 28. ἄνδρες Ἰσ.: the title which would remind them of the special dignity and glory of their nation, of its hopes and obligations.—*βοηθεῖτε*: as if against some outrage, or perhaps as if to apprehend Paul, or to attack him—in doing *anything* to admit the Gentiles, *ἔθνη*, to God's fold, St. Paul was exposing himself to the hatred of these unbelievers amongst his countrymen, 1 Thess. ii. 16, Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 107.—*οὗτός*: contemptuous.—*κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ*: the name for Israel, see on iv. 25, the same charge in almost the same words had been brought against St. Stephen, vi. 13; "before the Jewish authorities blasphemy was alleged, before the Roman, sedition".—*πάντας πανταχοῦ, πανταχῇ* or *-ῃ*, W.H., *cf. xvii. 30*, 1 Cor. iv. 17.—*πανταχῇ*: only here. The three words show the exaggerated nature of the charge; on St. Luke's characteristic use of *pās* and kindred words see p. 51.—*ἔτι τε καὶ*, connecting thus closely the alleged act of introducing Gentiles into the Temple with the foregoing, as an illustration that Paul did not confine himself to preaching against the Holy Place, but had proceeded to defile it by his action; but *cf. Simcox, Language of the N.T., p. 163*, "and further hath brought

Greeks *also*," *cf. xix. 27*.—Ἑλλήνας: only one man, Trophimus, had been actually seen with Paul, so that we again note the exaggerated charge, and even with regard to Trophimus, *ἐνόμιζον*, they only conjectured—they had no positive proof.—*κεκοίνωκε*: perfect, "sed manet pollutus," Blass, *in loco*, see also *Gram.*, p. 194.

Ver. 29. τὸν Ἐφέσ.: if some of these Jews, as is very probable, came from Ephesus, they would have recognised Trophimus. The latter had not only come "as far as Asia," *xx. 4*, but had evidently accompanied Paul to Jerusalem; on the statement and its bearing upon 2 Tim. iv. 20, see Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 401, and Weiss, *Die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus*, p. 354.—*προεωρακότες*: *antea videre*; in classical Greek nowhere as here, but referring to future, or space, not to past time; Blass, *in loco*, compares 1 Thess. ii. 2, Rom. iii. 9, for *πρό*.—*εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, i.e.*, from the Court of the Gentiles (into which the uncircumcised Greeks like Trophimus and others might enter) into the inner Court, open to Jews only. The punishment for such transgression by a Gentile was death, even if he was a Roman citizen, Jos., *B. J.*, vi. 2, 4. At the foot of the stair by which "the Court" in the strict sense of the word was approached there was a railing bearing notice in Greek and Latin with the prohibition and the punishment due to its violation. For one of these inscriptions discovered and published in 1871 by Clermont-Ganneau see *Revue archéologique*, xxiii., 1872, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 74, and div. ii., vol. i., p. 266. E.T. (where other references are given), Edersheim, *Temple and its Services*, p. 24, Plumptre, *Acts, in loco*, Blass, *in loco*, *cf. Jos., Ant., xv., II, 5, B. J., v., 5, 2*.

καὶ εὐθέως ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ θύραι. 31. ζητούντων δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν, ἀνέβη φάσις τῷ χιλιάρχῳ τῆς σπείρης, ὅτι ὅλη<sup>1</sup> συγκέχυται ἱεροῦσαλήμ. 32. ὃς ἐξαυτῆς<sup>2</sup> παραλαβὼν στρατιώτας καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους, κατέδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες τὸν χιλιάρχον καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἐπαύσαντο τύπτοντες τὸν Παῦλον. 33. τότε ἐγγίσας ὁ χιλιάρχος ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐκέλευσε δεθῆναι ἀλύσει δις<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> συγκέχυται **Σ**<sup>c</sup>EHLP; **συνχυννεται** **Σ**<sup>\*</sup>AB\* (συγχ.), D 13 (συνχυννεται), Vulg., Tisch., W.H., Weiss; **συνχυννεται** Wendt; **συνχυννεται** R.V., Blass (cf. Winer-Schmiedel, p. 111, W.H., *App.*, p. 172). Blass in **β**, so Hilg., adds after ἱεροῦ. **ορα** οὐν **μη** ποιῶνται **επαρ**αστασιν with Syr. H. mg.; noun not in N.T., but **επανισ**τημι, although not in Luke.

<sup>2</sup> **παραλ.** **Σ**ADEHLP, Tisch., W.H. text, R.V., Blass, Weiss, but **λαβων** B, W.H. marg.

Ver. 30. ἐκινήθη, as in vi. 12, cf. xxiv. 5.—**συνδρομή** τοῦ λ., Jud. iii. 18, 3 Macc. iii. 8, used of a tumultuous concourse of people, Arist., *Rhet.*, iii., 10, 7, Polyb., i., 67, 2.—**ἐπιλ.** τοῦ Π.: see p. 368, here of violent seizing; they wanted to get Paul outside the Temple precincts, so that the latter might not be polluted with his blood, ver. 31.—**ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ θ.**: no doubt by the Levitical guard, perhaps lest Paul should return, and so gain a place of safety in the Temple, or more probably to save the sacred precincts from any further pollution and uproar.

Ver. 31. ἀνέβη φάσις: "tidings came up," R.V., vividly, of the report which would reach the Roman officer in the tower of Antonia, overlooking and connected with the Temple at two points by stairs. The ἀνέβη seems to indicate that the writer was well acquainted with the locality. Stier supposes that a report was brought to the Roman authorities by the Christians, or the word may refer to an official report. The troops would be in readiness as always during the Festivals in case of riot, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 5, 3, *B. J.*, v., 5, 8, etc. φάσις: only here in N.T. Blass and Grimm derive it from φαίνω (in classical Greek, especially of information against smugglers, and also quite generally), but in *Susanah* ver. 55 (Theod.) φάσις is derived by some from φημί, see *Speaker's Commentary*, *in loco*, while Grimm classes it there also under the same derivation as here.—τῷ χιλ.: "military tribune," R.V. margin; his thousand men consisted of 760 infantry and 240 cavalry, cf. xxiii. 23, Blass, *in loco*. This officer who was evidently in command at Fort Antonia is called by Josephus **φρουράρχος**, *Ant.*, xv., 11, 4, xviii., 4, 3; Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 55, E.T.—τῆς

σπείρης, cf. x. 1, "cohort," R.V. margin.—**συγκέχυται**, see p. 238, and also critical note, "was in confusion," R.V., lit. (so Rhem.).

Ver. 32. ἐξαυτῆς, cf. x. 33.—**παραλ. στρ.** καὶ **ἑκατοντ.**, indicating that he thought the tumult considerable.—**κατέδραμεν ἐπ' αὐτούς**, "ran down upon them" from Antonia, so R.V. vividly; verb found only here in N.T. In Job xvi. 10 (11) A we have the verb with accusative and ἐπί.—**ἐπαύσαντο τύπτοντες** after **παύομαι**: the act or state desisted from, indicated by the addition of a present participle, frequent in Luke, cf. Luke v. 4, Acts v. 42, vi. 13, xiii. 10, xx. 31; cf. also Ephes. i. 16, Col. i. 9, so in LXX, Grimm, *sub v.*, Winer-Moulton, xlv. 4.

Ver. 33. ἐπελ. αὐτοῦ: with a hostile intention, see xvii. 19.—**δεθ.** ἀλύσει δις: as a malefactor and seditious person, ver. 38, to be guarded securely as the cause of the tumult, cf. xii. 6.—**τίς ἄν εἴη, καὶ τί ἐστὶ πεποιηκώς**: the difference in the moods in dependent sentences after **τις** may be noted: the centurion had no clear idea as to who Paul was, but he feels sure that he had committed some crime, Winer-Moulton, xlii., 46, Weiss, Wendt, *in loco*, on the other hand Page. On Luke's thus mingling the optative obliqua with direct narrative alone among the N.T. writers, Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 225 (1893).

Ver. 34. ἐβόων: if we read **ἐπεφώνουν**, see critical note, a verb peculiar to St. Luke, Luke xxiii. 21, Acts xii. 22, xxii. 24 = "shouted," R.V., cf. xix. 31.—**μη** **δυνάμ.**, see critical note.—**τὸ ἀσφαλές**: adjective, three times in St. Luke with this same shade of meaning, xxii. 30, xxv. 26 (cf. ii. 36, and Wisd. xviii. 6, ἀσφαλώς).—**παρεμ.**: the word may mean an army, Heb. xi. 34, or



καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο τίς<sup>1</sup> ἂν εἴη, καὶ τί ἐστι πεποικώς. 34. ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλο τι<sup>2</sup> ἐβόων ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ· μὴ δυνάμενος δὲ γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλὲς διὰ τὸν θόρυβον, ἐκέλευσεν ἄγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. 35. ὅτε δὲ ἐγένετο<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμούς, συνέβη βασιτάζεσθαι αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὴν βίαν τοῦ ὄχλου. 36. ἠκολούθει γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ<sup>4</sup> κράζον,<sup>5</sup> αἶρε αὐτόν.

37. μέλλων τε εἰσάγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν ὁ Παῦλος λέγει τῷ χιλιάρχῳ, Εἰ ἐξεστί μοι εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς σέ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Ἑλληνιστὶ

<sup>1</sup> τίς ἂν εἴη om. an. NABD 18, 36, 105, 180, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> ἐβόων HLP, Chrys.; ἐπεφώνουν NABDE, Tisch., W.H., etc., as above. δυναμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ (instead of δυνάμενος δὲ HLP), NAB(D)E 13, 31, 40, 68, same auth.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβ., D has εἰς (*adhuc esset in gradus d*).

<sup>4</sup> Instead of κράζον (DHLP, Syr. H., Chrys.), which seems to be a gram. emend., NABE, Syr. Pesh., Theophl., same auth. as in ver. 34 have κράζοντες.

<sup>5</sup> D *pro* αἶρε has ἀναιρεῖσθαι (Gig., Sah. add τὸν ἐχθρον ἡμῶν, cf. xxiv. 18, xxviii. 19).

the camp which it occupies (so in LXX = Heb. **הַמַּחֲנֶה** Judg. iv. 16, viii. 10, i Macc. v. 28). In this passage may = the castle itself, as A. and R.V., or perhaps the barracks in the castle. A Macedonian word according to Phryn., but see Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, pp. 15, 16, and also for its meaning here, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 55, E.T.

Ver. 35. ἐγέν. ἐπὶ, cf. ver. 17, and Luke xxiv. 22, Grimm, *sub* γίν., 5, g. ἀναβ.: the steps which led up to the fortress from the Temple area. B.Ž., v., 5, 8, describes the surroundings of the scene vividly, and the καταβάσεις which led down from Antonia to the Temple; see above on ver. 31, and O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 138.—συνέβη βασιτάζ.: the σύν is not superfluous (see Meyer-Wendt and Hackett), it indicates the peril of the situation; the pressure of the people became increasingly violent as they saw that St. Paul would escape them, and compelled the soldiers to carry him, that he might not be torn from them altogether, so that the carrying was not merely "propter angustias loci". βασιτάζ., cf. iii. 2, see Schürer, u. s.

Ver. 36. ἠκολούθει, imperfect, "kept following".—αἶρε αὐτόν: the cry was continuous; it was the same cry which had been raised against another and a greater prisoner Who had been delivered to the Romans as a malefactor,

cf. Luke xxiii. 18, John xix. 15, and also Polycarp, *Martyr*, iii., 19.

Ver. 37. παρεμβ., see on ver. 34.—εἰ, cf. i. 6.—Ἑλλή. γνώσκεις; no need to supply λαλεῖν, cf. Xen., *Cyr.*, vii., 5, 31; so in Latin, *Gracæ nescire*, Cic., *Pro Flacco*, iv., Vulgate, literally, *Gracæ nosti?*

Ver. 38. οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἰ: *mirantis est*, cf. Arist., *Av.*, 280 (Blass). Vulgate, Éras. render *Nonne tu es . . . ?* but emphasis on οὐκ "Thou art not then" (as I supposed). No doubt the false prophet to whom reference is made by Josephus. Whilst Felix was governor he gathered the people around him on the Mount of Olives to the number of 30,000, and foretold that at his word the walls of the city would fall. But Felix attacked him and the impostor fled although the majority (πλείστοι) of his followers were captured or slain, Jos., *B.Ž.*, ii., 13, 5. In another account, *Ant.*, xx., 8, 6, Josephus states that 400 were killed and 200 wounded, so that he evidently contradicts himself and his numbers are untrustworthy. For the various attempts to reconcile these different notices, cf. Krenkel, *Josephus und Lukas*, p. 243. But apart from this, there is no positive discrepancy with St. Luke. It is possible that the chiliarch as a soldier only reckoned those who were armed, whilst Josephus spoke of the whole crowd of followers. Evidently the Roman officer thought that the Egyptian had returned after his flight, and that he

γινώσκεις ; 38. οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἰ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ πρὸ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀναστατώσας καὶ ἐξαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν σικαρίων ; 39. εἶπε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος, Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰουδαῖος<sup>1</sup> Ταρσεύς, τῆς Κιλικίας οὐκ ἀσήμες πόλεως πολίτης· δέομαι δέ σου, ἐπιτρέψον μοι λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν λαόν.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of T. τῆς K. οὐκ ἀσήμες πολ. D has ἐν Ταρσῷ δε τῆς K. γεγεννημένος, so Blass in β text, and Hilg.; instead of ἐπιτρέψον D has συγχωρήσαι (cf. Gig.), so Blass in β text, and Hilg.

was now set upon by the people as an impostor (so also Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 180, note, E.T.). There is no sign whatever that St. Luke was dependent upon Josephus, as Krenkel maintains, but it is of course quite possible that both writers followed a different tradition of the same event. But St. Luke differs from Josephus in his numbers, there is no connection in the Jewish historian, as in St. Luke, between the Egyptian and the Sicarii, and whilst Josephus mentions the Mount of Olives, St. Luke speaks of the wilderness; Belser, *Theol. Quartalschrift*, pp. 68, 69, Heft i., 1896, "Egyptian, The" (A. C. Headlam), Hastings' B.D.—ὁ . . . ἀναστ. καὶ ἐξαγ.: "stirred up to sedition and led out," R.V., this rendering makes the first verb (used only in Luke and Paul) also active, as in other cases in N.T. where it occurs, Acts xviii. 6, Gal. v. 12. The verb is not known in classical writers, but cf. LXX, Dan. vii. 23, and also in the O.T. fragments, Aquila and Symm., Ps. x. 1, lviii. 11, Isa. xxii. 3 (Grimm-Thayer).—τοὺς: "the 4000," R.V., as of some well-known number.—τῶν σικαρίων: "of the Assassins," R.V. The word *sicarius* is the common designation of a number, A.V., cf., e.g., the law passed under Sulla against murderers, "*Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficis*"; so in the Mishna in this general sense, but here it is used of the Sicarii or fanatical Jewish faction (and we note that the writer is evidently aware of their existence as a political party) which arose in Judæa after Felix had rid the country of the robbers of whom Josephus speaks, *Ant.*, xx., 8, 5, B.Ÿ., ii., 13, 2, so called from the short daggers, *sicæ*, which they wore under their clothes. They mingled with the crowds at the Festivals, stabbed their political opponents unobserved, and drew suspicion from themselves by apparent indignation at such crimes, "Assassin" (A. C. Headlam), Hastings' B.D., Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 178, E.T.

Ver. 39. Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἰμι Ἰ. . . . δέομαι δέ . . . : there is no strict antithesis, "I am indeed a Jew of Tarsus" (and therefore free from your suspicion); but without speaking further of this, and proceeding perhaps to demand a legal process, the Apostle adds "but I pray you," etc. Mr. Page explains, from the position of μὲν: "I (ἐγώ) as regards your question to me, am a man (ἄνθρωπος μὲν), etc., but, as regards my question to you, I ask (δέομαι δέ . . .)," see reading in β. On St. Paul's citizenship see note below on xxii. 28. St. Paul uses ἄνθρωπος here, but ἀνὴρ, the more dignified term, xxii. 3, in addressing his fellow-countrymen; but according to Blass, "vix recte distinguitur quasi illud (ἄνθρωπος) ut ap. att. sit humilior," cf. Matt. xviii. 23, and xxii. 2.—λαλῆσαι: Blass has a striking note on Paul's hopefulness for his people, and the proof apparent here of a man "qui populi sui summo amore imbutus nunquam de eo desperare potuit," Rom. ix.-xi.—Ἰουδ., not only Ταρ., which would have distinguished him from Ἀγ., but Ἰουδ., otherwise the chiliarch from his speaking Greek might have regarded him as no Jew, and so guilty of death for profaning the Temple.—οὐκ ἀσήμες πόλεως: *litotes*, xx. 29, on Tarsus see ix. 11. The city had on its coins the titles μητρόπολις αὐτόνομος. For ἄσμεος, cf. 3 Macc. iii. 1, and in classical Greek, Eurip., *Ion*., 8. οὐκ ἄσ. Ἑλλήνων πόλις, i.e., Athens (Weststein), see further xxii. 27. Hobart (so too Zahn) mentions ἄσμεος as one of the words which show that Luke, when dealing with unprofessional subjects, shows a leaning to the use of professional language; ἄσμεος is the technical term for "a disease without distinctive symptoms," and Hippocrates, just as Luke, says, μία πόλεων οὐκ ἄσμεος, *Epis.*, 1273. So again in xxiii. 13, ἀναδιδόναι, a word applied to the distribution of nourishment throughout the body, or of blood throughout the veins, is used by Hippocrates, as by



40. Ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὁ Παῦλος ἐστὼς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν κατέσεισε<sup>1</sup> τῇ χειρὶ τῷ λαῷ· πολλῆς δὲ σιγῆς γενομένης, προσεφώνησε

<sup>1</sup> D has καὶ σεϊσας instead of κατέσεισε, not Blass; so D has ἡσυχίας instead of σιγῆς, see note in comment.

Luke, *l.c.*, of a messenger delivering a letter, *Epis.*, 1275 (see Hobart and Zahn); but it must be admitted that the same phrase is found in Polybius and Plutarch. Still the fact remains that the phraseology of St. Luke is here illustrated by a use of two similar expressions in Hippocrates, and it should be also remembered that the verb with which St. Luke opens his Gospel, ἐπιχειρεῖν, was frequently used by medical men, and that too in its secondary sense, just as by St. Luke, *e.g.*, Hippocrates begins his treatise *De Prisca Med.*, ὁκόσοι ἐπιχειρήσαν περὶ ἱατρικῆς λέγειν ἢ γράφειν (see J. Weiss on Luke i. 1); so too Galen uses the word similarly, although it must be admitted that the same use is found in classical Greek and in Josephus, *c. Apion.*, 2.

Ver. 40. ἐπιτρέψ.: because he no doubt saw that Paul's purpose was to inform and pacify the people, so that there is nothing strange in such permission to speak.—κατέσεισε, see on xii. 17. "What nobler spectacle than that of Paul at this moment! There he stands bound with two chains, ready to make his defence to the people. The Roman commander sits by to enforce order by his presence. An enraged populace look up to him from below. Yet in the midst of so many dangers, how self-possessed is he, how tranquil!" Chrys., *Hom.*, xlvii. —πολλῆς δὲ σιγῆς γεν., *cf.* Virg., *Aen.*, i., 148-152, ii., 1; but probably the phrase means not "a great silence," but rather "aliquantum silentii" (Blass), xxii. 2, *cf.* Xen., *Cyr.*, vii., 1, 25.—Ἐβραϊδὶ: in W.H. Ἑβ., see *Introd.*, 408; so as to gain the attention, and if possible the hearts, of the people, by using the language of the people, the Aramaic dialect of Palestine (Grimm-Thayer however points out that this is not rightly described as Syro-Chaldaic, it was rather Chaldee): see also Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., E.T., pp. 47, 48.

CHAPTER XXII.—Ver. 1. ἄνδρες ἀ. καὶ π., *cf.* vii. 2. So St. Stephen had addressed a similar assembly, in which had been Saul of Tarsus, who was now charged with a like offence as had been laid to the charge of the first Martyr.

Those whom he addressed were his brethren according to the flesh, and his fathers, as the representatives of his nation, whether as Sanhedrists, or priests, or Rabbis. The mode of address was quite natural, since St. Paul's object was conciliatory: τοῦτο τιμῆς, ἐκεῖνο γνησιότητος, Chrys., *Hom.*, xlvii.—ἀκούσατε: "hear from me," *cf.* John xii. 47, a double genitive of the person and thing, as in classical Greek, or "hear my defence," *cf.* 2 Tim. iv. 16.—ἀπολογίας: five times in St. Paul's Epistles, once elsewhere in Acts xxv. 16, in a strictly legal sense (*cf.* 1 Peter iii. 15). Used with the verb ἀπολογέομαι of defending oneself against a charge, Wisd. vi. 10, Xen., *Mem.*, iv., 8, 5. In 2 Macc. xiii. 26 the verb is also used of Lysias ascending the rostrum and addressing the people in defence.

Ver. 2. προσεφώνει: only in Luke and Paul, except Matt. xi. 16, *cf.* Luke vi. 13, vii. 32, xiii. 12, xxiii. 20, xxi. 40, see Friedrich, p. 29, for the frequency of other compounds of φωνεῖν in Luke.—μᾶλλον παρ. ἡσυχ.: the phrase is used similarly in Plut., *Coriol.*, 18, Dion Hal., ii., 32, and LXX, Job xxxiv. 29; on the fondness of St. Luke for σιγή, σιγᾶν, ἡσυχάζειν, and the characteristic way in which silence results from his words and speeches, or before or during the speech, see Friedrich, p. 26, *cf.* Luke xiv. 4, xv. 26, Acts xi. 18, xv. 12, Acts xii. 17, xxi. 40, and for ἡσυχάζειν, 1 Thess. iv. 11, Luke xiv. 4, Acts xi. 18, xxi. 14, so too παρέχων with accusative of the thing offered by any one, xix. 24, xxviii. 2 (xvi. 16). The verb is used only in Matt. xxvi. 10, and parallel, Mark xiv. 6, except in Luke and Paul, Luke vi. 29, vii. 4, xi. 7, xviii. 5, Acts xvi. 16, xvii. 31, and as above, and five times in St. Paul's Epistles.

Ver. 3. γεγενν. ἐν Τ., see above p. 202.—ἀνατεθ. δέ: although by birth a foreign Jew, yet brought up in Jerusalem, and so belonging to his hearers. It was important for the Apostle to emphasise this, as his close association with Jerusalem had a significant bearing on his future life. The comma best after Γαμ., so that each clause begins with a participle, but Weiss places comma after

τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ λέγων, XXII. 1. Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατέρες, ἀκούσατέ μου τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς νῦν<sup>1</sup> ἀπολογίας. 2. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ὅτι τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ προσεφώνει<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς, μᾶλλον παρέσχον ἡσυχίαν. 3. καὶ φησιν, Ἐγὼ μὲν<sup>3</sup> εἰμι ἀνὴρ Ἰουδαῖος, γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας, ἀνατεθραμμένος δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλίου, πεπαιδευμένος κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ πατρῶου νόμου, ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τοῦ Θεοῦ, καθὼς πάντες ὑμεῖς ἐστε σήμερον. 4. ὅς ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδίωξα ἄχρι θανάτου, δεσμεύων καὶ παραδιδούς εἰς φυλακὰς

<sup>1</sup> νῦν, but all good authorities νυνι.

<sup>2</sup> προσεφώνει NABP, most verss., Tisch., R.V., W.H., Wendt, Weiss; L, Syr. Harcl. have προσεφωνήσεν; whilst DEH προσφωνει, so Blass in β, and Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν om. NABDE, Vulg., Sah., Arm., Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, W.H., Blass, R.V.; Meyer retains with HLP, Boh., Syr. H., Aethutr., but it may have been added after xxi. 39. The punctuation of the verse varies considerably; W.H. have ἀνατεθ. . . . Γαμ., πεπαιδ. . . . νομον, ζηλ. . . . σήμερον; Blass has ἀνατεθ. . . . ταυτη, παρα . . . ακριβειαν, τον πατ. νομον ζηλ. (του Θεου); and Tisch. has ἀνατεθ. . . . ταυτη, παρα . . . νομον, ζηλωτης . . . σήμερον. T.R. = W.H., except comma after Θεον.

ταύτῃ (so De Wette, Hackett). Probably Paul went to Jerusalem not later than thirteen, possibly at eleven, for his training as a teacher of the law. ἀνατεθ.: only in Luke, cf. Acts vii. 20, 21, Luke iv. 16 (W.H. margin), "educated," so in classical Greek, 4 Macc. x. 2, xi. 15, but in latter passage AR τραφ. In Wisd. vii. 4 we have ἐν σπαργάνοις ἀνετρέφην (A ἀνεστρ.).—παρὰ τοὺς πόδας: the more usual attitude for teacher and taught according to the N.T. and the Talmud; according to later Talmudic tradition the sitting on the ground was not customary until after the death of Gamaliel I., J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, on Luke ii. 46; cf. also Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i, p. 326, E.T., and Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, pp. 14, 15, 2nd edit.; even if the later tradition was true, the scholar standing would still be at the feet of his teacher on his raised seat.—κατὰ ἀκρίβειαν: noun only here in N.T., but cf. xxvi. 5, "according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers," R.V., and so practically A.V. For a comment on the words cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xvii., 2, 4, *Vita*, 38, and B.Γ., ii., 8, 18. Φαρισαῖοι οἱ δοκοῦντες μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα: Eder-sheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., 314, note on ἀκρίβεια as used by Josephus and St. Paul, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 54, E.T. Whether therefore τοῦ πατ. νόμου (3 Macc. i. 23) included anything besides the Mosaic law or not, the words before us at least refer to the strictness upon which

the Pharisees prided themselves in the observance of the law. In Gal. i. 14 St. Paul speaks of being a zealot of the traditions handed down from his fathers, πατρικῶν, where the traditions are apparently distinguished from the written law, Jos., *Ant.*, xiii., 16, 2, and 10, 6; but the "oral law" which the scribes developed was apparently equally binding with the written Thorah in the eyes of the Pharisees, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., pp. 10, 11, E.T., but cf. also Lightfoot, *u. s.* The word πατρῶν would appeal to the hearts of the people, who loved the Thorah as the chief good, but St. Chrysostom's words are also to be remembered: "all this seems indeed to be spoken on their side, but in fact it told against them, since he, knowing the law, forsook it" *Hom.*, xlvii.—ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρ. τοῦ Θεοῦ: St. Paul might have called himself a zealot of the law, or a zealot of God (Lightfoot, *u. s.*), cf. 2 Macc. iv. 2, ζηλ. τῶν νόμων, sued of Phinehas, 4 Macc. xviii., 12.—καθὼς πάντες . . . σήμερον: he recognises that their present zeal was a zeal for God, as his own had been, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν, Rom. x. 2: *argumentum concilians*, Bengel.

Ver. 4. ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν, see above ix. 2.—ἄχρι θανάτου: sometimes taken to mean not that he prosecuted the Christians "unto death" (for if this was the meaning the following participles would sound feeble), but that this was his aim; ver. 20 and xxvi. 10, however, seem fully to justify the former meaning.—φυλακὰς:



ἄνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας, 5. ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς<sup>1</sup> μαρτυρεῖ μοι, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον· παρ' ὧν καὶ ἐπιστολὰς δεξάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς εἰς Δαμασκὸν ἐπορευόμην, ἄξων καὶ τοὺς ἐκείσε ὄντας δεδεμένους εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἵνα τιμωρηθῶσιν. 6. ἐγένετο δέ μοι πορευομένῳ καὶ ἐγγίζοντι τῇ Δαμασκῷ περὶ μεσημβρίαν ἐξαίφνης ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περιαστράψαι φῶς ἰκανὸν περὶ ἐμέ· 7.<sup>2</sup> ἔπεσόν τε εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ ἤκουσα φωνῆς λεγούσης μοι, Σαούλ, Σαούλ, τί με διώκεις; 8. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπεκρίθην, Τίς εἶ, Κύριε; εἶπέ τε πρὸς με, Ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὁ Ναζωραῖος ὃν σὺ διώκεις. 9. οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες τὸ μὲν φῶς ἐθεάσαντο,<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἔμβοβοι ἐγένοντο· τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι. 10. εἶπον δέ, Τί ποιήσω, Κύριε; ὁ δὲ Κύριος εἶπε πρὸς με, Ἀναστὰς πορεύου εἰς Δαμασκὸν· κακεῖ σοι λαλήθησεται περὶ πάντων ὧν τέτακταί σοι ποιῆσαι. 11. ὡς δὲ<sup>4</sup> οὐκ ἐνέβλεπον ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου, χειραγωγούμενος ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> D has μαρτυρησεῖ, so Blass in β, and Hilg.; B has μαρτυρεῖ (but Weiss and W.H. reject).

<sup>2</sup> For ἐπεσον ὩΑΒΕΗΡ have ἐπεσα, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, but Blass in β has ἐπεσον with DL, so Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> ὩΑΒΗ, Syr. P., Boh., Arm. om. καὶ ἐμφ. ἐγενοντο, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, but the reading is retained by DELP, Sah., Syr. H., Gig., so Blass in β, and Hilg.; on ἐμφ. ἐγεν. see x. 40. See Alford's note (he brackets the words).

<sup>4</sup> Blass reads ὡς δε ανεστην ουκ εβλ. with d, Syr. H. mg., Gig. ουκ ενεβλεπον, but B has ουδεν εβλεπον, so W.H. marg., Blass in β; ἐμβλεπειν not used absolutely elsewhere, B may therefore be original (Wendt).

plural, perhaps in relation to xxvi. 11, where Paul's persecuting fury extends to strange cities; usually singular.

Ver. 5. ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀρχ.: not the high priest at the time he was speaking, for that was Ananias, xxiii. 2, but rather to the high priest Caiaphas who gave him his commission to Damascus, and who may have been still alive, hence μαρτυρεῖ, present.—τοὺς ἀδελ.: the word was used by the Jews of each other, Exod. ii. 14, Deut. xv. 3, and St. Paul uses it here to show that he regarded the Jews as still his brethren, cf. Rom. ix. 3.—τοὺς ἐκείσε ὄντας, cf. xxi. 3, the adverb may imply those who had come thither only, so that refugees, not residents in Damascus, are meant, but the word may simply = ἐκεῖ, see on xxi. 3, and Winer-Moulton, liv. 7. In Hipp., *Vict. San.*, ii., 2, p. 35, we have οἱ ἐκείσε οἰκόντες.—τιμωρηθῶσιν: only here and in xxvi. 11 in N.T.: used as here in classical Greek, but in this sense more frequent in middle.

Ver. 6. περὶ μεσημ., cf. xxvi. 12, not mentioned in ix., note of a personal recollection.—ἐξαίφνης: only here in Acts

and in ix. 3, see note; twice in Luke's Gospel, only once elsewhere in N.T.; see further on xxvi. 12 note, on the three accounts of St. Paul's Conversion.—περιαστράψαι: so also in ix. 3, nowhere else in N.T., see note above, cf. xxvi. 13, περιλάμπειν (note); the supernatural brightness of the light is implied here in δόξης, ver. 11.

Ver. 7. ἔπεσον: on the form ἔπεσα W.H. see Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, p. 159, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 111.—ἔδαφος: only here in N.T. (in LXX, 1 Kings vi. 15, Wisd. xi. 5, etc., and in 4 Macc. vi. 7, πίπτων εἰς τὸ ἔδ.), but the verb ἐδαφίζειν is found in Luke xix. 44, and there only in N.T.—ἤκουσα φωνῆς, see on ix. 4 and 7, cf. Dan. x. 6-9.—Σαούλ, Σαούλ, as in ix. 4, see note on xxvi. 14 (and cf. reading in β text).

Vv. 8 and 9. See on ix. 5 and ix. 4, 7, 9.—ἐμφ. ἐγέν., see critical note.

Ver. 11. οὐκ ἐνέβλεπον, cf. Xen., *Mem.*, iii., 11, 10, here absolute, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*: chap. ix., 8, gives the fact of the blindness, here we have its cause as from St. Paul's personal remini-

τῶν συνόντων μοι ἦλθον εἰς Δαμασκόν. 12. Ἀνανίας δέ τις, ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὸν νόμον, μαρτυρούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν κατοικούντων Ἰουδαίων, 13. ἔλθων πρὸς με καὶ ἐπιστὰς εἶπέ μοι, Σαοὺλ ἀδελφέ, ἀνάβλεψον. κἀγὼ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ<sup>2</sup> ἀνέβλεψα εἰς αὐτόν. 14. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν προεχειρίσατό σε γινῶναι τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἰδεῖν τὸν δίκαιον, καὶ ἀκοῦσαι φωνῇ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ. 15. ὅτι ἔση μάρτυς αὐτῷ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὧν ἑώρακας καὶ ἤκουσας. 16. καὶ νῦν τί μέλλεις; ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> εὐλαβης for ευσ. B<sup>h</sup>L<sup>h</sup>P, Chrys., Theophl., Tisch., W.H., Wendt, Weiss, Blass.

<sup>2</sup> After ἀνέβλεψα Blass in β omits εἰς αὐτον, so d, Sah., Hilg. (Schmiedel also omits), but see Wendt, note, p. 355 (1899).

scence.—δόξης: Heb. דָּבָר cf. 1 Cor.

xv. 40, 2 Cor. iii. 7, and Luke ix. 31.

Ver. 12. Ἀναν., ix. 10. The description is added, ἀνὴρ εὐ. ἰ., manifestly fitting before a Jewish audience, and a proof that the brother who came to Saul was no law-breaker, Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 146. On the reading εὐλαβής, cf. ii. 5.—τῶν κατοικ.: seems to imply that Ananias had dwelt for some time in Damascus, ix.

Ver. 13. ἐπιστὰς: "standing over one," used frequently in Acts of the appearance of an angel, or of the intervention of a friend (or of an enemy), see Luke ii. 9, iv. 39, x. 40, xii. 7, xxiv. 4, only found in Luke and Paul, Friedrich, p. 42, see above xii. 7. μαρτ., vi. 3. ἀδελφέ, ix. 17.—ἀνάβλεψον . . . ἀνέβλ. εἰς αὐτόν: "receive thy sight, and in that very hour I recovered my sight and looked upon him," R.V. margin. ἀναβλέπειν may mean (1) to recover sight, ix. 17, 18, or (2) to look up, Luke xix. 5, but used frequently as if combining both meanings, Humphry on R.V., and Page, *in loco*. Meyer and Zöckler render "to look up" in both clauses.—αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ, see note on xvi. 18.

Ver. 14. ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατ. ἡμῶν: again a conciliatory phrase, cf. vii. 32, so St. Peter in iii. 13, v. 30.—προεχειρ.: "hath appointed," only in Acts in N.T., iii. 20, and in xxvi. 16, again used by Paul in narrating his conversion and call. In LXX, cf. Exod. iv. 13, Josh. iii. 12, 2 Macc. iii. 7, viii. 9, always with the notion of some one selected for an important duty (Lumby): to which may be added Dan., LXX, iii. 22 (see H. and R.), cf. note on iii. 20.—τὸν δίκαιον, see on iii. 14, and vii. 52.—φ. ἐκ τοῦ στ.: "a voice from his mouth," R.V., so Rhem., as the Apostle heard it at his conversion. στ. is often used in phrases of a Hebra-

istic character, so here fitly by Ananias, cf. xv. 7.

Ver. 15. μάρτυς αὐτῷ: "a witness for him," R.V., cf. i. 8.—πάντας ἀνθ.: we may see another evidence of the Apostle's tact in that he does not yet employ the word ἔθνη.—ὧν ἑώρακας καὶ ἤκουσας, Blass well compares for the former verb the Apostle's own words, 1 Cor. ix. 1; perfect tense, marks what was essential in giving him enduring consecration as an Apostle, cf. Blass, *Gram.*, p. 237.

Ver. 16. καὶ νῦν: so by St. Paul in xx. 22, 25, xxvi. 6, xvi. 37, xiii. 11; also found in iii. 17, x. 5, but no instances in Luke's Gospel of καὶ νῦν beginning a sentence, Hawkins, *Horæ Synoptica*, p. 145.—τί μέλλεις: only here in this sense in N.T., cf. 4 Macc. vi. 23, ix. 1, and so often in classical Greek, Aesch., *Prom.*, 36, etc.—ἀναστὰς, see v. 17.—βάπτισαι: middle voice (so perhaps in 1 Cor. x. 2, W.H. text, but passive in margin, as Blass), as a rule naturally in the passive, "to be baptised," cf. ix. 18, but the convert in "getting baptised" was conceived as doing something for himself, not merely as receiving something (Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, pp. 97, 98), so apparently Blass, *Gram.*, p. 182, or the middle may mean that he submitted himself to Christian Baptism, Bethge, p. 197, and Alford.—ἀπόλουσαι: also middle, cf. ii. 38, and 1 Cor. vi. 11, the result of the submission to Baptism, Tit. iii. 5, Ephes. v. 26.—ἐπικαλ., cf. p. 81, on the significance of the phrase. This calling upon the name of Christ, thus closely connected with Baptism and preceding it, necessarily involved belief in Him, Rom. x. 14. There is no contradiction in the fact that the commission to the Apostleship here and in ix. comes from Ananias, whilst in xxvi. he is not men-



λουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου, ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Κυρίου. 17. ἐγένετο δέ μοι ὑποστρέφαντι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ προσευχομένου μου ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, γενέσθαι με ἐν ἑκστάσει, 18. καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν λέγοντά μοι, Σπεῦσον καὶ ἔξελθε ἐν τάχει ἐξ Ἱερουσαλήμ· διότι οὐ παραδέχονται σου τὴν μαρτυρίαν περὶ ἐμοῦ. 19. καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον, Κύριε, αὐτοὶ ἐπίστανται, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἤμην φυλακίζων καὶ δέρων κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς τοὺς πιστεύοντας ἐπὶ σέ· 20. καὶ ὅτε<sup>3</sup> ἐξεχείτο τὸ αἷμα Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἤμην ἐφεστὼς καὶ συνευδοκῶν τῇ<sup>4</sup> ἀναίρεσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ φυλάσσων τὰ ἱμάτια τῶν ἀναιρούντων

<sup>1</sup> Instead of K. **Ν**ABE, verss., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg. have αὐτου.

<sup>2</sup> ἰδεῖν ABEHLP, Vulg., Chrys., Lach., W.H., Weiss; Tisch. after **Ν** 18, 36, 180, d has ἰδον (εἶδον, so Blass in β, and Hilg.).

<sup>3</sup> Instead of ἐξεχείτο **Ν**AB\*. W.H., Weiss, Wendt have ἐξεχυννέτο; Blass -υνέτο with B<sup>3</sup>E. Στεφ. om. A 68, but no other authorities.

<sup>4</sup> τῇ ἀναίρεσει αὐτου om. **Ν**ABE 40, Vulg., Sah., Boh., Aethur.; Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; cf. viii. 1.

tioned at all, and the commission comes directly from the mouth of the Lord. It might be sufficient simply to say "quod quis per alium facit id ipse fecisse putatur," but before the Roman governor it was likely enough that the Apostle should omit the name of Ananias and combine with the revelation at his conversion and with that made by Ananias other and subsequent revelations, cf. xxvi. 16-18. Festus might have treated the vision to Ananias with ridicule, Agrippa would not have been influenced by the name of a Jew living in obscurity at Damascus (*Speaker's Commentary*).

Ver. 17. ἐγέν. δέ μοι ὑποσ.: refers to the first visit of St. Paul to Jerusalem after his Conversion, Lightfoot, *Galatians*, pp. 84, 93, 125. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 60, refers it to the second visit, (1) because the reason for Paul's departure from Jerusalem is given differently here and in ix. 29. But may not St. Luke be describing the occurrence in relation to the Jews and the Church, and St. Paul in relation to his own private personal history, St. Luke giving us the outward impulse, St. Paul the inner motive (Hackett), so that two causes, the one natural, the other supernatural, are mentioned side by side? cf. Acts xiii. 2-4 (so Lightfoot, Felten, Lumby). (2) Ramsay's second reason is that Paul does not go at once to the Gentiles, but spends many years of quiet work in Cilicia and Antioch, and so the command of the vision in vv. 20, 21 is

not suitable to the first visit. But the command to go to the Gentiles dates from the Apostle's Conversion, quite apart from the vision in the Temple, cf. ix. 15, xxvi. 17, and the same commission is plainly implied in xxii. 15; the words of the command may well express the ultimate and not the immediate issue of the Apostle's labours. On ἐγέν. δέ, Luke seventeen times, Acts twenty-one, and ἐγέν. followed by infinitive, see Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 30, and Plummer's *St. Luke*, p. 45. For the reading in xii. 25, ὑπέστ. εἰς 'Ι., and its bearing on the present passage see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 63, 64, and also above, xi. 29, xii. 25. —προσευχ. . . . τῷ ἱερῷ: there was a special reason for the mention of the fact before St. Paul's present audience; it showed that the Temple was still for him the place of prayer and worship, and it should have shown the Jews that he who thus prayed in the Temple could not so have profaned it, Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., p. 146.—ἐν ἑκστάσει, x. 10. For the construction see Burton, p. 175, Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 58, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 247.

Ver. 18. σπεῦσον καὶ ἔξ.: implying danger, cf. ix. 29.—σου μαρτ.: grounded upon the occurrence before Damascus, and so a striking testimony.

Ver. 19. Κύριε, ix. 5.—αὐτοὺς ἐπίστ.: Paul seems as it were to plead with his Lord that men cannot but receive testimony from one who had previously been an enemy of Jesus of Nazareth; the words

αὐτόν. 21. καὶ εἶπε πρὸς με, Πορεύου, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰς ἔθνη μακρὰν ἐξαποστελῶ<sup>1</sup> σε.

22. Ἦκουον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄχρι τούτου τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἐπήραν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν λέγοντες, Αἶρε ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τὸν τοιοῦτον· οὐ γὰρ καθῆκον<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν ζῆν. 23. κραυγαζόντων δὲ<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν, καὶ ῥιπτούντων

<sup>1</sup> ἐξαποστελῶ, but W.H. marg. ἀποστελῶ, so B; D has ἐξαποστελλῶ, but Blass in β = T.R.

<sup>2</sup> καθῆκον, D<sup>2</sup>, but καθῆκεν ΞABCDEHLP (Blass). Other var. καθῆκει, καθῆκαν in minsc. show imperf. not understood.

<sup>3</sup> After κραυγαζ. τε is read by Lach., W.H., Weiss, Wendt with ABC, Syr. P., Aeth., but Tisch. with T.R. keeps δε, so ΞDEHLP, Vulg., Boh., Syr. H., Arm., Chrys.

too are directed to his hearers, so that they may impress them with the strength of the testimony thus given by one who had imprisoned the Christians.—*δέρων*: on the power of the Sanhedrim outside Jerusalem see on p. 151.—*κατὰ τὰς συν.*, cf. viii. 3, xx. 20, and for such punishments in the synagogues cf. Matt. x. 17, xxiii. 34, Mark xiii. 9, Luke xxi. 12, cf. Luke xii. 11, Edersheim, *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 374.

Ver. 20. τοῦ μ. σου: he identifies himself with Stephen, his testimony like that of the martyr is borne to Christ; on the word see p. 67; the term is here in a transition stage from "witness" to "martyr," cf. also Rev. xvii. 6: Hackett quotes the Christians of Lyons, towards the close of the second century, refusing to be called "martyrs" because such an honourable name only belonged to the true and faithful Witness, or to those who had sealed their testimony by constancy to the end, and they feared lest they should waver: Euseb., *Hist.*, v., 2.—*καὶ αὐτὸς*, cf. viii. 13, xv. 32, xxi. 24, xxiv. 15, 16, xxv. 22, xxvii. 36, here it is placed in sharp contrast to the preceding words about Stephen (with whose witness he was now identified). On *καὶ αὐτὸς* as characteristic of Luke in his Gospel and Acts see Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*, p. 33, as compared with its employment by the other Synoptists, sometimes it is inserted with emphasis, Plummer on Luke i. 16.—*συνευδ.*, see note on viii. 1.

Ver. 21. εἰς ἔθνη: the mere mention of the Gentiles roused their fury, and they saw in it a justification of the charge in xxi. 28; the scene closely resembled the tumultuous outburst which led to the murder of St. Stephen.

Ver. 22. ἐπήραν τὴν φ., see on ii. 14.—*αἶρε*, cf. xxi. 36, emphasised here by

ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; present tense, a continuous cry.—*καθῆκον*: only used by St. Paul elsewhere in N.T., cf. Rom. i. 28. The imperfect, *καθῆκεν*, see critical note, implies that long ago he ought to have been put to death "for it was not fit," etc., *non debebat* (or *debuerat*) *vivere*, Winer-Moulton, xli. 2. *καθ.* = *προσῆκον* Att. In LXX, Deut. xxi. 17, Ezek. xxi. 27 (32), and other passages, also several times in Books of Macc. (see H. and R.). For construction cf. Burton, p. 15.

Ver. 23. *κραυγαζόντων δὲ* (τε, Weiss, Wendt, W.H.), only here in Acts (cf. Luke iv. 41, but doubtful: W.H. read *κράζοντα*), six times in St. John, and four times in his narrative of the Passion of the cries of the Jewish multitude, cf. especially xix. 15, so too in 2 Esdras iii. 13, in classical Greek rare (Dem.), used by Epict., *Diss.*, iii., 4, 4, of the shouts in the theatres.—*ῥιπτ. τὰ ἱμάτια*: not throwing off their garments as if preparing to stone Paul (for which Zöckler compares vii. 58, and see Plato, *Rep.*, 474 A), for the fact that the Apostle was in the custody of the Romans would have prevented any such purpose. The verb may be used as a frequentative, *ῥιπτύν*, *jactare*, *ῥίπτειν*, *jacere*, while some of the old grammarians associate with it a suggestion of earnestness or effort, others of contempt, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* (for the form in LXX cf. Dan., Theod., ix., 18, 20). The word here rather means "tossing about their garments," a manifestation of excitement and uncontrollable rage, cf. Ovid, *Am.*, iii., 2, 74, and also instances in Wetstein, cf. Chrys., who explains *ῥιπτάζοντες*, *ἐκτινάσσοντες*. Dean Farrar refers to *Pal. Expln. Fund.*, 1879, p. 77, for instances of the sudden excitability of Oriental crowds, and for similar illustrations see Hackett, *in loco*.—*κοινοῦ τὸν βαλλ.*: best taken as



τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ κονιορτὸν βαλλόντων εἰς τὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀέρα, 24. ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν ὁ χιλιάρχος ἄγεσθαι εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, εἰπὼν μαστίξιν ἀνετάζεσθαι αὐτάν, ἵνα ἐπιγῶ δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὕτως ἐπεφώνουν αὐτῷ. 25. ὥς δὲ<sup>2</sup> προέτεινεν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἱμάσιν, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν ἐστῶτα ἑκατόνταρχον ὁ Παῦλος, Εἰ ἄνθρωπον Ῥωμαῖον καὶ ἀκατάκριτον ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν μαστίξιν; 26. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος, προσελθὼν ἀπήγγειλε τῷ χιλιάρχῳ λέγων,<sup>3</sup> Ὅρα τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν· ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ῥωμαῖός ἐστι. 27. προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ χιλιάρχος

<sup>1</sup> Instead of αερα D, Gig., Syr. P., Cassiod. have ουρανον, so Blass in β. ριπτοντων in DEHL, Blass, Hilg., but text NABC, all edd.

<sup>2</sup> προτειναν NBL, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass in β, Hilg.; AE 68 have προτεινον; CD 40, 137, προσετειναν; P 31, προτεινεν, plural changed into sing. ο χ. λ. regarded as still the subject.

<sup>3</sup> ora before τι om. NABCE, Vulg., Syrr. P.H., Boh., Arm., Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, but retained by Blass with DHLP. After εκατον. Blass in β, and Hilg. add οτι Ρωμαιον εαυτον λεγει with D, Gig., Wern.

another sign of the same rage and fury, a similar demonstration; this is preferable to the supposition that they threw dust into the air to signify that they would throw stones if they could. εἰς τὸν ἀέρα seems to imply the interpretation adopted; the dust could scarcely have been aimed at Paul, for he was out of reach; but see 2 Sam. xvi. 13.

Ver. 24. ὁ χιλ., see xxi. 31.—παρεμ., xxi. 34.—εἰπὼν: whether the chiliarch understood Paul's words or not, he evidently saw from the outcries of the mob that the Apostle was regarded as a dangerous person, and he probably thought to obtain some definite information from the prisoner himself by torture.—μαστίξιν, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 1, 4 Macc. vi. 3, ix. 12, etc., and 1 Kings xii. 11, Prov. xxvi. 3, and in N.T., Heb. xi. 36; the Roman scourging was a terrible punishment; for its description cf., e.g., Keim, *Geschichte Jesu*, iii., p. 390 (for Jewish scourgings see Farrar, *St. Paul*, ii., Excurs., xi.).—ἀνετάζεσθαι: not found in classical Greek, but ἐξετάζεσθαι used specially of examination by torture. It is found in the active voice in Judg. vi. 29 A, and Susannah, ver. 14.—ἐπεφ.: "shouted against him," R.V., see on xxi. 34, and 3 Macc. vii. 13—only here with dative.

Ver. 25. προέτειναν: "and when they had tied him up with the thongs," R.V., i.e., with the ligatures which kept the body extended and fixed while under flogging; Vulgate, "cum astrinxissent eum loris"; but προέ. is rather "stretched him forward with the thongs," i.e., bound him to a pillar or post in a tense posture for receiving the blows, see critical note.

Blass takes προέτειναν as an imperfect, cf. xxviii. 2.—τοῖς ἱμάσιν: referring to the thongs usually employed for so binding, and this seems borne out by ver. 29 δεδεκώς: not "for the thongs," as in R.V. margin, so Lewin, Blass, Weiss and others, as if = μαστίξ. Grimm admits that the word may be used either of the leathern thongs with which a person was bound or was beaten, but here he prefers the latter.—τὸν ἐστῶτα ἑκατόν: the centurion who presided over the scourging, just as a centurion was appointed to be in charge over the execution of our Lord; on the form ἑκατόν, only here in Acts, see Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 30, and see Moulton and Geden, *sub v. -άρχης*, and above on x. 1.—εἰ: "interrogatio subironica est, confidentiæ plena," Blass (so Wendt).—καί: "and that too," δύο τὰ ἐγκλήματα· καὶ τὸ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ τὸ Ῥωμαῖον ὄντα, Chrys., cf. xvi. 37. The torture was illegal in the case of a Roman citizen, although it might be employed in the case of slaves and foreigners: Digest. Leg. 48, tit. 18, c. 1. "Et non esse a tormentis incipiendum Div. Augustus constituit." At Philippi St. Paul had probably not been heard in his protests on account of the din and tumult: "nunc quia illi negotium est cum Romanis militibus, qui modestius et gravior se gerebant, occasione utitur" Calvin.

Ver. 26. ὅρα, see critical note.—τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν, cf. 2 Macc. vii. 2 R, τί μέλλεις ἐρωτᾶν;—ὁ γὰρ ἄν. οὗτος, on St. Luke's fondness for οὗτος in similar phrases, Friedrich, pp. 10, 89.

Ver. 28. πολλοῦ κεφ., cf. LXX, Lev.

εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Λέγε μοι,<sup>1</sup> εἰ σὺ Ῥωμαῖος εἶ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη, Ναί. 28.  
ἀπεκρίθη<sup>2</sup> τε ὁ χιλιάρχος, Ἐγὼ πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου τὴν πολιτείαν  
ταύτην ἐκτησάμην. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔφη, Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι.  
29. εὐθὺς οὖν ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ μέλλοντες αὐτὸν ἀνετάζειν.  
καὶ ὁ χιλιάρχος δὲ ἐφοβήθη, ἐπιγινούς ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστι, καὶ ὅτι ἦν  
αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> δεδεκώς.

<sup>1</sup> εἰ before συ om.  $\Sigma$  ABCDEH, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> In ver. 28 D reads καὶ ἀποκριθεὶς ο χ. εἶπεν· ἐγὼ οἶδα ποσὸν κεφ., so Blass in  $\beta$ , with Bede, so Hilg. (adding γὰρ after ἐγὼ). Alford thinks possibly original, πολλοῦ being a gloss. After εἶπεν above, Blass in  $\beta$  adds (before ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα) οὕτως ευχερῶς Ῥωμαῖον σεαυτὸν λειγεις; on the authority of Bede *tam facile dicis civ. R. esse?* Cod. Dubl. (Berger) *quam facile*, so Boh. (Tisch.); Belser, p. 126, defends for vividness and clearness, but neither ευχερῶς or ευχερης occur in N.T. although both are classical, and each occurs in LXX.

<sup>3</sup> After δεδ. 137, Syr. H. mg., Sah. add καὶ παραχρημα ἔλυσεν αὐτον, so Blass and Hilg. (but see Wendt, p. 51 (1899), regards as secondary).

v. 24 (vi. 4), Num. v. 7; Jos., *Ant.*, xii., 2, 3 (used by Plato of capital (*caput*) as opposed to interest). Mr. Page compares the making of baronets by James I. as a means of filling the exchequer.—τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην: "this citizenship," R.V., *jus civitatis*, cf. 3 Macc. iii., 21, 23, so in classical Greek. Probably A.V. renders "freedom" quite as we might speak of the freedom of the city being conferred upon any one. On the advantages of the rights of Roman citizenship see Schürer, div. ii., vol. ii., pp. 277, 278, E.T., and "Citizenship," Hastings' B.D.—ἐκτησάμην: Dio Cassius, lx., 17, tells us how Messalina the wife of Claudius and the freedmen sold the Roman citizenship, and how at one time it might be purchased for one or two cracked drinking-cups (see passage in full in Wetstein, and also Cic., *Ad Fam.*, xii., 36). Very probably the Chiliarch was a Greek, Lysias, xxiii. 26, who had taken the Roman name Claudius on his purchase of the citizenship under the emperor of that name.—ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι: "but I am a Roman even from birth": "item breviter et cum dignitate," Blass. St. Paul's citizenship of Tarsus did not make him a Roman citizen, otherwise his answer in xxi. 39 would have been sufficient to have saved him from the present indignity. Tarsus was an *urbs libera*, not a *colonia* or *municipium*, and the distinction made in Acts between the Roman and Tarsian citizenship of Paul is in itself an additional proof of the truthfulness of the narrative. How his father obtained the Roman citizenship we are not told; it

may have been by manumission, Philc. *Leg. ad C.*, 23, or for some service rendered to the state, Jos., *Vita*, 76, or by purchase, but on this last supposition the contrast here implied would be rendered less forcible. However the right was obtained, it is quite certain that there is nothing strange in St. Paul's enjoyment of it. As early as the first century B.C. there were many thousands of Roman citizens living in Asia Minor; and the doubts raised by Renan and Overbeck are pronounced by Schürer as much too weak in face of the fact that it is precisely in the most trustworthy portion of Acts that the matter is vouched for.

Ver. 29. καὶ . . . δὲ, cf. iii. 24, Luke ii. 35, Matt. x. 18, xvi. 18, John vi. 51, xv. 27, Rom. xi. 23, 2 Tim. iii. 12, and other instances, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, δέ, 9.—ἐφοβήθη, cf. xvi. 38, and the magistrates of Philippi. He seems to have broken two laws, the *Lex Porcia* and the law mentioned above, ver. 26.—ἐπιγ. δτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστι: the punishment for pretending to be a Roman citizen was death, and therefore St. Paul's own avowal would have been sufficient, Suet., *Claudius*, 25.—δτι ἦν αὐτὸν δεδεκώς: on the construction usual in Luke see i. 10. The words may be best referred to the binding in ver. 25 like a slave; this is more natural than to refer them to xxi. 33. If this latter view is correct, it seems strange that Paul should have remained bound until the next day, ver. 30. No doubt it is quite possible that the Apostle's bonds were less severe after the chiliarch was aware of his Roman



30. Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον βουλόμενος γνῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές, τὸ τί κατηγορεῖται<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἔλυσεν αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν<sup>3</sup> ἔλθειν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ<sup>4</sup> ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν· καὶ

<sup>1</sup> παρα, but υπο HABCE, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπο τῶν δεσμῶν, explanatory gloss, om. HABCE, verss., Chrys., W.H., R.V.

<sup>3</sup> συνελθῆναι HABCE, Vulg., Sah., Chrys., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Blass; συν prob. lost after -σεν.

<sup>4</sup> παν το συνέδρ. (instead of ὅλον τ. σ. αὐτῶν), so HABCE, verss., Chrys., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss.

citizenship, and that the later notices, xxiii. 18, xxiv. 27, xxvi. 29, xxvii. 42, may contrast favourably with xxi. 33.

Ver. 30. τὸ τί κατηγ. παρὰ τῶν Ἰ.: epexegetical of τὸ ἀσφαλές, cf. iv. 21 for the article, and Luke i. 62, ix. 46, xix. 48, xxii. 2, 4, 23, 24, 37, also 1 Thess. iv. 1, Rom. viii. 26, Matt. xix. 18, Mark ix. 10, 23. The usage therefore is more characteristic of St. Luke than of the other Evangelists, Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 67 (1893), Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticae*, p. 38.—παρὰ, if retained, cf. Winer-Moulton, xlvi., 5 b, who takes it to mean "on the part of the Jews," i.e., they had not as yet presented any accusation.—ἔλυσεν αὐτὸν: according to ver. 29 it looks as if the chiliarch immediately he knew of St. Paul's Roman citizenship released him from his severe bondage. Overbeck, Weiss, Holtzmann therefore refer τῇ ἐπαύριον only to βουλ. γνῶναι, and not to ἔλυσεν and ἐκέλευσεν, but the order of the words cannot be said to favour this, and Wendt (1899) rejects this interpretation. The words may possibly mean that he was released from the *custodia militaris* in which he had been placed as a Roman citizen, although he had been at once released from the chains, cf. xxi. 33. In ver. 10 of the next chapter he apparently stands before the Council not in any way as a prisoner, but as one who stood on common ground with his accusers.—καταγ., i.e., from Antonia. — συν(ελθεῖν) . . . τὸ συν. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 190, E.T., contends that the Council probably met upon the Temple Mount itself; it could not have been within the Temple, or we could not account for the presence of Lysias and his soldiers (see also Schürer, *u. s.*, p. 191, note), but cf. on the other hand for the place of meeting, O. Holtzman, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 176, and also the remarks of Eder-sheim, *Hist. of the Jewish Nation*, p. 131. Hilgenfeld, *Zw. Th.*, p. 517

ff. (1896), so Wendt, Clemen, Jüngst, J. Weiss and Spitta regard the whole scene before the Sanhedrim as an interpolation extending from xx. 30-xxiii. 10. But most of the objections to the passage may be classed as somewhat captious, e.g., objection is taken to the fact that on the second night of his imprisonment St. Paul is assured by Christ that he should testify at Rome, xxiii. 11; why should such a communication be delayed to the second night of the imprisonment? it belongs to the first night, just as we reckon dreams significant which occur in the first night of a new dwelling-place! So again it is urged that the vision of the Lord would have had a meaning after the tumult of the people in xxii., but not after the sitting of the Sanhedrim in xxiii. But if ver. 10 is retained there was every reason for Paul to receive a fresh assurance of safety. In xxiii. 12-35 we have again Hilgenfeld's source C, and in this too Hilgenfeld finds a denial of the preceding narrative before the Sanhedrim, on the ground that Paul's trial is not represented as having taken place, but as only now in prospect. But vv. 15, 20 may fairly be interpreted as presupposing a previous inquiry, unless we are to believe, as is actually suggested, that ἀκριβέστερον may have prompted the author of Acts to introduce the account of a preceding hearing.

CHAPTER XXIII.—Ver. 1. ἀτενίσας, see on chap. i. 10, "looking stedfastly," R.V. The word denotes the fixed stedfast gaze which may be fairly called a characteristic of St. Paul. On this occasion the Apostle may well have gazed stedfastly on the Council which condemned Stephen, and although many new faces met his gaze, some of his audience were probably familiar to him. There is no need to suppose that the word implied weakness of sight (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 38).—ἀνδ. ἀδελ.: the omission of πατέρες suggests that he

καταγαγὼν τὸν Παῦλον ἔστησεν εἰς αὐτούς. XXIII. 1. 'Ατενίσας δὲ ὁ Παῦλος τῷ συνεδρίῳ εἶπεν, "Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδῆσαι ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας. 2. ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας ἐπέταξε τοῖς παρεστώσιν αὐτῷ τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ

addressed the assembly not as judges but as fellow-countrymen. On ἀδελ. see on i. 15. It is of course possible, as Chrysostom observes, that he did not wish to appear *εὐκαταφρόντος* before the chiliarch.—*συνειδήσει*: the word occurs no less than thirty times in N.T., R.V., so also in John viii. 9, but 1 Cor. viii. 7, *συνηθείς*, R.V., and of these no less than twenty times in St. Paul's Epistles, twice in Acts, on both occasions by St. Paul, three times in 1 Peter, and five times in Hebrews. It may therefore be almost reckoned as a Pauline word. It does not occur at all in the Gospels (but cf. John viii. 9), but it need hardly be said that our Lord distinctly appeals to its sanction, although the word is never uttered by Him. The N.T. writers found the word ready to their use. In Wisd. xvii. 10 (11) we have the nearest anticipation of the Christian use of the word, whilst it must not be forgotten that it first appears at least in philosophical importance amongst the Stoics. (In Eccles. x. 20 it is used but in a different sense, and in Eccles. xlii. 18, but in the latter case the reading is doubtful, and if the word is retained, it is only used in the same sense as in Eccles. x. 20.) It is used by Chrysippus of Soli, or Tarsus, in Cilicia, Diog. Laert., vii. 8, but not perhaps with any higher meaning than self-consciousness. For the alleged earlier use of the word by Bias and Periander, and the remarkable parallel expression ἀγαθῇ συνειδήσει attributed to the latter, see W. Schmidt, *Das Gewissen*, p. 6 (1889), and for two quotations of its use by Menander, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*; cf. also Davison, *The Christian Conscience* (Fernley Lectures), 1888, sec. ii. and vi.; Cremer, *Wörterbuch*, *sub v.*; Sanday and Headlam, Rom. ii. 15, and for literature "Conscience," Hastings' B.D. For the scriptural idea of the word cf. also Westcott, additional note, on Heb. ix. 9.—*πεπολ.*: however loosely the word may have been used at a later date, it seems that when St. Paul spoke, and when he wrote to the Philippians, it embraced the public duties incumbent on men as *members of a body*, Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 137, Lightfoot on Phil. i. 27 (iii. 20), cf.

Jos., *Vita*, ii. St. Paul was a covenant member of a divine πολιτεία, the commonwealth of God, the laws of which he claims to have respected and observed. The word is also found in LXX, Es. viii. 13 (H. and R.), 2 Macc. vi. 1, xi. 25, and four times in 4 Macc. Lightfoot, *u. s.*, parallels the use of the verb in Phil. by St. Paul from Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xxi. 1, and Polycarp, *Phil.*, v., 5. But Clem. Rom., *u. s.*, vi., 1, has the phrase τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσῶς πολιτευσαμένοις, referring to the O.T. Saints, and so St. Peter and St. Paul. To this latter expression Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, i., p. 211, finds a parallel in the fragment of a letter dating about 164 B.C. (Pap., *Par.*, 63, coll. 8 and 9), τοῖς θεοῖς πρὸς οὓς ὁσῶς καὶ . . . δικαίως (πολι)τευσάμενος.—τῷ Θεῷ: in another moment of danger at the close of his career, 2 Tim. i. 3, the Apostle again appeals to a higher tribunal than that of the Sanhedrim or of Caesar. For the dative of the object cf. Rom. xiv. 18, Gal. ii. 19.—ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμ., emphatic, because the Apostle wished to affirm that he was still in his present work for Christ a true member of the theocracy, cf. Rom. ix. 1 ff.

Ver. 2. Ἀναν.: not the Ananias of iv. 7, Luke iii. 2, John xviii. 13, but the son of Nebedæus, appointed to his office by Herod of Chalcis, high priest from c. 47-59. He was sent to Rome on account of the complaints of the Samaritans against the Jews, but the Jewish cause prevailed, and there is no reason to suppose that Ananias lost his office. The probabilities are that he retained it until he was deposed shortly before the departure of Felix. Josephus gives us a terrible picture of his violent and unscrupulous conduct, *Ant.*, xx., 9, 2. But his Roman sympathisers made him an object of hatred to the nationalists, and in A.D. 66, in the days of the last great revolt against the Romans, he was dragged from a sewer in which he had hidden, and was murdered by the weapons of the assassins whom in his own period of power he had not scrupled to employ, Jos., *B. J.*, ii., 17, 9, "Ananias," B.D.<sup>2</sup>, and Hastings' B.D., O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 130,



στόμα. 3. τότε ὁ Παῦλος πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπε, Τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ Θεός, τοῖχε κεκονιαμένε· καὶ σὺ κάθη κρίνων με κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ παρανομῶν κελεύεις με τύπτεσθαι; 4. οἱ δὲ παρεστῶτες εἶπον, Τὸν<sup>1</sup> ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Θεοῦ λοιδορεῖς; 5. ἔφη τε ὁ Παῦλος, Οὐκ ᾔδην, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρχιερεὺς· γέγραπται γάρ, “Ἀρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Blass reads in β text (with approval of Belser) οὕτως ἐμπαίζεις τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ λοιδορῶν; *sic insilis in sacerdotem Dei male dicendo*, Cypr.

146.—**τύπτειν**: because Paul had forgotten that he was before his judges, and ought not to have spoken before being asked, *cf.* Luke vi. 29, John xviii. 22, 2 Cor. xi. 20, 1 Tim. iii. 3, Titus i. 7. The act was illegal and peculiarly offensive to a Jew at the hands of a Jew, Farrar, *St. Paul*, ii., p. 323.

Ver. 3. Wetstein sees in the words the customary formula of malediction among the Jews. But we need not regard Paul's words as an imprecation of evil on the high priest, but only an expression of the firm belief that such conduct would meet with punishment, *cf.* Knabenbauer, *in loco*. The terrible death of Ananias was a fulfilment of the words. On the paronomasia and other instances of the same figure see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 292.—**τοῖχε κεκον.**, *cf.* Matt. xxiii. 27, Luke xi. 44, the expression may have been proverbial, in LXX, *cf.* Prov. xxi. 9. A contrast has been drawn between St. Paul's conduct and that of our Lord under provocation, as, e.g., by St. Jerome, *Adv. Pelag.*, iii., 1, but there were occasions when Christ spoke with righteous indignation, and never more severely than when He was condemning the same sin which St. Paul censured—hypocrisy.—**καὶ σὺ**, emphatic, *cf.* Mark iv. 13, Luke x. 29. **καὶ** at the commencement of a question expressing indignation or astonishment (Page).—**κάθη κρίνων**, later form for **κάθησθαι**, *cf.* for the phrase Luke xxii. 30.—**παρανομῶν**: only here in N.T., but *cf.* LXX, Ps. lxxv. 4, cxviii. 51; the verb also occurs several times in 4 Macc.

Ver. 4. **τὸν ἀρχ. τοῦ Θεοῦ**: of God, emphatic, *i.e.*, sitting on the judgment-seat as God's representative, *cf.* Deut. xvii. 8 ff., and also the name Elohim, by which the priestly and other judges were sometimes known, Exod. xxi. 6, xxii. 8, 9, Psalm lxxxi. 1.

Ver. 5. **οὐκ ᾔδην**: the subject of **ἐστίν** is not expressed as in A. and R.V., in the Greek it is simply “I wist not that it was the high priest (who spoke)”. If it be said that St. Paul could scarcely have

been ignorant that Ananias was high priest, we must bear in mind that not even the high priest wore a distinctive dress when not engaged in actual service (Edersheim, *Temple and its Services*, p. 67, with reference to this same passage), if we are not prepared to accept the view of Chrysostom and Oecumenius amongst others, that the Apostle, owing to his long absence from Jerusalem, did not know the high priest by sight, or to suppose that his weakness of eyesight might have prevented him from seeing clearly (so Lewin, Plumptre). The interpretation that St. Paul spoke ironically, or by way of protest, as if such behaviour as that of Ananias on his nomination to office by Herod of Chalcis was in itself sufficient to prevent his recognition as high priest, is somewhat out of harmony with the Apostle's quotation of Scripture in his reply, nor are the attempts to translate **οὐκ ᾔδην** as = *non agnosco* or *non reputabam* successful. See further Zöckler's summary of the different views, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2nd edition, *in loco*.—**ἀδελφοί**: the word indicates St. Paul's quick recovery from his moment of just anger to a conciliatory tone.—**γέγ. γάρ**: in this appeal to the law, St. Paul showed not only his acquaintance with it, but his reverence for it—another proof of his wisdom and tact.—**ἄρχοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου κ.τ.λ.**: LXX, Exod. xxii. 28, the Apostle apparently only quotes the latter part of the verse; in the Hebrew we have “thou shalt not revile God (*margin*, the judges), nor curse a ruler of thy people”. *cf.* the ruling principle of the Apostle's conduct Rom. xiii. 1-7 (1 Pet. ii. 13-17).

Ver. 6. **γνοὺς . . . τὸ ἐν . . . τὸ δὲ ἕτερον**. On **ἐν . . . ἕτερον**: see Simcox *Language of the N.T.*, pp. 71, 72. That Pharisees and Sadducees alike had seats in the Sanhedrim during this period is borne out not only by the N. T., but by Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 9, 1, *B. J.*, ii., 17, 3, *Vita*, 38, 39. It is possible that the Pharisees might have attracted the attention of the Apostle by their protest against the be-

σου οὐκ ἔρεῖς κακῶς". 6. Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ὅτι τὸ ἐν μέρος ἐστὶ  
 Σαδδουκαίων, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον Φαρισαίων,<sup>1</sup> ἔκραξεν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ,  
 Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ Φαρισαῖός εἰμι, υἱὸς Φαρισαίου· περὶ ἐλπίδος

<sup>1</sup> ἐκραξεν, but imperf. ἐκραζεν N<sup>BC</sup> 36, Syr. Pesh.; so Tisch., W.H., R.V. Weiss, Wendt (see note ed. 1899). Blass has ἐκραξεν, so Hilg. Φαρισαίου, but plural Φαρισαίων in N<sup>ABC</sup>, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Tert., and other authorities as above, with Blass also, perhaps altered into sing., because one only thought of the relation of father and son (Wendt). B, Sah. Boh., Tert. omit ἐγὼ before κρῖνομαι; Lach. and Tisch. retain, but other authorities above with Blass omit (but W.H. in marg.); it may have been added in accordance with xxiv. 21.

haviour of Ananias and their acceptance of the words of apology (so Felten, Zöckler), but it is equally probable that in St. Luke's apparently condensed account the appeal to the Pharisees was not made on a sudden impulse (see below), but was based upon some manifestation of sympathy with his utterances. In ver. 9 it is evidently implied that the story of Paul's conversion on the road to Damascus had been narrated, and his acceptance of the Messiahship of the Risen Jesus carried with it his belief in a resurrection.—ἐκραξεν: the word may here as sometimes elsewhere, cf. John vii. 37, xii. 44, indicate no isolated cry, but a reference to something previously said, and it is probable that St. Luke may have passed over here as elsewhere some portions of the Apostle's speech, which were less intimately connected with the development and issue of events. It must however be noted that the verb may mean that the Apostle cried aloud so that all might hear him amidst the rising confusion.—ἐγὼ Φαρ. εἰμι κ.τ.λ.: the words have been severely criticised, but in a very real sense they truthfully expressed the Apostle's convictions. Before Felix St. Paul made practically the same assertion, although he did not use the word Φαρ. (cf. also xxvi. 5), Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 111. Moreover it is difficult to see why the Apostle should not describe himself as a Pharisee in face of the statement, xv. 5, that many members of the sect were also members of the Christian Church. They, like St. Paul, must have acknowledged that Jesus was the Messiah. But that Messiahship was attested by the avowal of the resurrection of Jesus, and the resurrection was a prominent article of the Pharisees' creed. In the acceptance of this latter doctrine St. Paul was at one not only with the "Pharisees who believed," but with the whole sect, and that he used the title in this limited way, viz., with rela-

tion to the hope of the resurrection, is plain from the context, which fixes the limitation by the Apostle's own words. But because the declaration shows the tact of St. Paul, because it is an instance of his acting upon the maxim *Divide et impera*, has it no higher side in relation to his character and purpose? May we not even say that to the Pharisees he became as a Pharisee in order to save some, to lead them to see the crown and fulfilment of the hope in which he and they were at one, in the Person of Jesus, the Resurrection and the Life? That the Apostle's action met with Divine approval seems evident, ver. 11. See "Paul" (Dr. Llewellyn Davies), B.D.<sup>1</sup>, iii., 754, 755, and amongst recent writers, Luckock, but on the other hand Gilbert, *Student's Life of Paul*, p. 187 ff. Bethge attributes to the Apostle an apologetic aim, viz., to show the chiliarch that Christianity should be protected by the State, since it was no new religion, but really proceeded from Judaism; and in support he refers to the words of Lysias, xxiii. 29; but although the Apostle's appeal may have helped Lysias to form his judgment, it seems somewhat strained to attribute to the Apostle the motive assigned by Bethge.—υἱὸς Φαρ.: "a son of Pharisees," R.V. plural, which is the best reading, i.e., his ancestors, 2 Tim. i. 3, Phil. iii. 5, possibly including his teachers by a familiar Hebraism.—περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀνάσ.: generally taken as a hendiadys (so Page), "hope of a resurrection of the dead" (see, however, Winer-Moulton, lxvi. 7). In xxvi. 6 ἐλπίς is used of the hope of a future Messianic salvation—the hope of Israel—but in xxiv. 15 St. Paul distinctly makes mention of the hope of a resurrection of the dead, and his own words again in xxiv. 21 seem to exclude anything beyond that question as under discussion on the present occasion.

Ver. 7. στάσις: There is no difficulty



καὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ἐγὼ κρίνομαι. 7. Τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> λαλήσαντος, ἐγένετο στάσις τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῶν Σαδδουκαίων, καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ πλῆθος. 8. Σαδδουκαῖοι<sup>2</sup> μὲν γὰρ λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν, μητὲ ἄγγελον μήτε πνεῦμα· Φαρισαῖοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τὰ ἀμφότερα. 9. ἐγένετο δὲ κραυγὴ μεγάλη· καὶ ἀναστάντες<sup>3</sup> οἱ γραμματεῖς τοῦ μέρους τῶν Φαρισαίων διεμάχοντο λέγοντες, Οὐδὲν κακὸν εὐρίσκομεν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ· εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἄγγελος,

<sup>1</sup> Instead of λαλήσαντος W.H., Weiss, Wendt, following B, read λαλουντος; Tisch., Meyer, Blass have λαλήσαντος with T.R., following CHLP, Syr. H.; R.V. (W.H. marg.), with Lach. and Hilgenfeld, has εἰπόντος, so ὩΣΑΕ, Vulg., Syr. Pesh.; Ν\* reads εἰπώντος. For ἐγένετο B\* (Syr. H.) has ἐπετίθεν, so W.H. marg. Blass brackets καὶ ἐσχίσθη τὸ πλῆθος, see below on ver. 9.

<sup>2</sup> After Σαδδ. B, Vulg., Sah. omit μεν, so W.H. (text), Weiss, Blass; but retained by Tisch., R.V., W.H. marg., Hilg. Instead of μηδε as in T.R. (so Meyer, Wendt, Blass), μητε in ὩΣΑΕ, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Hilgenfeld. In edit. 1899 Wendt decides to follow T.R., and to read μηδε, although he admits that MS. authority is against him. μηδε is supported by HLP, Chrys., Theophyl. But μητε may have been altered to μηδε to suit τὰ ἀμφότερα. Instead of τὰ ἀμφ. Blass in β (Sah., Flor.) reads εἶναι ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἄγγελον καὶ πνεῦμα.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of οἱ γραμματεῖς ὩΣΑΕ, Sah., Arm. read τινες τῶν γραμματέων, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.; AE 13, Vulg., Boh. read simply τινες, so Lach., T.R. very little support; HLP, Aeth. read γραμματεῖς (om. οἱ). του μερους om. AE 13, Vulg., Boh., but retained in ὩΣΑΕ, Syr. P. and H., Arm., Chrys., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass. In β at commencement of verse Blass reads καὶ κραυγῆς γενομένης ἐν αὐτοῖς (inter eos, Flor.) ἐσχίσθησαν with Flor.; ἀναστάντες omit. in β text with Flor. μη θεομαχῶμεν om. ὩΣΑΕ 13, 40, 66, verss. Instead of οὐδὲν κακὸν κ.τ.λ. Blass in β text (Flor.) reads τι δε κακον ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ εὐρίσκομεν;

in supposing that this dissension took place in the Assembly; it may have been no sudden result, because the Apostle had evidently said much more than is mentioned in the preceding verse (see above), and there is good evidence that one of the fundamental differences between the two sects was concerned with the question which St. Paul had raised, Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i., 315; Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 1, 4; B. J., ii., 8, 14.—ἐσχίσθη τὸ πλ., *Æn.*, ii., 39, and instances in Wetstein.

Ver. 8. ἄγγελον . . . πνεῦμα: are joined together by the speaker as one principal conception, so that the following ἀμφότερα presents no difficulty, see Winer-Moulton, lv., 6, Page, *in loco*. πνεῦμα would include the spirits of the dead, to one of which Paul would appear to have appealed, xxii. 7, 18 (Weiss). On the denial see Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 13, E.T., cf. also the remarks of Dr. A. B. Davidson, "Angel," Hastings' B.D., as to the possible sense of this denial and its possible limitation, with which we may compare Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 7,

1046.—δόμολ., i.e., as part of their religious creed, their confession and open profession of faith: "but the faith of the Sadducees is well described by negations".

Ver. 9. κραυγὴ μεγ.: "there arose a great clamour," R.V., so A.V. in Ephes. iv. 31; the noun also denotes not only the loud cry of partisan applause as here, but of joyful surprise, Luke i. 42, of grief, Rev. xxi. 4, of anger, Ephes. u. s., Westcott on Heb. v. 7, cf. LXX, Exod. xii. 30, Judith xiv. 19, 2 Macc. xv. 29.—ἀναστάντες, characteristic, see on v. 17.—γραμματεῖς, the professional lawyers exercised considerable influence in the Sanhedrim, belonging chiefly to the Pharisees, but also numbering in their ranks some Sadducean scribes, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., pp. 178, 319, E.T. The notice may therefore be placed to the writer's accuracy.—διεμάχοντο: only here in N.T., cf. LXX, Dan. x. 20, Ecclesiast. viii. 1, 3, li. 19 R., frequent in classics. Overbeck and Holtzmann can only see in this scene a repetition of chap. v. 33.—εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα: "And what if a spirit hath

μὴ θεομαχῶμεν. 10. πολλῆς δὲ <sup>1</sup> γενομένης στάσεως, εὐλαβηθεὶς ὁ χιλιάρχος μὴ διασπασθῇ ὁ Παῦλος ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα καταβὰν ἀρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν, ἄγειν τε <sup>2</sup> εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν.

11. Τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτὶ ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος εἶπε, Θάρσει, Παῦλε <sup>3</sup>. ὥς γὰρ διεμαρτύρω τὰ περὶ ἐμοῦ εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, οὕτω σε δεῖ καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην μαρτυρῆσαι. 12. γενομένης δὲ ἡμέρας, <sup>4</sup> ποιήσαντες τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων συστροφὴν ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἑαυτούς, λέγοντες

<sup>1</sup> Instead of γεν.  $\aleph$ B 98\*, read γιν.; Lach., Alford, Hilg. follow T.R., but Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, W.H., R.V., Blass read γιν. εὐλαβηθεὶς retained by Meyer as the rarer word in N.T., but φοβηθεὶς  $\aleph$ ABCE, Chrys., and authorities above, so Hilgenfeld.

<sup>2</sup> After αγειν, W.H., following B, Boh., 31, omit τε in text (not in marg.), but Weiss retains in spite of B. If omitted, αρπασαι would depend upon καταβαν, and αγειν upon εκελευσε.

<sup>3</sup> Παυλε om.  $\aleph$ ABC\*E, verss., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass (although retained in Flor. and by Hilg.).

<sup>4</sup> Instead of T.R.,  $\aleph$ ABCE 13, 61, Boh., Arm., Aeth. read -τες συστροφην οι ιουδαιοι; so authorities in ver. 11 except Blass. The latter reads with T.R. συστροφην τινες των ιουδ., so L(HP), Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Gig., Flor., Lucif. (see also Hilg.).

spoken to him, or an angel?" R.V. reading after ἄγγελος a mark of interrogation. Often explained as *aposiopesis* (so Weiss), cf. W.H. reading—John vi. 62, Rom. ix. 22, but see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 288, Burton, pp. 109-110. The words may have been followed by a significant gesture or look towards the Sadducees, or by some such words as St. Chrysostom suggests: ποῖον ἐγκλημα! or, without any real *aposiopesis*, the words may have been interrupted by the tumult, Winer-Moulton, lxiv., ii. πνεῦμα: the word evidently refers back to St. Paul's own statements, xxii. 6, 7, while at the same time it indicates that the Pharisees were far from accepting Paul's account of the scene before Damascus as an appearance of Jesus of Nazareth.

Ver. 10. εὐλ., see critical note.—μὴ: after verbs of fear and danger in classical Greek, with subjunctive after primary tenses, with optative (more usually) after secondary tenses, but in N.T. only the subjunctive, Burton, p. 95, and Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 83 (1893), Acts xxvii. 17, 2 Cor. xi. 3, xii. 20, Heb. iv. 1.—διασπασθῇ, cf. LXX, Hos. xiii. 8, for use in same sense as here, to tear like a wild beast tears its prey in pieces (elsewhere in N.T., Mark v. 4, cf. LXX, Jer. ii. 20), cf. in classical Greek, Herod., iii. 13, Dem., 58, 8.—καταβὰν from Antonia.—ἀρπάσαι ἄγειν τε = ἀρπάσαν ἄγειν (Blass), see critical note.

Ver. 11. τῇ ἐπι. νυκτί, see Knaben-

bauer's note, p. 385, on Hilgenfeld's strictures; and below on the need and fitness of the appearance of the Lord on this night.—ἐπιστὰς, cf. xii. 7, and xviii. 9.—ὁ κ., evidently Jesus, as the context implies.—θάρσει: only in the imperative in N.T. (seven times); the word on the lips of Christ had brought cheer to the sick and diseased, Matt. ix. 2, 22, Mark x. 49; to the disciples sailing on the sea, Matt. xiv. 27, Mark v. 50; to the same disciples in an hour of deeper need, John xvi. 33, cf. its use in LXX as a message of encouragement (elsewhere we have the verb θαρρεῖν, so in Paul and Heb., but cf. *Apoc. of Peter*, v., Blass, *Gram.*, p. 24). The Apostle might well stand in need of an assurance after the events of the day that his labours would not be cut short before his great desire was fulfilled. The words of the Lord as given to us by St. Luke intimate that the Evangelist regarded Paul's visit to Rome as *apex Evangelii*, so far as his present work was concerned.—διεμαρτύρω: the word seems to imply the thoroughness of the Apostle's testimony, and to show that his method of bearing it was approved by his Lord, see on ii. 40.

Ver. 12. συστροφὴν, xix. 40.—ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἑαυτούς: literally "they placed themselves under an anathema," i.e., declared themselves liable to the direst punishments of God unless, etc. In N.T. the verb is only used in this passage, cf.



μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν ἕως οὗ ἀποκτείνωσι τὸν Παῦλον· 13. ἦσαν δὲ πλείους τεσσαράκοντα οἱ ταύτην τὴν συνωμοσίαν<sup>1</sup> πεποιηκότες· 14. οἵτινες προσελθόντες τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι<sup>2</sup> καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις εἶπον, Ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν ἑαυτούς, μηδενὸς γεύσασθαι<sup>3</sup> ἕως οὗ ἀποκτείνωμεν τὸν Παῦλον. 15. νῦν οὖν ὑμεῖς ἐμφανίσате τῷ χιλιάρχῳ σὺν τῷ συνεδρίῳ, ὅπως<sup>4</sup> αὔριον αὐτὸν καταγάγῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὥς μέλλοντας διαγινώσκειν ἀκριβέστερον τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἡμεῖς δέ,

<sup>1</sup> Instead of *ποιοι*. NABCE have *ποιησαμενοι*, so R.V. and authorities above, except Blass in β text, *εαυτους αναθεματισαντες*, following Flor.

<sup>2</sup> Blass in β brackets *και τοις πρεσβ.* Lucif. "recte ut videtur" (Blass).

<sup>3</sup> After *γενσ.* Blass in β (Flor., Gig.) adds *καθολου*.

<sup>4</sup> *αυριον om.* NABCE 18, 36, 61, verss., and authorities above, so Hilg. NABE 61 have *εις*, so R.V. and as above.

14, 21, and once by St. Mark, xiv. 71, cf. the use of the verb in LXX, Josh. vi. 21, 1 Macc. v. 5. In N.T. the noun *ἀνάθεμα* is only found in Luke and Paul, see Lightfoot on Gal. i. 8, Sanday and Headlam on Rom. ix. 3. For instances of similar bindings by oath, Jos., *Vita*, liii., and a similar combination of ten men to murder Herod, *Ant.*, xv., 8, 3, 4. Of whom the band consisted we are not told, although probably Ananias would not have scrupled to employ the Sicarii, Jos., *Ant.*, ix. 2. The conspirators seem to have affected to be Sadducees, ver. 14, but Edersheim evidently holds that they were Pharisees, and he points out that the latter as a fraternity or "guild," or some of their kindred guilds, would have furnished material at hand for such a band of conspirators, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 227 ff.—*ποιοι*. see critical note, *ἕως οὗ*, cf. Matt. v. 25, xiii. 33, John ix. 18; Burton, p. 128.

Ver. 14. *τοῖς ἀρχ.*, cf. iv. 23, see critical note on reading in β (Blass).—*ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεμ.*: "we have bound ourselves under a great curse," thus representing the emphatic Hebrew idiom, cf. v. 28, and for the same phrase cf. Deut. xiii. 15, xx. 17. The conspirators may have been instigated by the knowledge that the Sanhedrim could no longer inflict capital punishment, and from despair of obtaining the sanction of the Roman authorities for violence against Paul. It is quite certain that sentence of death must at all events be ratified by the procurator. Another serious restriction of the Jewish powers lay in the fact that the Roman authorities could step in at any moment and take the initiative, as in the case of Paul. Moreover the incidents

before us illustrate the strange fact that even the chiliarch of the Roman force stationed in Jerusalem seems to be able to summon the Sanhedrim for the purpose of submitting to it any question upon which the Jewish law had to be learnt, cf. xxii. 30, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 188 ff., with which, however, should be compared O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, pp. 175, 176.—*γεύσασθαι*: "to taste nothing," R.V. "Hoc certe tam præposterum concilium nunquam probassent sacerdotes, si qua in illis fuisset gutta pii rectique affectus, imo sensus humani," Calvin. Edersheim quotes a curious illustration of the rash vow before us, which shows how easily absolution from its consequences could be obtained, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 229, J. Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*

Ver. 15. *νῦν οὖν*: only in Acts in N.T., where it occurs four times, frequent in LXX.—*ἐμφανίσате*: "signify" in A. and R.V.; this rendering apparently conveys a wrong idea, for it implies that the Council had the authority, whereas this lay with the Roman officer, cf. xxiv. 1, xxv. 2, 15. In LXX, Esther ii. 22, 2 Macc. iii. 7, xi. 29.—*σὺν τῷ συν.*: with the whole Council, including both those who had previously inclined to favour Paul as well as his opponents; the former could not object to the pretext that further inquiries were to be made into Paul's position, especially when the Sadducees urged such an inquiry.—*ὅπως*, Burton, p. 87.—*ὥς μέλλοντας*: this use of *ὥς* with the participle expressing the pretext alleged by another, often in Luke, cf. Luke xvi. 1, xxiii. 14, Acts xxiii. 20, xxvii. 30, Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 189 (1893), but we may also

πρὸ τοῦ ἐγγίσει αὐτόν, ἔτοιμοί<sup>1</sup> ἔσμεν τοῦ ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν. 16. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς Παύλου τὴν ἐνέδραν, παραγενόμενος καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Παύλῳ. 17. προσκαλεσάμενος δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἓνα τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων, ἔφη, Τὸν νεανίαν τοῦτον ἀπάγαγε πρὸς τὸν χιλιάρχον· ἔχει γάρ τι ἀπαγγέλλαι αὐτῷ. 18. ὁ μὲν οὖν παραλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν χιλιάρχον, καὶ φησιν, Ὁ δέσμιος Παῦλος προσκαλεσάμενός με ἠρώτησε τοῦτον τὸν νεανίαν ἀγαγεῖν πρὸς σέ, ἔχοντά τι λαλήσαι σοι. 19. ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ χιλιάρχος, καὶ ἀναχωρήσας κατ' ἰδίαν, ἔπυν.

<sup>1</sup> Blass in β reads *εσομεθα* instead of *εσμεν* with Flor., and at end of verse *εαν δεη και αποθανειν* with 137, Syr. H. mg., Flor.

compare 1 Cor. iv. 18 (Burton).—*διαγ.*: “as though ye would judge of his case more exactly,” R.V., *accurate cognoscere*; the word need not be used here in the forensic sense as in xxiv. 22 (xxv. 21), Grimm, Blass; the “inquiry” is expressed by the usual word in ver. 20. The verb is used in 2 Macc. ix. 15.—*πρὸ τοῦ ἐγγίσει*: so that the crime could not be imputed to the priests.—*ἔτοιμοί ἔσμεν τοῦ*: for genitive of the infinitive after a noun or an adjective, in Luke and Paul (1 Pet. iv. 17), (Viteau, *u. s.*, p. 169, Burton, p. 158. In LXX, *cf.* Mich. vi. 8, Ezek. xxi. 10, 11 (15, 16), 1 Macc. iii. 58, v. 39, xiii. 37.—*ἀνελεῖν αὐτόν*, *cf.* Hackett's note, which gives a formal justification from Philo for the assassination of apostates.

Ver. 16. ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς: whether he and his mother lived in Jerusalem, as Ewald conjectured, we are not told. Probably not, as the mother is not otherwise mentioned. Paul's nephew may have been a student in Jerusalem, as the Apostle had been in his earlier days. Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 227, gives an interesting account of the way in which the young man as a member of the Pharisaic “Chabura,” or guild, might have gained his knowledge of the conspiracy. At the same time nothing is told us in the text, and we cannot wonder at the comment “quis is fuerit, unde rescierit, ignoratur” (Blass).—*παραγεν.*: “having come in upon them,” R.V. margin, “and he entered into the castle,” etc. *παραγεν.* is thoroughly Lucan, and often gives a graphic touch to the narrative, but it is doubtful whether we can press it as above, although the rendering is tempting.—*ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Π.*: evidently Paul's friends were allowed access to him, and amongst them we may well suppose that St. Luke himself

would have been included. On the different kinds of Roman custody see below, xxiv. 23, note.

Ver. 17. τὸν νεανίαν τοῦτον, see on vii. 58 and previous note above. The narrative gives the impression that he was quite a young man, if we look at his reception by the chiliarch and the charge given to him.

Ver. 18. ὁ δέσμιος Π.: used by Paul five times of himself in his Epistles, here for the first time in Acts with reference to him.

Ver. 19. ἐπιλαβ.: “ut fiduciam adolescentis confirmaret,” Bengel, so Knabenbauer; on ἐπιλ. see note, xvii. 19.—*τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ*, *cf.* Luke viii. 54, Winer-Moulton, xxx. 8 d; see Calvin's note on the *humanitas* (as he calls it) of the centurion in thus receiving the young man.—*ἀναχ.*: used also in xxvi. 31, but not by Luke in his Gospel, although found in the other Evangelists.—*κατ' ἰδίαν ἔπυν.*: “asked him privately,” R.V., as suggested by the order of the Greek.

Ver. 20. συνέθεντο, Luke xxii. 5, John ix. 22, so in classical Greek in middle, *cf.* 1 Sam. xxii. 13, Dan. (Th.) ii. 9.—*τοῦ ἐρωτήσαι*: the word certainly points to a certain equality with the person asked (not αἰτέω), see above on ver. 15—but still a request, not a demand.—*μέλλοντες*, see critical note; if plural, the clause intimates the pretext put forward by the conspirators; if singular, it is perhaps more in accordance with the deference of the youth, who would refer the control of the proceedings to the chiliarch.

Ver. 21. ἐνεδρ.: only in Luke in N.T., Luke xi. 54, with the accusative also in classical Greek, and several times in LXX, 1 Macc. v. 4, Jos., *Ant.*, v., 2, 12.—*καὶ νῦν*, see on xx. 22.—*προσδεχ.*:



θάνετο, τί ἐστὶν ὃ ἔχεις ἀπαγγεῖλαί μοι; 20. εἶπε δέ, Ὅτι οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συνέθεντο τοῦ ἐρωτῆσαί σε, ὅπως αὐρίον εἰς τὸ συνέδριον καταγάγῃς τὸν Παῦλον, ὡς μέλλοντές<sup>1</sup> τι ἀκριβέστερον πυνθάνεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ. 21. σὺ οὖν μὴ πεισθῇς αὐτοῖς· ἐνεδρεύουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄνδρες πλείους τεσσαράκοντα, οἵτινες ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἑαυτοὺς μήτε φαγεῖν μήτε πιεῖν ἕως οὐ ἀνέλωσιν αὐτόν· καὶ νῦν ἑτοιμοὶ εἰσι προσδεχόμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπαγγελίαν. 22. ὁ μὲν οὖν χιλιάρχος ἀπέλυσεν τὸν νεανίαν, παραγγείλας μηδενὶ ἐκλαλῆσαι ὅτι ταῦτα ἐνεφάνισας πρὸς με. 23. καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος<sup>2</sup> δύο τινὰς τῶν ἑκατοντάρχων εἶπεν, Ἐτοιμάσατε στρατιώτας διακοσίους, ὅπως πορευθῶσιν ἕως Καισαρείας, καὶ ἱππεῖς ἑβδομήκοντα, καὶ δεξιολάβους

<sup>1</sup> μέλλοντες minscl. verss., so Blass, Hilg., with Gig., Flor. (as in ver. 15); μέλλον ABE, Boh., Aeth., Tisch., W.H., Weiss; μέλλον, so Wendt, with B\* 13, sc. το συνέδρ.

<sup>2</sup> B 13, 61, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt read τινὰς before δυο. Blass (so Flor.) brackets διακ. and καὶ before ἱππεῖς, and instead of ἐβδομήκοντα he reads ἑκατον with 137, Flor., Syr. H. mg., Sah., so Hilg.

only once elsewhere in Acts, xxiv. 15, probably in same sense as here, so R.V. text. In the Gospels, the word is found once in Mark xv. 43 (= Luke xxiii. 51), and five times in Luke, four times translated in R.V. as here; Luke ii. 25, 38, xii. 36, xxiii. 51, cf. also Tit. ii. 13, Jude ver. 21, and Wisd. xviii. 7, 2 Macc. viii. 11. In classical Greek two meanings as in N.T.: (1) to accept, receive favourably, (2) to wish for or expect a thing.—ἐπαγγεῖλαι: only here in N.T. of a human promise, see above on i. 4, cf. 1 Esd. i. 7, Esther iv. 7, 1 Macc. x. 15.

Ver. 22. ἐκλαλῆσαι, Judith xi. 9 (but S al.), "to divulge," here only in N.T., but in classical Greek, and in Philo. As in i. 4, transition to *oratio recta*, cf. Luke v. 14, Mark vi. 9, etc., very common in Greek prose, Winer-Moulton, lxiii., ii., 2, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 280.

Ver. 23. See critical note; if we place τινὰς before δύο, Blass, Weiss, Knabebauer take it of two centurions whom he could specially trust, see their notes *in loco*, and Blass, *Gram.*, p. 174. In Luke vii. 19 the order is different, Blass compares Herman, *Vis.*, i., 4, 3, δύο τινὲς ἄνδρες (but see on the other hand Page's note, and Wendt, edit. 1899).—ἐτοιμάσατε: here only in Acts, but frequent in Luke's Gospel, more so than in Matthew or Mark, in John only twice. On the aorist imperfect see Winer-Moulton, xliii., 3, "have immediately . . . in readiness to march".—

στρατ. διακ.: *militēs gravis armaturæ*. Blass brackets the first διακ., and καὶ before ἱππεῖς, so that στρατ. includes under it both ἱππεῖς and δεξιολάβους, see critical note.—δεξιολ.: apparently a special class of light-armed soldiers (javelin-throwers, Livy, xxii., 21, or slingers), Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 56, E.T., who says that this much only is certain. The word only occurs elsewhere twice, and that in later Greek literature of the seventh and tenth century (see references in Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and Meyer-Wendt, *in loco*), where they are distinguished from the τοξοφόροι and πελτασταί. Probably from δεξιός and λαμβάνω, grasping their weapons by the right hand, so here of those who carried their light weapon, a lance, in their right hand, Vulgate, *lancearios*. This is more probable than the derivation from λαβή, a sword-hilt, as if the word referred to *spiculatorēs cum lanceis*, who wore their swords fastened not on the left but on the right (so Ewald). Still more fanciful is the derivation of Egli who accented thus δεξιολάβοι, and took the word to refer to those who were unable to use the right hand, Judg. iii. 15, xx. 16, so "left-handed" slingers. Others interpret as if the word meant military lictors who guarded captives bound by the right hand, but their large number here seems to conflict with such an interpretation (Grimm-Thayer), see the full notes of Meyer-Wendt, 1888, 1899, and cf. Renan,

διακοσίους, ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός· 24.<sup>1</sup> κτήνη τε παραστήσαι, ἵνα ἐπιβιβάσαντες τὸν Παῦλον διασώσωσι πρὸς Φήλικα, τὸν ἡγεμόνα· 25. γράψας ἐπιστολὴν<sup>2</sup> περιέχουσαν τὸν τύπον τοῦτον· 26. Κλαύδιος Λυσίας τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι Φήλικι, χαίρειν. 27. τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον συλληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, καὶ μέλλοντα ἀναιρεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐπιστὰς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι<sup>3</sup> ἐξειλόμην αὐτόν, μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός

<sup>1</sup> In β text Blass reads κτηνος, Par.<sup>2</sup>, Syrr. P. and H., Prov., and before διασώσωσι the words δια νυκτος, so Flor., Syr. H. mg. Belser approves as precise notes of exact information. Blass adds (so Hilg.) after τον ηγεμονα the words εις Καισ. with 137, and continues εφοβηθη γαρ, μηποτε αρπασαντες αυτον οι Ιουδαιοι αποκτεινωσιν, και αυτος μεταξυ εγκλημα εχη ως χρηματα ειληφως, 137, Gig., Wer., Par.<sup>2</sup>, Vulgcl., Syr. H. mg.

<sup>2</sup> περιεχουσιν, so Meyer, Blass, Hilgenfeld, with AHLP; but εχουσιν NBE 61, 137, so R.V., and other authorities as above.

<sup>3</sup> εξειλαμην NABE, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Weiss. Instead of μαθων Blass in β reads (Gig.) βωντα και λεγοντα εαυτον ειναι Ρωμαιον.

*Saint Paul*, p. 532, Overbeck for various interpretations, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 69. A reads δεξιοβόλους (Syr. Pesh. *jaculantes dextra*, *Are jaculatores*), which would be a correct interpretation if we understood the word of javelin-throwers or slingers.—ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας: about nine in the evening; the journey was to commence from that time, so that by daybreak Paul would be in safety, cf. x. 30. The number of the escort was meant to guard against surprise.

Ver. 24. παραστήσαι: depending on εἶπεν, ver. 23; a change to indirect speech, cf. references in ver. 22.—κτήνη (κτάομαι): *jumenta*, Vulgate, almost always in plural, property in general, herds or flocks, cattle; in LXX, where it is very frequent, and in N.T. it is used of beasts of burden or for riding, cf. Luke x. 34, Rev. xviii. 13, sometimes quite generally in LXX, as in 1 Cor. xv. 39.—ἐπιβ.: only in Luke and Acts in N.T., Luke x. 34, xix. 35, in each case in same sense; so in classical Greek and LXX. The reason why the plural κτήνη is used *vix satis perspicitur* (Blass); the word has sometimes been taken to apply to the soldiers, as if they were all mounted, but taking the word in relation to Paul, one or more beasts might be required for relays or for baggage, so Weiss, Wendt, Hackett, or, as the prisoner was chained to a soldier, another κτήνος would be required (Kuinoel, Felten).—διασώσωσι: five times in Acts, once in Luke's Gospel, only twice elsewhere in N.T., "ut P. saluum perducerent," Vulgate, frequent in LXX, cf. its use in Polyb. and Jos., see further on xxvii. 44.—Φήλικα, see on xxiv. 3.—τὸν ἡγεμόνα: used of a

leader of any kind, or of an emperor or king; in N.T. of the procurator, of Pilate, Felix, Festus, so by Josephus of Pilate, *Ant.*, xviii., 3, 1, of governors more generally, Luke xxi. 12, 1 Pet. ii. 14, etc.

Ver. 25. περιέχουσιν, see critical note above.—τύπον: "form," R.V., a précis or summary of the contents of a letter, 3 Macc. iii. 30. Such a letter would be called *elogium*, Alford, *in loco*, Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 532. It is quite true that τύπος does not demand that the letter should have been given verbally, and in an oft-quoted passage, Plato, *Polit.*, 3, p. 414, ἐν τύπῳ is contrasted with δι' ἀκριβείας, but the letter bears the marks of genuineness, e.g., the part which Lysias claims to have played, and the expression "questions of their law" (see below). Moreover St. Luke might have easily learnt its contents, as there is reason for supposing that the letter would have been read in open court before Felix, as containing the preliminary inquiry, and that a copy may have been given to Paul after his appeal, see Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden Apostelgeschichte*, p. 226.

Ver. 26. κρατίστῳ, see note on i. 1.—χαίρειν (λεγει or κελεύει), cf. xv. 23.

Ver. 27. ἄνδρα, not ἄνθρωπον: Bengel and Wendt take the word to indicate a certain degree of respect.—συλλ.: used in various senses, but in all four Gospels of the capture of Jesus, and in Luke, where the word is frequent, often of the capture of prisoners, Acts i. 16, xii. 3, xxvi. 21, Luke xxii. 54 (Plummer) so in LXX.—μέλλοντα ἀναι.: "was about to be killed," R.V.—ἐπιστὰς: the word seems



ἐστι. 28. βουλόμενος δὲ<sup>1</sup> γνῶναι τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῷ, κατήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν. 29. ὃν εὗρον ἐγκαλούμενον περὶ<sup>2</sup> ζητημάτων τοῦ νόμου αὐτῶν, μηδὲν δὲ ἄξιον θανάτου ἢ δεσμῶν ἔγκλημα ἔχοντα. 30. μηνυθείσης δὲ μοι ἐπιβουλῆς εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα μέλλειν<sup>3</sup> ἔσσεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐξαυτῆς ἔπεμψα πρὸς σέ, παραγγείλας καὶ τοῖς κατηγόροις λέγειν<sup>4</sup> τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ σοῦ.<sup>5</sup> Ἐρῶ σο.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιγνῶναι NAB 13, other authorities as in ver. 27, so also in R.V. and Wendt. κατήγαγον . . . αὐτὸν B\* 61 om. [W.H.], R.V. marg. om.

<sup>2</sup> ζητημάτων, Blass in β om. (Gig.); περὶ τοῦ νομοῦ Μωϋσεως καὶ Ἰησοῦ τίνος, so Blass in β, with 137, Gig., Syr. H. mg.; β text continues: μηδὲν δε ἄξιον θανάτου πρᾶσσοντα (Gig.), ἐξηγαγον αὐτον μοις τη βια, 137, Syr. H. mg. (Gig.), so Hilgenfeld.

<sup>3</sup> μέλλειν om. NABE, so R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass. ὑπο τῶν I. om. NABE, and other authorities as above. ἐξαυτῆς BHL P, Syr. Pesh., Sah., Boh., so W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt; but Lach., Tisch. read ἐξ αὐτῶν with NAE, Syr. H., Arm.

<sup>4</sup> τα πρὸς αὐτον, om. τα B, Syr. Pesh., Arm., so W.H., R.V., Weiss. For the three words Lach., Tisch., with NA 13, 40, Vulg., read αὐτοὺς, whilst EHP insert τα before πρὸς αὐτον (not seeing that the phrase was taken as in xix. 38); see Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 37. Blass in β text (Gig.) reads (instead of λέγειν . . . σου) ἐκεῖ εἶναι πρὸς τὴν σὴν διαγνώσιν.

<sup>5</sup> ἐρῶ σο om. AB 13, Sah., Boh., Aethro, Gig., Tisch., W.H., Weiss, R.V. in text; Blass brackets in β; NEL d, Syrr. P. H., Arm., Aethro. retain, so Hilg.; HP read ἐρῶσθε, xv. 29.

to intimate that he was ready at the right moment to rescue the prisoner.—τῷ στρατ.: “with the soldiers,” R.V., those under his command.—ἐξιλόμην, vii. 10.—μαθὼν ὅτι P.: “qua ratione id comperit, tacere satius erat,” Blass. The chiliarch wishes to put the best interpretation on his own conduct after his hastiness in xxi. 33, xxii. 24, see reading in β text. Overbeck and Wendt (and even Zöckler) defend the chiliarch from a crafty misrepresentation, and compare the condensed explanation of the letter and the facts given in the narrative to the different accounts of Saul’s conversion, but the chiliarch had a motive for dissembling his real part in the transaction, viz., fear of punishment.

Ver. 28. 84: if we read τε Weiss regards it as closely connecting the wish of the chiliarch with the previous rescue affected by him, and as hoping to veil his conduct in the interim which was so open to censure.—ἐνεκάλουν αὐτῷ, xix. 38, with dative of the person as here, and in classical Greek, cf. Ecclus. xlv. 19. In N.T. only in Luke and Paul, cf. Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 148.—In the letter of Lysias Hilgenfeld omits vv. 28, 29, as an addition of the “author to Theophilus”. Vv. 26, 30, are quite sufficient, he thinks,

for “military brevity,” whilst ver. 28 could not have been written by Lysias since he would have written an untruth. But it is quite conceivable that the Roman would not only try to conceal his previous hastiness, but to commend himself to the governor as the protector of a fellow-citizen. Spitta omits ver. 28 in the letter, and Jüngst also ver. 29. But Jüngst equally with Hilgenfeld declines to omit the whole letter as Clemen proposes.

Ver. 29. ζητημάτων, cf. xviii. 14, 15, “a contemptuous plural” (Page).—ἐγκλημα ἔχοντα: phrase only here in N.T., *criminis reum esse, accusari*, as in classical Greek, cf. Thuc., i., 26; the noun occurs again in xxv. 16, but not elsewhere in N.T., not found in LXX.

Ver. 30. A mingling of two constructions, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 247, Winer-Moulton, lxiii., 1, 1. ἔσσεσθαι: on the future infinitive denoting time relatively to the time of the principal verb see Burton, pp. 48, 52.—ἔπεμψα: epistolary aorist, cf. 1 Cor. v. 11, Phil. ii. 28, Ephes. vi. 22, Col. iv. 8, Philem., ver. 11; Burton, p. 21. ἐξαυτῆς, see critical note.—λέγειν τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν, cf. xix. 38, omitting τὰ, see critical note.—ἐπὶ σοῦ: *coram*, cf. xxiv. 20, 21, xxv. 9, 26, xxvi. 2, 1 Cor. vi. 1 (1 Tim. vi. 13), Winer-Moulton, xlvii.

31. Οἱ μὲν οὖν στρατιῶται, κατὰ τὸ διατεταγμένον αὐτοῖς, ἀναλαβόντες τὸν Παῦλον ἤγαγον διὰ<sup>1</sup> τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα. 32.<sup>2</sup> τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον ἐάσαντες τοὺς ἰππεῖς πορεύεσθαι σὺν αὐτῷ, ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν. 33. οὔτινες εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὴν Καισάρειαν, καὶ ἀναδόντες τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τῷ ἡγεμόνι, παρέστησαν καὶ τὸν Παῦλον αὐτῷ. 34. ἀναγνοὺς δὲ<sup>3</sup> ὁ ἡγεμὼν, καὶ ἐπερωτήσας ἐκ ποίας<sup>4</sup> ἐπαρχίας ἐστὶ, καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, 35.<sup>5</sup> Διακούσομαί σου, ἔφη, ὅταν καὶ οἱ κατήγοροί σου παραγένωνται. ἐκέλευσέ τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ τοῦ Ἡρώδου φυλάσσεσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> *ABE om.* art. before *νυκτος*, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, R.V.

<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of the verse Blass in *β* reads (Gig.) τῇ δὲ *επαυριον εασαντες τους στρατιωτας (υποστρεφειν)* εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν μετα μονων των ιππεων ηλθον εἰς τὴν K. Instead of πορεύεσθαι *ABE*, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. read *απερχεσθαι*.

<sup>3</sup> ο *ηγεμων om.* *ABE*; other authorities above.

<sup>4</sup> *επαρχειας* *AB\**, so W.H., Weiss, Wendt; Blass has *-ιας*, so Hilg.

<sup>5</sup> *ακουσ.*, so Blass in *β* for *διακ.* with other, but slight variations, after 137, Syr. H. mg. For T.R., R.V. reads *παραγενωνται* *κελευσας*, so *ABE* 40, 61 (*κελευσαντος*), so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg. After *φυλασσ.* *ABE* add *αυτον*, so R.V., and other authorities above.

Ver. 31. οἱ μὲν οὖν . . . τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον: Rendall, appendix on μὲν οὖν, p. 162. Page finds the antithesis in μετὰ δὲ, xxiv. 1, referring the five days there not to Paul's arrival in Cæsarea, but to his despatch from Jerusalem by Lysias, "so then the soldiers, etc. . . . but after five days . . ." (see also note below).—ἀναλαβόντες, cf. xx. 13.—διὰ (τῆς) νυκτὸς: "by night," this use of διὰ with genitive of time passed through (cf. i. 3) is comparatively rare, Luke v. 5, Heb. ii. 15, except in almost adverbial phrases as here, cf. v. 19, xvi. 9, xvii. 10, Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 140.—εἰς τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα: founded by Herod the Great, on the road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, not apparently as a fortress but as a pleasant residence, giving it its name in honour of his father, most probably on the site now called *Rās el 'Ain*, "the spring-head," and not where Robinson placed it, on the site of the present *Kefr Saba*. The more modern site, the discovery of which is due to Conder, is more in accordance with the abundant supply of water referred to by Josephus. It is to be noted that while Josephus in one passage identifies Antipatris with Kefr Saba, in another his description is more general, and he places it in the Plain of Kefr Saba (for notices cf. *Ant.*, xiii., 15, i. xvi. 5, 2, *B. J.*, i., 21, 9). They were now more than half way to

Cæsarea, and the road traversed the open plain so that they were no longer in danger of surprise, G.A. Smith, *Historical Geography*, p. 165, B.D.<sup>3</sup>, Hastings' B.D. (Conder). On the Greek article in notices of stations on journeys, peculiar to Acts, see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 149, cf. xvii. 1, xx. 13, xxi. 1, 3 (but xx. 14 no article).

Ver. 32. τῇ δὲ ἐπ.: not necessarily the morrow after they left Jerusalem, but the morrow after they arrived at Antipatris. In this interpretation διὰ νυκτὸς might be taken to mean *by night* in distinction to *by day*, so that they may have occupied two nights on the road, see Hackett's note, *in loco*.—ἐάσαντες, Lucan, see xxvii. 32, 40; xxviii. 4.—εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, here "to the castle" A. and R.V., the barracks in Antonia.—ὑπέστρεψαν, Lucan (Friedrich, p. 8), cf. i. 12.

Ver. 33. οὔτινες: "and they when they . . ." R.V., sc. *ιππεῖς*.—ἀναδόντες: not elsewhere in N.T., or in LXX in this sense, of delivering a letter. Zahn, following Hobart, sees in the phrase ἀναδ. τὴν ἐπιστολὴν a phrase characteristic of a medical man, since Hippocrates, *Epis.*, 1275, uses the verb instead of διδόναι or ἀποδιδόναι of a messenger delivering a letter, and thus shows a leaning common to the Greek medical writers of employing a verb already



XXIV. 1. ΜΕΤΑ δὲ πέντε ἡμέρας κατέβη ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας μετὰ<sup>1</sup> τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ ῥήτορος Τερτύλλου τινός, οἵτινες ἐνεφάνι-

<sup>1</sup> Instead of τῶν πρεσβ. NABE, Vulg., Sah., Syr. H. read πρεσβ. τινων, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.; Meyer follows T.R.

familiar to them in a professional way; but it must be remembered that both Polybius and Plutarch use the verb in a similar sense.

Ver. 34. ἀναγνούς, see reading in β text. ποίας: of what kind of province, imperial or senatorial, as the governor desired to complete the report, cf. ver. 27. Blass takes it as simply = τίνος, as in iv. 7.—It appears that during the first century, although perhaps with variations from time to time, Cilicia formed part of the great Roman province Syria-Cilicia-Phoenice, cf. "Cilicia" (Ramsay), Hastings' B.D. A procurator of Judæa like Felix was only subordinate to the governor of Syria inasmuch as the latter could bring his supreme power to bear in cases of necessity. The military command and the independent jurisdiction of the procurator gave him practically sole power in all ordinary transactions, but the governor could take the superior command if he had reason to fear revolutionary or other serious difficulties. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 44 ff., E.T.—ἐπαρχίας: the word is used to describe either a larger province, or an appendage to a larger province, as Judæa was to that of Syria, see Schürer, *u. s.*, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*

Ver. 35. διακούσασθαι σου: "I will hear thy cause," R.V., the word implies a judicial hearing (cf. LXX, Deut. i. 16 (Job ix. 33)), and so in classical Greek of hearing thoroughly. The word is used of a judicial hearing, Dio Cassius, xxxvi., 53 (36), and Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 57, gives examples of similar usages on Egyptian papyri, 2nd to 3rd century A.D. — πραιτωρίῳ: "palace," R.V., Herod's palace at Cæsarea, where the procurator resided; it was not only a palace but also a fortress, and would contain a guard-room in which Paul would be confined. The word "palace" might well express its meaning in all the passages in which it occurs in the Gospels and Acts (but on Phil. i. 13 see Lightfoot, *in loco*). The Romans thus appropriated palaces already existing, and formerly dwelt in by kings or princes, cf. Cicero, *Verr.*, ii., 5, 12, 30, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision of N.T.*, p. 49. It

seems from the context that the place could not have been far from the quarters occupied by Felix, since Paul could be easily sent for.—φυλάσσεσθαι: the kind of *custodia* depended on the procurator, and no doubt the *elogium* had its effect; *custodia satis levis* (Blass).

CHAPTER XXIV.—Ver. 1. πέντε ἡμέρας: most probably to be reckoned from the arrival of St. Paul at Cæsarea, not from his apprehension in Jerusalem, or from his start from Jerusalem on the way to Cæsarea. This latter view is that of Mr. Page, who takes οἱ μὲν οὖν, xxiii. 31, as answered by the δέ in this verse. But δέ, xxiii. 32, seems quite sufficiently to answer to μὲν in the previous verse. Wendt reckons the days from the arrival of Paul at Cæsarea, and regards the day of the arrival of the high priest as the fifth day, cf. Mark viii. 31. μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας = Matt. xvi. 21, Luke ix. 22, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμ., see below, ver. 11. On the truthfulness of the narrative see also on same verse.—κατέβη: "came down," R.V., *i. e.*, from the capital.—Ἀνανίας, see on xxiii. 2. If we read πρεσ. τινῶν, see *critical note*, "with certain elders," R.V., *i. e.*, a deputation of the Sanhedrim.—ῥήτορος Τ. τινός: "an orator, one Tertullus," R.V., βη. here = *causidicus*, a barrister; here the prosecuting counsel συνήγορος (as opposed to σύνδικος the defendant's advocate), see note, Blass, *in loco*. Τερτ.: a common name, diminutive of Tertius; but it does not follow from the name that he was a Roman, as both Greeks and Jews often bore Roman names. Blass speaks of him as a Jew "erat Judæus et ipse" (so Ewald, Bethge), whilst Wendt (1899) inclines against this view, although if the words in ver. 6, κατὰ τὸν ἡμετέρον νόμον, are retained, he admits that it would be correct; in addition to this the expression ἔθνος τοῦτο, ver. 3, seems in Wendt's view to indicate that the speaker was not a Jew (so too Wetstein). Tertullus was apparently one of the class of hired pleaders, often employed in the provinces by those who were themselves ignorant of Roman law. The trial may have been conducted in Greek, Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 684, Felten, *in loco*. —ἐνεφάνισαν, cf. xxv. 2, 15, the verb appears to be used in these passages as

σαν τῷ ἡγεμόνι κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου. 2. κληθέντος δὲ <sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ, ἤρξατο κατηγορεῖν ὁ Τέρτυλλος, λέγων, 3. Πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ, καὶ <sup>2</sup> κατορθωμάτων γινομένων τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ διὰ τῆς σῆς προνοίας πάντα τε καὶ πανταχοῦ, ἀποδεχόμεθα, κράτιστε Φῆλιξ, μετὰ πάσης εὐχαριστίας. 4. ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πλεῖόν σε <sup>3</sup> ἐγκόπτω,

<sup>1</sup> αὐτου om. B, so Weiss [W.H.], Wendt perhaps.

<sup>2</sup> κατορθ. HLP; διορθ. ἸΑΒΕ 13, 61, 137, 180; Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> For ἐγκόπτω ἸΑΒ'Ε have ἐνκόπτω, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Hilgenfeld (see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 54), Blass reads κοπῶ (fatigans, Syrric.; molestus sim, Sah., Boh.), A\* 13, 19, 31.

a kind of technical term to indicate laying formal information before a judge, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 10, 8, in LXX, Esther, ii., 22. Blass takes it here = χάρτην ἔδωκα, see also Wetstein.

Ver. 2. ἤρξατο: he began with a *captatio benevolentiae* after the usual oratorical style, cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii., 78, 79, on the *exordium* and its rules.—If obtaining such artificial support was not as Calvin calls it “signum ‘malæ conscientiae,’” it may well indicate the weakness of the Jews’ cause, and their determination to leave nothing untried against Paul.

Ver. 3. πολλῆς εἰρ. τυγχ.: the governors specially prided themselves on keeping peace in their provinces (Wetstein). On the phrase see 2 Macc. iv. 6, xiv. 10.—κατορθωμάτων: “very worthy deeds,” A.V., the word might mean “successes,” cf. Polyb., i., 19, 12, or it might mean *recte facta*, cf. Cic., *De Fin.*, iii., 14 (see also in Wetstein; the word is found in 3 Macc. iii. 23, R); but διορθώματα, see critical note, in Arist., Plut. = corrections, reforms (cf. R.V.), so διόρθωσις in Polyb., Vulgate, *multa corrigantur*. In LXX διορθοῦν is used of amending, Jer. vii. 3, 5.—προνοίας: foresight, cf. Rom. xiii. 14, nowhere else in N.T.; cf. for a close parallel to its use here 2 Macc. iv. 6, referred to above (Lumby). It is possible that the word may be a further proof of the sycophancy of the orator; twice the Latin *providentia*, A. and R.V. “providence,” was used of the emperors on coins, and also of the gods (Humphry on R.V.), “hoc vocabulum sæpe diis tribuerunt,” Bengel, *in loco*.—πάντη τε καὶ πανταχοῦ ἀποδεχ., so A. and R.V., “non in os solum laudamus” (Wetstein); but Meyer joins πάν. τε κ. παντ. with what precedes (Lach.), and in this he is followed by Weiss, Wendt, Page and

Blass. For similar phrases in Plato, Aristotile, Philo, Josephus, see Wetstein. πάντη: only here in N.T., but cf. Ecclus. i. 22, 3 Macc. iv. 1, cf. Friedrich, p. 5, on Luke’s fondness for πᾶς and kindred words.—τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ, see above on ver. 1 and also ver. 10. If he had been a Jew Wetstein thinks that he would have said τῷ ἔθνει τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, but see Blass, *in loco*, on ἔθνος “in sermone elegantiore et coram alienigenis”.—ἀποδ.: only in Luke and Acts; for its meaning here cf. ii. 41, 1 Macc. ix. 71 (S al.), so in classical Greek.—εὐχ.: except Rev. iv. 9, vii. 12, elsewhere in N.T. only in St. Paul’s Epistles (frequent); the word is also found in Esth. (LXX) viii. 13, Ecclus. xxxvii. 11, Wisd. xvi. 28, 2 Macc. ii. 27, and for other references see Kennedy, *Sources of N.T. Greek*, p. 73, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v*.—There was very little, if anything, to praise in the administration of Felix, but Tertullus fastened on the fact of his suppression of the bands of robbers who had infested the country, Jos., *B. J.*, ii., 13, 2, *Ant.*, xx., 8, 5, “ipse tamen his omnibus erat nocentior” (Wetstein). His severity and cruelty was so great that he only added fuel to the flame of outrage and sedition, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 8, 6, *B. J.*, ii., 13, 6, whilst he did not hesitate to employ the Sicarii to get rid of Jonathan the high priest who urged him to be more worthy of his office. In the rule of Felix Schürer sees the turning-point in the drama which opened with the death of Herod and terminated with the bloody conflict of A.D. 70. The uprisings of the people under his predecessors had been isolated and occasional; under him rebellion became permanent. And no wonder when we consider the picture of the public and private life of the man drawn by the hand of the Roman historian, and the fact that



παρακαλῶ ἀκοῦσαι σε ἡμῶν συντόμως τῇ σῇ ἐπεικειᾷ. 5. εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον λοιμόν, καὶ κινούμεντα στάσιν<sup>1</sup> πᾶσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, πρωτοστάτην τε τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἵρέσεως, 6. ὃς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπείρασε βεβηλῶσαι· ὃν καὶ ἐκρατήσαμεν

<sup>1</sup> The plural *στασεις* for *στασιν* is supported by *MSABE* 13, 40, 61, 68, Vulg., Boh., Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. Blass in *β* text with Gig. adds *οὐ μόνον τῷ γενεῇ ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πασῇ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ*.

trading upon the influence of his infamous brother Pallas he allowed himself a free hand to indulge in every licence and excess, Tac., *Hist.*, v., 9, and *Ann.*, xii., 54, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 177-181, E.T.

Ver. 4. *δεῖ αὐτὴν*, "inuit plura dici potuisse in laudem Felicis," Bengel.—*ἐγκόπτω*, *impedire*, as if Felix was so busy in his reforms that Tertullus would not interrupt him, but see critical note, *cf.* Rom. xv. 22, Gal. v. 7.—*ἐπὶ πλείον*, *cf.* iv. 17, xx. 9; in 2 Tim. ii. 16, iii. 9, with the opposite verb *προκόπτω*.—*συντόμως*: so in classical Greek, with *λέγειν*, *εἰπεῖν*; in Jos., *c. Apion.*, i., 1, 6, with *γράφει* and *διδάσκειν*, see Westein on Rom. ix. 28, *cf.* 2 Macc. ii. 31, for the adjective and for the adverb, Prov. xiii. 23, 3 Macc. v. 25; "est hæc communis oratorum promissio" (Blass).—*ἐπεικειᾷ*: only in Luke and Paul, see 2 Cor. x. 1, "pro tua clementia," Vulgate, derived from *εἴκω*, *cedo*, it properly might be rendered *yieldingness*; equity as opposed to strict law; so Aristotle sets the *ἐπεικὴς* against the *ἀκριβοδίκαιος*, *Eth. Nic.*, v., 10, 6. It is often joined with *φιλανθρωπία*, *πραότης*. Its archtype and pattern is to be found in God, *cf.* Wisd. xii. 18, 2 Macc. ii. 22, x. 4 R., Ps. lxxxv. 5, and so also in *Psalms of Solomon*, v., 14. The word also occurs, Baruch ii. 27, Song of the Three Children, ver. 19 (Dan., LXX and Theod. iii. 42), where it is used of God, also in Wisd. ii. 19, 3 Macc. iii. 15, vii. 6. For a valuable account of the word see Trench, *Synonyms*, i., p. 176 ff.

Ver. 5. *εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα . . . ὃς καὶ . . . ὃν καὶ ἐκρατ.*: on the anacolouthon, Blass, *Gram. des N.G.*, p. 277, Winer-Moulton, xlv., 6 b. Blass remarks that Luke gives no address so carelessly as that of Tertullus, but may not the anacolouthon here be the exact expression of the orator's inceptive? see critical note.—*λοιμόν*: 1 Sam. ii. 12, x. 27, xxv. 17, 25, Ps. i. 1 (plural), 1 Macc. xv. 21; 1 Macc. x. 61, xv. 3 R., *ἄνδρες λοιμοί* (*cf.* Prov. xxiv. 9, xxix. 8 A). So in classical Greek Dem., and in Latin *pestis*, Ter.,

Cic., Sallust. In 1 Macc. x. 6 A, *ἄνδρες παράνομοι* is a further description of "the pestilent fellows" (so 1 Sam. ii. 12, *υἱοὶ λοιμοί* = *ἄνῃρ ὁ παράνομος*, 2 Sam. xvi. 7).—*κινούμεντα στάσιν*, *cf.* Jos., *B. J.*, ii., 9, 4. *κιν. παραχῇν*: not against the Romans but amongst the Jews themselves—such a charge would be specially obnoxious to Felix, who prided himself on keeping order.—*τὴν οἰκ.*: the Roman empire, see on p. 270, *cf.* xvii. 6, and xxi. 28; see addition in *β* text.—*πρωτοστάτην*: the *τε* closely connecting the thought that the prisoner does all this as the leader, etc., literally one who stands in the front rank, so often in classical Greek, in LXX, Job xv. 24, AB.—*τῶν Ναζ.*: "the disciple is not above his Master," and the term is applied as a term of contempt to the followers of Jesus, as it had been to Jesus Himself, Who was stamped in the eyes of the Jews as a false Messiah by His reputed origin from Nazareth, John i. 46, vii. 41, 42; see for the modern employment of the name amongst Jews and Mohammedans Plumptre, *in loco*, and further, Harnack, *History of Dogma*, i., 301, E.T. Blass compares the contemptuous term used by the Greeks, *Χρηστιανοί*, xi. 26.—*αἵρέσεως*, see above on v. 17, all references to the question of law, xxiii. 6, 29, were purposely kept in the background, and stress laid upon all which threatened to destroy the boasted "peace" (Weiss).

Ver. 6. *ἐπείρασε*: the charge could not be proved, *cf.* xxi. 28, but the verb here used is an aggravation not a modification of the surmise (*ἐνόμιζον*, ver. 29) of the Jews.—*βεβ.*, *cf.* Matt. xii. 5 (*βαῖνον, βηλός*, threshold), Judith ix. 8, 1 Macc. ii. 12, iv. 38, 44, 54, 2 Macc. x. 5, etc., and frequent in LXX, *cf.* *Psalms of Solomon* i. 8, and *βεβηλος* four, *βεβήλωσις* three times.—Probably Tertullus wanted to insinuate that the prisoner was punishable even according to Roman law, see above on xxi. 29; but Trophimus as a Greek and not Paul would have been exposed to the death penalty,

καὶ<sup>1</sup> κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἠεληήσαμεν κρίνειν, 7. παρελθὼν δὲ Λυσίας ὁ χιλιάρχος μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀπήγαγε, 8. κελεύσας τοὺς κατηγοροὺς αὐτοῦ ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σέ· παρ' οὐ δυνήσῃ αὐτὸς ἀνακρίνας περὶ πάντων τούτων ἐπιγνῶναι ὧν ἡμεῖς κατηγοροῦμεν αὐτοῦ. 9.<sup>2</sup> συνέθετο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, φάσκοντες ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν.

<sup>1</sup> T.R. καὶ . . . ἐπὶ σε (ver. 8) is supported by E, Vulg., Gic., Syr. P. and H.; Blass retains, R.V. marg. But the whole is omit. by  $\aleph$ ABHLP 61 (many others), Sah., Boh., so Lach., Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt; Alford places in dark brackets. The words, however, have been recently defended by Zöckler, H. Holtzmann, Hilgenfeld, and Belser, following Blass in his two texts. It is possible that the abruptness of ἐκρατήσαμεν may have prompted a desire for additions and completeness, and it is difficult to understand the omission of the disputed words if they were original. If we retain them, παρ' ου refers to Lysias, but not only is it somewhat strange that a professional orator should throw blame upon the Roman chiliarch, but it is also difficult to see how Lysias could in any way bear testimony against Paul in relation to accusations with regard to which he had professed himself ignorant, and after the hearing of which he had concluded that the prisoner had done nothing worthy of death or bonds. Moreover, the omission of any reference on Paul's part to Lysias in ver. 20 raises another difficulty, if Tertullus had appealed to the evidence which the Roman could give (Wendt, 1899). On the other hand the decision of Felix in ver. 22, and the postponement for the arrival of Lysias, have been held to prove the genuineness of the doubtful words. It is possible that there may be some antecedent corruption or abridgment in the text. For further variations see W.H., *Abh.*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> συνεπεθετο R.V., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass (instead of συνεθετο), with  $\aleph$ ABEHLP.

to say nothing of the fact that the charge was only one of suspicion. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 74, note, and references in chap. xxi., ver. 29.—ἐκρατήσαμεν: the word could be used "de conatu vel mero vel efficaci," and so Bengel adds "aptum igitur ad calumniam". The orator identifies himself with his clients, and ascribes to the hierarchy the seizing of Paul, as if it was a legal act, whereas it was primarily the action of the mob violence of the people, xxi. 30; frequently used in same sense as here by Matthew and Mark, but not at all by St. John, and only in this passage by Luke, cf. Rev. xx. 2, LXX, Ps. lv., tit., Judg. viii. 12, xvi. 21 (*A. al.*).—καὶ κατὰ . . . ἐπὶ σέ, ver. 8, see critical note, omitted by R.V. in text, retained by Blass and Knabenbauer, so in Vulgate. Zöckler amongst others has recently supported Blass, and for the same reason, viz., because if the words are retained the judge is asked to inquire of Paul, and thus the Apostle becomes a witness as well as a prisoner. But, on the other hand, Paul though still a prisoner is allowed to speak for himself before both Felix and Festus. If the words are retained, παρ' οὗ would refer to Lysias, and this would be in agreement with the

remarks of Felix in ver. 22. Certainly ἐκρατήσαμεν seems very bald without any sequel, and this may have caused the insertion of the words; but the insertion was a bold one, although we can understand that the Jews would have been incensed against Lysias, who had twice protected Paul from their violence. The omission of the words if they formed part of the original text is no doubt difficult to explain.—ἤθελ. κρίνειν, cf. xxi. 31, 36, xxii. 22, xxiii. 12, passages which give us a very different idea of the wishes of the Jews.

Ver. 7. μετὰ π. βίας: another statement directly at variance with the facts, xxi. 32.

Ver. 8. ἀνακ.: not an examination by torture, which could not be legally applied either to Paul or to Lysias as Roman citizens, but in the sense of a judicial investigation—in this sense peculiar to Luke, cf. iv. 9, and Plummer on Luke xxiii. 14, cf. xxv. 26 below. A.V., "by examining of whom thyself," etc., which is quite misleading whether we retain the words omitted above in R.V. or not, because this rendering reads as if Felix was to examine the accusers, whereas the relative pronoun is in the singular, παρ' οὗ.

Ver. 9. συνέθετο: in R.V. συνεπεθε-



10. Ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ Παῦλος, νεύσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος λέγειν,  
Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενος,<sup>1</sup> εὐθυμό-

<sup>1</sup> εὐθυμοτερον HLP, Chrys. (Meyer); ευθυμως NABE, Vulg., Ath., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.

"joined in the charge," *cf.* xviii. 10, so in classical Greek; in LXX (Deut. xxxii. 27), Ps. iii. 6 AS, Zach. i. 15, here only in N.T.—*φάσκοντες*, *cf.* xxv. 19, Rom. i. 22, *dictitantes*, but sometimes with the notion of alleging what is untrue, to pretend, *cf.* LXX, Bel and the Dragon, ver. 8. The verb is found elsewhere, Gen. xxvi. 20, 2 Macc. xiv. 27, 32, 3 Macc. iii. 7.

Ver. 10. On the language of the speech see Bethge, p. 229.—This short apology before Felix is not without its traces of Paul's phraseology, *e.g.*, ἐλπίζω ἔχων, ver. 15, with which we may compare Rom. xv. 4, 2 Cor. iii. 12, x. 15, Ephes. ii. 12, 1 Thess. iv. 13, in all of which we have the phrase ἐλπ. ἔχειν (only once elsewhere in N.T., 1 John iii. 3); προσδέχονται in ver. 15, with which we may compare Tit. ii. 13; προσφοράς, ver. 17, *cf.* Rom. xv. 16; δι' ἐτῶν, ver. 17, with Gal. ii. 1 (διὰ with genitive of time, only once elsewhere in N.T., Mark ii. 1), and more especially ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδ., *cf.* 1 Cor. x. 32, Phil. i. 10, and for συνείδησις, see xxiii. 1 (*cf.* Nösgen, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 54, and Alford, *Acts*, introd., p. 14). Wendt regards the *whole* speech as a free composition of the author of Acts, and even this view contrasts favourably with what Wendt himself calls the wilful attempts to refer different words and phrases in the speech to various Redactors, see for illustrations of this arbitrariness his note on p. 369 (1899).—νεύσαντος: in N.T., elsewhere only John xiii. 24. Friedrich draws attention to the frequent mention of beckoning, or making signs, as characteristic of Luke's writings, p. 29, *cf.* Luke i. 22 and 62 (διανεύω, ἐννεύω), v. 7 (κατανεύω); Acts xiii. 16, xxvi. 1, xxiv. 10, etc.—Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν: in view of the constant change of procurators a period of five to seven years would quite justify St. Paul's words. Ewald argued for ten years from the statement, Tac., *Ann.*, xii., 54, that Felix had been joint procurator with Cumanus before he had been appointed sole procurator of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, Peræa. But no mention is made of this by Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 7, 1. If, however, so it is

argued, Felix had occupied a position of importance in Samaria in the time of the rule of Cumanus without being himself actually joint procurator, this would perhaps account for Jonathan the high priest asking that he might be appointed procurator after the departure of Cumanus (Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 8, 5, B. 7., ii., 12, 6); such a request is difficult to understand unless Jonathan had some ground for supposing that Felix would be acceptable to the Jews. But the description of Tacitus, *l.c.*, is also difficult to understand, since we naturally ask what was the relative rank of Felix and Cumanus? or were there two procuratorial districts? and the statement of Josephus seems clearly to intimate that Felix was first appointed to the province after the deposition of Cumanus, and that he went to Palestine as his successor, B. 7., ii., 12, 6, *cf.* *Ant.*, xx., 8, 5, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 173 ff., and "Felix," Hastings' B.D.—Both Tacitus and Josephus are taken to imply that Felix succeeded Cumanus in 52 A.D. as procurator, *Ann.*, xii., 54, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 7, 1. But if O. Holtzmann and McGiffert are right in placing St. Paul's imprisonment in Cæsarea in 53-55 A.D., it seems scarcely intelligible that St. Paul should speak of the "many years" of the rule of Felix, unless on the supposition that Tacitus is right and that Felix had ruled in Samaria and Judæa whilst Cumanus had ruled in Galilee. Harnack, *Chron.*, i., 236, following Eusebius, assigns the eleventh year of Claudius, 51 A.D., as the year in which Felix entered upon office, and thinks that a procuratorship lasting from 51-54 might be described in St. Paul's words, but, as Wendt justly points out (1899), the expression πολλὰ ἔτη is much more fitting if spoken some years later. Schürer follows Josephus, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 173 ff., and so more recently Dr. A. Robertson, "Felix," Hastings' B.D., and Dr. Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 635 (so also article, *Biblical World*, Nov., 1897), whilst Wendt, p. 58 (1899), would appear to incline to the same view.—But it is to be noted that St. Paul speaks of Felix as κριτής, and in this expres-

τερον τὰ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ ἀπολογοῦμαι· 11. δυναμένου σου<sup>1</sup> γνῶναι ὅτι οὐ πλείους εἰσὶ μοι ἡμέραι ἢ δεκαδύο, ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβην προσκυνήσων

<sup>1</sup> For γνῶναι NABE, Tisch., W.H., and other authorities in ver. 10 read ἐπιγνῶναι. η om. with all better authorities, cf. iv. 22. δωδεκα (instead of δεκαδυο) NABE, and other authorities above. εἰς for ἐν NABEH, and other authorities, as above.

sion it may be possible to find a point of reconciliation between the divergencies resulting from a comparison of Josephus and Tacitus. Felix may have held an office during the procuratorship of Cumanus which may have given him some judicial authority, although of course subordinate to the procurator, whilst on the other hand his tenure of such an office may well have prompted Jonathan's request to the emperor that Felix should be sent as procurator (a request upon which both Schürer and Zahn lay such stress). The phrase πῶλλα ἔτη may thus be further extended to include the tenure of this judicial office which Felix held earlier than 52 A.D., see also Turner, "Chronology," Hastings' B.D., i., 418, 419, McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 358, O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 128, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 313, Gilbert, *Student's Life of Paul*, p. 249 ff., 1899.—κριτὴν, see above, p. 480; on the addition δίκαιον, defended by St. Chrysostom (so E, Syr. H.), Blass remarks "continet adulationem quæ Paulum parum deceat, quidquid dicit Chrysostomus".—τῷ ἔθνει τοῦτω: St. Paul is speaking of the Jews as a nation in their political relationship, in addressing a Roman governor, not as God's people, λαός.—εὐθυμότερον: adverb only here in N.T., not in LXX, but in classical Greek, for the adjective see xxvii. 36 (2 Macc. xi. 26), and the verb εὐθυμεῖν, ver. 22.—St. Paul also begins with a *captatio benevolentiae*, but one which contains nothing but the strict truth; he might fairly appeal to the judicial experience of Felix for the due understanding of his case.—τὰ περὶ ἑμαυτοῦ: for the phrase τὰ περὶ τίνος as characteristic of St. Luke, three times in Gospel, eight times in Acts (six times in St. Paul's Epistles and not in other Gospels, except Mark v. 27, R.V.), cf. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 38, Friedrich, p. 10 (so Lekebusch and Zeller).—ἀπολογοῦμαι: only in Luke and Paul, Luke xii. 11, xxi. 14, Acts xix. 33, xxv. 8, xxvi. 1, 2, 24; Rom. ii. 15, 2 Cor. xii. 19, each time in Acts, except xix. 38, with

reference to Paul: R.V. "I make my defence"; see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, for the construction of the verb, in classical Greek as here, Thuc., iii., 62, Plat., *Phædo*, 69 D. In LXX, cf. Jer. xii. 1, 2 Macc. xiii. 26.

Ver. 11. δυν. σου γνῶναι: "seeing that thou canst take knowledge" (ἐπιγ.), R.V., the shortness of the time would enable Felix to gain accurate knowledge of the events which had transpired, and the Apostle may also imply that the time was too short for exciting a multitude to sedition.—οὐ πλείους εἰσὶ μοι ἡμ. ἢ δεκαδύο: on οὐ πλείους see ver. 1 and critical note.—The number is evidently not a mere round number, as Overbeck thinks, but indicates that Paul laid stress upon the shortness of the period, and would not have included incomplete days in his reckoning. It is not necessary therefore to include the day of the arrival in Jerusalem (ἀφ' ἧς points to the day as something past, Bethge), or the day of the present trial; probably the arrival in Jerusalem was in the evening, as it is not until the next day that Paul seeks out James (Wendt). The first day of the twelve would therefore be the entry in to James, the second the commencement of the Nazirite vow, the sixth that of the apprehension of Paul towards the close of the seven days, xxi. 27; the seventh the day before the Sanhedrim, the eighth the information of the plot and (in the evening) Paul's start for Cæsarea, the ninth the arrival in Cæsarea; and, reckoning from the ninth five days inclusively, the day of the speech of Tertullus before Felix would be the thirteenth day, i.e., twelve full days; cf. xx. 6, where in the seven days are reckoned the day of arrival and the day of departure (Wendt, *in loco*). Meyer on the other hand reckons the day of St. Paul's arrival in Jerusalem as the first day, and the five days of xxiv. 1 from his departure from Jerusalem for Cæsarea. For other modes of reckoning see Wendt's note, Farrar, *St. Paul*, ii., 338, Alford, Rendall, and Lumby, *in loco*. Weiss points out that it is simplest to add the seven days of xxi. 27 and the



ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ · 12. καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐρόν με πρὸς τινὰ διαλεγόμενον ἢ <sup>1</sup> ἐπισύστασιν ποιῶντα ὄχλου, οὔτε ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς, οὔτε κατὰ τὴν πόλιν · 13.<sup>2</sup> οὔτε παραστήσαι με δύνανται περὶ ὧν νῦν κατηγοροῦσί μου. 14. ὁμολογῶ δὲ τοῦτό σοι, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν, οὕτω λατρεύω τῷ πατρώῳ Θεῷ, πιστεύων πᾶσι

<sup>1</sup> For ἐπισύστασιν HLP, Chrys. (Meyer), NABE 13, 40, and other authorities as above read ἐπιστάσιν.

<sup>2</sup> For οὔτε NB 61 read οὐδε; R.V. with other authorities as above, but not Hilgenfeld. For νῦν NAB read νυνί, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Blass, Hilgenfeld.

five days of xxiv. 1, but we cannot by any means be sure that xxi. 27 implies a space of full seven days: "varie numerum computant; sed simplicissimum est sine dubio, e septem diebus, xxi. 27, et quinque, xxiv. 1, eum colligere," so Blass, but see his note on the passage.—προσκυνήσων, cf. xx. 16, the purpose was in itself an answer to each accusation—reverence not insurrection, conformity not heresy, worship not profanity. "To worship I came, so far was I from raising sedition," Chrys. There were other reasons no doubt for St. Paul's journey, as he himself states, ver. 17, cf. Rom. xv. 25, but he naturally places first the reason which would be a defence in the procurator's eyes. Overbeck and Wendt contend that the statement is not genuine, and that it is placed by the author of Acts in St. Paul's mouth, but see on the other hand Weiss, *in loco*. It seems quite captious to demand that Paul should explain to the procurator all the reasons for his journey, or that the fact that he came to worship should exclude the fact that he also came to offer alms.

Ver. 12. οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ . . . οὔτε . . . οὔτε: step by step he refutes the charge.—οὔτε εὐρόν, cf. ver. 5, εὐρόντες, a flat denial to the allegation of Tertullus; R.V. reads more plainly: both acts, the disputing and the exciting a tumult, are denied with reference to the Temple, the synagogue, the city. In διαλ. there would have been nothing censurable, but even from this the Apostle had refrained.—ἢ ἐπισύστασιν ποι. ὄχ.: R.V. reads ἐπίστασιν; the Apostle had been accused as κινεῶντα στάσεις, ver. 5; here is his answer to the charge, they had not found him "stirring up a crowd," R.V. This rendering however seems to make ἐπίστασις almost = ἐπισύστασις, a stronger word, cf. Numb. xxvi. 9, 1 Esdras v. 73, conjuratio. In 2 Macc. vi. 3 we have ἐπίστασις τῆς κακίας, *incursio*

*malorum*, Vulgate, but its meaning here would seem to be rather *concursum*, in the sense of a concourse, an assembly, not an onset or attack; and the phrase expresses that the Apostle had not been guilty of even the least disturbance; not even of causing the assembling of a crowd (see Wendt and Weiss, *in loco*), "aut concursum facientem turbæ," Vulgate.—In 2 Cor. xi. 28 it is possible that ἐπισύστασις may be used of the presence of a multitude, almost like ἐπίστασις, see Grimm-Thayer.—συναγωγαῖς: plural, because so many in Jerusalem, cf. vi. 9.—κατὰ τὴν πόλιν: Alford renders "up and down the streets," cf. Luke viii. 39, xv. 14.

Ver. 13. οὔτε: οὐδέ, R.V. (so Blass, *Gram.*, p. 260, Simcox, *Z. N. T.*, p. 165); the Apostle after denying the specific charges made against him in Jerusalem, now proceeds further to a general denial of the charge that he had been an agitator amongst the Jews throughout the empire.—παραστήσαι: *argumentis probare*, only here in N.T. in this sense, but in classical Greek, Philo, Jos., Epictet.—νῦν, see critical note.

Ver. 14. ὁμολ.: "verbum forense idemque sacrum," Bengel. "Unum crimen confitetur," viz., that of belonging to the sect of the Nazarenes, "sed crimen non esse docet"—κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγ. αἵρεσιν: "according to the way which they call a sect," R.V. For ὁδὸν see ix. 2, and for the reading in β text critical note. αἵρεσιν: a word of neutral significance, which Tertullus had used in a bad sense. For St. Paul Christianity was not αἵρεσις, a separation from the Jewish religion, but was rather πλήρωσις, cf. xiii. 32.—τῷ πατρ. Θεῷ, cf. xxii. 3. The Apostle may have used the expression here as a classical one which the Roman might appreciate, cf. θεοὶ πατρῷοι, Thuc., ii., 71; *Æn.*, ix., 247, and instances in Wetstein. (On the distinctions between πατρώος and πατρι-

τοῖς κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖς προφήταις γεγραμμένοις, 15. ἐλπῖδα ἔχων εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ἣν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι προσδέχονται, ἀνάστασιν μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> νεκρῶν, δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων. 16. ἐν τούτῳ<sup>3</sup> δὲ αὐτὸς ἀσκῶ, ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν καὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> After καὶ ἡ\*BE read τοῖς ἐν, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.; Blass in β text follows T.R. (Steph.) and omits ἐν. (On the force of κατὰ and ἐν see Wendt (1899), *in loco*.)

<sup>2</sup> After ἐσεσθαι, νεκρῶν is om. by ἡABC 13, 40, 61, 68, Vulg., Sah. Boh., Arm., Chrys., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass (but retained by Hilg.).

<sup>3</sup> καὶ (for δὲ) ἡABCEL, Vulg., Syr. P. and H., Sah., Aeth., R.V., and other authorities as in ver. 15.

κός, Gal. i. 14, see Syn., Grimm-Thayer.) Moreover St. Paul could appeal to the fact that liberty had been given to the Jews by the Romans themselves to worship the God of their fathers (see Alford's note, *in loco*).—λατρεύω: "so serve I," R.V., see on vii. 42; if it is true that the word always describes a divine service like λατρεία, and that this idea appears to spring from the conception of complete devotion of powers to a master which lies in the root of the word (Westcott), no verb could more appropriately describe the service of one who called himself δοῦλος of God and of Christ.—πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ν. κ.τ.λ.: "all things which are according to the law," R.V., "iterum refutat Tertullum, ver. 6," Bengel; "and which are written in the prophets," R.V. The mention of the prophets as well as of the law shows that a reference to the Messianic hopes is intended.

Ver. 15. ἐλπῖδα ἔχων, cf. xxiii. 6: St. Paul speaks of the hope as a present possession, "*habens id plus quam προσδ. expectant*," Bengel; in LXX very frequent with ἐπὶ, but for εἰς cf. Isa. li. 5, Ps. cxviii. 114 S<sup>1</sup>, so here, a hope supporting itself upon God.—καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι: the Apostle makes no distinction between Sadducees and Pharisees, but regards the Jews who were present as representing the nation.—προσδ., xxiii. 21, cf. St. Paul's words in Tit. ii. 13, Gal. v. 5.—μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι, see above on xi. 28, and cf. xxvii. 10, future infinitive with μέλλειν only in this one phrase in N.T.—ἀνάστασιν . . . δικ. τε καὶ ἀδίκων: the belief was firmly held in all circles where the teaching of the Pharisees prevailed. But was this belief a belief in the resurrection of Israelites only? Was it a belief in the resurrection of the righteous only? The book of Daniel plainly implies a resurrection of the just and the unjust, xii. 2, but we cannot say that this became the prevailing

belief, e.g., in *Psalms of Solomon*, although iii. 16 may probably be based upon the passage in Daniel, yet in ver. 13 there is no thought of the resurrection of the sinner (cf. 2 Macc. vii. 14, σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν οὐκ ἔσται, addressed to Antiochus Epiphanes). So Josephus, in giving an account of the ordinary Pharisaic doctrine, speaks only of the virtuous reviving and living again, *Ant.*, xviii., 1, 3. So too in the Talmudic literature the resurrection of the dead is a privilege of Israel, and of righteous Israelites only—there is no resurrection of the heathen. On the other hand there are passages in the Book of Enoch where a resurrection of all Israelites is spoken of, cf. xxii., with the exception of one class of sinners, i.-xxxvi., xxxvii.-lxx., lxxxiii.-xc., Apocalypse of Baruch l.-li. 6, but in Enoch xli.-liv. we have a resurrection of the righteous Israelites only, cf. Apoc. of Baruch xxx. 1 (cf. with this verse in Acts). See further Charles, *Book of Enoch*, pp. 139, 262, and *Apocalypse of Baruch*, i.e., *Psalms of Solomon*, Ryle and James, *Introd.*, li., pp. 37, 38, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 179, Weber, *Jüdische Theol.*, p. 390 ff. (1897). Enoch xci.-civ. is placed by Charles at 104-95 B.C., and Baruch xxx. is ascribed to B<sup>3</sup>, written after the destruction of Jerusalem.

Ver. 16. ἐν τούτῳ: "herein" is rather ambiguous, A. and R.V.; the expression may be used as = *propterea*, as the result of the confession of faith in vv. 14, 15, cf. John xvi. 30 (Xen., Cyr., i., 3, 14). Rendall takes it = *meanwhile* (so apparently Wetstein), sc. χρόνῳ, i.e., in this earthly life; "hanc spem dum habeo," Bengel. If we read καὶ, not δὲ, perhaps best explained "non minus quam illi," Blass, "I also exercise myself," R.V., ἀσκῶ, cf. 2 Macc. xv. 4; ἀσκησις, 4 Macc. xiii. 22; ἀσκητής, 4 Macc. xii. 11; so in classical Greek, *laborare, studere*, Soph., *Elect.*, 1024.—ἀπρόσκοπον: only by Paul



ἀνθρώπους διαπαντός. 17. δι' ἐτῶν δὲ πλείονων<sup>1</sup> παρεγενόμην  
ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσω· εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου καὶ προσφοράς· 18.<sup>2</sup> ἐν  
οἷς εὗρόν με ἡγνισμένον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, οὐ μετὰ ὄχλου οὐδὲ μετὰ

<sup>1</sup> R.V. transposes *παρεγ.*, placing it after *μου*, with *℣\*BC*, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Blass (but not Hilg.), who places it after *προσφοράς*; A omits.

<sup>2</sup> *ἐν οἷς* HLP, so Blass, but *ἐν αἷς* *℣ABCE*, Blass in *β* text, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. *οἷς* may have been changed into *αἷς* on account of the immediately preceding *προσφοράς*; but the fem. may also have been changed into *οἷς*, because no definite reference is made to offerings in xxi. 27, where the tumult took place, and the expression *ἐν οἷς* would express a more general reference to ver. 17. See note below, and also Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 193, 228; Wendt (1899), note, *in loco*.

in N. T., cf. 1 Cor. x. 32, where used actively, and cf. Eccclus. xxxii. (xxxv.) 21, 3 Macc. iii. 8. In Phil. i. 10 Light-foot points out that the word may be taken either transitively or intransitively, although he prefers the latter. Mr. Page in his note on the word in this passage commends A.V. "void of offence" as including the two images, not offending, upright, ἀπροσ. πρὸς τὸν Θεόν; not causing offence, ἀπροσ. πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. "Ad Deum et homines congruit quod sequitur *eleemosynas et oblationes*," Bengel.—*διὰ παντός*, see Plummer on Luke xxiv. 53, cf. Acts ii. 25, x. 2, Matt. xviii. 10, Mark v. 5, Heb. ii. 15, emphatic here at the end of sentence, implying that the Apostle's whole aim in life should free him from the suspicion of such charges as had been brought against him.

Ver. 17. *πλείονων*: "many," R.V., but margin, "some," so Rendall: if xviii. 22 refers to a visit to Jerusalem (see note) at the close of the Apostle's second missionary journey, the number expressed by *πλείονων* would not exceed four or five.—*ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσω*, see above on collection for the Saints at Jerusalem. *ἐλεη.*: not elsewhere used by Paul, who speaks of *κοινωνία*, *διακονία* εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους, see on x. 2.—*παρεγενόμην*, Lucan, but cf. also 1 Cor. xvi. 3, for the word again used by St. Paul.—*εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου*: quite natural for St. Paul to speak thus of the Jewish nation, for the Jewish-Christian Church naturally consisted of Jews, cf. Rom. ix. 3. For this allusion in Acts to the great work of the collection, and its evidential value, as corroborating the notices in the Epistles, see above on p. 422, and Paley, *H.P.*, chap. ii., 1. On this use of *εἰς* cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1, 13, Rom. xv. 26, and see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 113.—*καὶ προσφοράς*:

no mention is made of offerings as part of the purpose of St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem, but we know that he came up to Jerusalem to worship, ver. 11, and to be present at the Feast of Pentecost, xx. 16, and even if he did not present some offering in connection with that Feast (a thank-offering as Bethge supposes), Dr. Hort's view may well commend itself that the Apostle wished to make some offering on his own account, or it may be a solemn peace-offering in connection with the Gentile contribution for the Jewish Christians, and its acceptance, see on xxi. 26, and also Weiss, *in loco*. The position of *προσφ.* seems against the supposition that we can take it simply with *ἐλεη.*, and in combination with it, as if both words referred to the collection for the Saints. Jüngst would omit the words *καὶ προσφ.* . . . *ἱερῷ* altogether, whilst even Hilgenfeld regards vv. 17-21 as an addition of his "Author to Theophilus".

Ver. 18. *ἐν οἷς*, see critical note. If we read *ἐν αἷς* = "amidst which," R.V., "in presenting which," margin, with reference to *προσφοράς*, including not only the offerings in connection with the Apostle's association of himself with the poor men in the Nazirite vow, but also offerings such as those referred to in ver. 17. *ἐν οἷς* = *inter quæ* (Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 193, 228), *i.e.*, in reference to these matters generally, cf. xxvi. 12.—*εὗρον*, cf. ver. 5: "they found me," indeed, as they have said, but *οὐ μετὰ ὄχλου κ.τ.λ.*; a direct answer to the charge of profaning the Temple: he had gone there for worship and sacrifice, "then how did I profane it?" Chrys., *Hom.*, L.—*ἡγνισμένον*: the expression is generally taken to refer to the offerings involved in the association with the vow, xxi. 26, but it may also include other acts of worship and purification in the Temple.

θορύβου, τινὲς<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι, 19. οὗς ἔδει ἐπὶ σοῦ παρῆναι καὶ κατηγορεῖν εἰ τι ἔχοιεν πρὸς με. 20. ἡ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι εἰπάτωσαν,<sup>2</sup> εἰ τι εὖρον ἐν ἐμοὶ ἀδίκημα, στάντος μου ἐπὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου. 21. ἡ περὶ μᾶς ταύτης φωνῆς, ἥς<sup>3</sup> ἔκραξα ἑσπῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς, Ὅτι περὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ἐγὼ κρίνομαι σήμερον<sup>4</sup> ὑφ' ὑμῶν.

<sup>1</sup> After τινες NABCE 13, 40, 61, Sah., Boh., Syr. H.; Tisch., W.H., Weiss, R.V., Wendt [Blass] add δε; omitted by HLP.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of τι εὖρ. W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, T.R. has εἰ τι εὖρ. with very slight attestation; cf. ver. 19. ἐν ἐμοὶ om. NAB 13, 40, 61, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, but not Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> For ἔκραξα (Lach., Hilgenfeld) the form ἐκεκραξα is found in NABC 13, 40, 61, Chrys., Tisch.; W.H., Blass, Weiss; redupl. form only here in N.T., but often in LXX; see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Instead of υφ' ABC 13, 40, 61, Syr. Pesh., Aethutr. read ἐφ', so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass in β; υφ' is supported by NEHLP, Chrys. (so Vulg., Gic., Boh., Syr. H., a vobis, and Hilg.).

—τινὲς: in A.V. the word is simply referred to εὖρον and there is no difficulty; but if we insert δέ after it (see critical note). R.V. renders "but *there were* certain Jews from Asia," etc. The sentence breaks off, and the speaker makes no direct reference to xxi. 27, but implies that these Asiatic Jews should have been present to accuse him if they had any accusation to make—their absence was in the prisoner's favour; "the passage as it stands (*i.e.*, with this break) is instinct with life, and seems to exhibit the abruptness so characteristic of the Pauline Epistles," cf. xxvi. 9, see Page's note *in loco*. Others take δέ though less forcibly as more strictly in opposition to the preceding words, meaning that his accusers had not found him as they alleged, and as Tertullus alleged, ver. 5, but that certain Jews of Asia had found him. Hackett retains δέ, and sees in the words a retort of the charge of riot upon the true authors of it: "but certain Jews from Asia"—it is they who excited a tumult, not I; the verb could be omitted, a true picture of the Apostle's earnestness, because so readily suggested from θορύβου, but this interpretation seems hardly borne out by the context.

Ver. 19. ἔδει without ἄν, cf. Luke xi. 42, xv. 32; on the force of this imperfect, see Burton, p. 14, Winer-Moulton, xli. 2.—εἰ τι ἔχοιεν πρὸς με: the optative of subjective possibility, representing the subjective view of the agent—if they had anything against me (in their own belief), Winer-Moulton, xli. b 2, Viteau, *Le Grec du N. T.*, p. 111 (1893), Burton,

p. 106.—κατηγορεῖν: "to make accusation," R.V., cf. ver. 2.

Ver. 20. ἡ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι: "quandoquidem absunt illi, hi dicant," Blass; as the Jews from Asia are not present as accusers, he appeals to those Jews who are—he cannot demand speech from the absent, but he claims it from the present (Weiss): "or else let these men themselves say," R.V., since they are the only accusers present. Kuinoel refers the words to the Sadducees, and thinks this proved from the next verse, but the context does not require this reference, nor can the words be referred with Ewald to the Asiatic Jews, since στάντος μου ἐπὶ τοῦ συν. is against such an interpretation.—τι, see critical note.

Ver. 21. ἡ = ἄλλο ἢ after ἀδίκημα (Rendall); St. Paul, of course, uses the word (ἀδίκημα) of his accusers. St. Paul is taken by some to speak ironically . . . strange ἀδίκημα, a question of belief with regard to which the Jews themselves were at variance, and which the procurator would regard as an idle contention! Weiss renders "or let them say, if in other respects they have found nothing wrong, concerning this one utterance," etc.—"in what respect they regard it as an ἀδίκημα," supplying εἰπάτωσαν from the previous verse. On the whole verse see further Blass, *Gram.*, p. 168, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 187; and also p. 225 on ἥς ἔκραξα—ἥς probably not for ἥ (cf. Matt. xxvii. 50), but here φωνή is used in the sense of a loud cry, so that the construction resolves itself into φωνὴν κρᾶζειν, cf. Rev. vi. 10, v. l. (and for the expression in LXX.



22.<sup>1</sup> Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φῆλιξ ἀνεβάλετο αὐτοῦς, ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἰπὼν, Ὅταν Λυσίας ὁ χιλιάρχος καταβῇ, διαγνώσονται τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς. 23. διαταξάμενός τε τῷ ἑκατοντάρχη τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον, ἔχειν τε ἄνεσιν, καὶ μηδένα κωλύειν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ ὑπηρετεῖν<sup>2</sup> ἢ προσέρχεσθαι αὐτῷ.

24. Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς παραγενόμενος ὁ Φῆλιξ σὺν Δρουσίλλῃ τῇ<sup>3</sup> γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ οὔσῃ Ἰουδαίᾳ, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Παῦλον, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> The words ακουσας δε ταυτα om.; ανεβαλ. δε αυτ. ο φ. with  $\aleph$ ABCE, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> η προσερχ. om.  $\aleph$ ABCE 13, 61, Vulg., Syr. P. and H., Boh., Arm., Tisch., R.V., and other authorities in ver. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of T.R. BC<sup>2</sup> 36, Syr. H. mg., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss [Blass] have τη ιδιᾳ γυν. (om. αυτου). T.R. as  $\aleph^*$ E, τη γυναικι in C<sup>\*</sup>HLP (Meyer, Hilgenfeld);  $\aleph^*$ A, 13, 18, 6, have τη ιδ. γυν. αυτου. At the beginning of verse Blass in  $\beta$  text after ημ. τινας reads Δρουσιλλα η γυνη του Φηλικος ουσα Ιουδαια ηρωτα ιδειν τον Παυλον και ακουσαι τον λογον. βουλομενος ουν το ικανον ποιησαι αυτη (Cassiod. Compl., p. 205 (1402, Mign.) and Syr. H. mg.).

Isa. vi. 4). Farrar, *St. Paul*, ii., 328, thinks that he sees in this utterance some compunction on St. Paul's part for his action in dividing the Sanhedrim, and for the tumult he had caused, but see above, p. 467.

Ver. 22. ἀνεβάλετο: *ampliavit eos*, a technical expression, only here in N. T., the judges were wont to say *Amplius* in cases where it was not possible to pass at once a judgment of condemnation or acquittal before further inquiry, Cic., *In Verr.*, i., 29.—ἀκριβ.: "having more exact knowledge concerning the Way" than to be deceived by the misrepresentation of the Jews; he may have learnt some details of the Christian sect during his years of office from his wife Drusilla, or possibly during his residence in Cæsarea, where there was a Christian community and the home of Philip the Evangelist, and where Cornelius had been converted. This knowledge, the writer indicates, was the real reason: the reason which Felix alleged was that he required the evidence of Lysias in person. Wendt, Zöckler, Bethge, Nösgen take the words to mean that the address of Paul had offended Felix's more accurate knowledge, and on this account he put off any decision. On the comparative see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 139.—τὰ περὶ: characteristic of Luke and Paul, see p. 481.—διαγ. τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς: "I will determine your matter," R.V., cf. xxv. 21, and see above on xxiii. 15. τὰ καθ' ὑμᾶς: probably refers to both accusers and accused. On τὰ before κατὰ characteristic of

Luke see instance in Moulton and Geden, and Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 38.

Ver. 23. τηρεῖσθαι: that he should he kept in charge as a prisoner; not middle as in A.V.—ἔχειν τε ἄνεσιν: "and should have indulgence," R.V., not "liberty," A.V., word only elsewhere in Paul in N.T., 2 Cor. ii. 13, vii. 5, viii. 13, 2 Thess. i. 7, cf. also Ecclus. xxvi. 10, 1 Esd. iv. 62. From ver. 27 it appears that the prisoner was still bound, but the indulgence involved a *custodia liberior*, and extended to food, and the visits of friends, and remission from the severer form of custody, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 6, 7, 10, where Agrippa has similar indulgence in his imprisonment at Rome, but is still chained.—μηδένα κωλύειν τῶν ἰδίων, cf. iv. 23, Luke, Aristarchus, perhaps Trophimus, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., u. s., for the same indulgence; change of subject to centurion in κωλύειν.—ὑπηρετεῖν, xiii. 36, xx. 34.

Ver. 24. Δρουσίλλη: of the three daughters of Agrippa I. Drusilla was the youngest, her sisters being Bernice (see below) and Mariamne. Married, when about fourteen, to Azizus king of Emeza, she had been seduced from her husband by Felix, who had employed for his evil purpose a certain impostor and magician, Simon by name, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 7, 2. The account in Josephus implies that she was unhappy in her marriage with Azizus, and asserts that she was exposed on account of her beauty to the envious ill-treatment of her sister Bernice. She married Felix ("trium reginarum mari-

ἦκουσεν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς εἰς <sup>1</sup> Χριστὸν πίστεως. 25. διαλεγομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ κρίματος <sup>2</sup> τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσσεσθαι, ἔμβοσος γενόμενος ὁ Φῆλιξ ἀπεκρίθη, Τὸ νῦν ἔχον πορεύου· καιρὸν δὲ μεταλαβὼν μετακαλέσομαι σε· 26. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐλπίζων, ὅτι χρήματα δοθήσεται αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου, <sup>3</sup> ὅπως

<sup>1</sup> After Χριστον  $\aleph^*$ BEL 61, Vulg., Gig., Boh., Syr. H., Chrys. add ἰησουν, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, but *om.* by Blass in  $\beta$  text, so by Meyer.

<sup>2</sup> C 15, 31, 40, 180, Arm., Chrys. read του μελλ. κριματος, but text retained as in T.R. by all edd. εἰσεσθαι *om.*  $\aleph^*$ ABCE, W.H., R.V., Blass. Instead of text Blass in  $\beta$ , so Hilg. with E. Gig., Vulg. (Cassiod.) read καιρω δε επιτηδειψ μετακαλεσομαι σε.

<sup>3</sup> ὅπως λυση αυτον *om.*  $\aleph^*$ ABCE, Vulg., Syr. P. and H., Arm., Aethro., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilgenfeld. After μεταπεμπ. Gig. adds "secrete," but not Blass in  $\beta$ . Instead of χαριτας  $\aleph^*$ ABC 13, 61, Vulg., Syr. P. and H., Boh. read χαριτα, so Tisch., and authorities as above (see note below). χαριν  $\aleph^*$ EL.

tus," as Suetonius calls him, *Claud.*, 28), and her son by him, Agrippa by name, perished under Titus in an eruption of Vesuvius, Jos., *u. s.* It has been sometimes thought that his mother perished with him, but probably the words *σὺν τῇ γυναικί* in Josephus refer not to Drusilla, but to the wife of Agrippa (so Schürer); "Herod" (Headlam), Hastings' B.D., *The Herods* (Farrar), p. 192 ff.—τῇ γυν. αὐτοῦ, see critical note, the addition of ἰδιᾶ before γυν. (*omit. αὐτοῦ*) perhaps to emphasise that Drusilla, though a Jewess, was the wife of Felix, or it may point to the private and informal character of the interview, due to the request of Drusilla. Possibly both ἰδιᾶ and αὐτοῦ were additions to intimate that Drusilla was really the wife of Felix, but the article before γυναικί would have been sufficient to indicate this.—οὔση Ἰουδαία, *cf.*  $\beta$  text, which states how Felix acted thus to gratify Drusilla, who as a Jewess wished to hear Paul, as her brother Agrippa afterwards, *cf.* xxv. 22, see Knabenbauer, *in loco*.—μετεπέμψατο, see on x. 5.—Χριστὸν, see critical note.

Ver. 25. περὶ δικαί.: Paul does not gratify the curiosity of Felix and Drusilla, but goes straight to the enforcement of those great moral conditions without which, both for Jew and Greek, what he had to say of the Messiahship of Jesus was unintelligible; how grievously Felix had failed in righteousness the events of his period of government proved, *cf.* Tac., *Ann.*, xii., 54, "cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus," through the evil influence of Pallas, Tac., *Hist.*, v., 9.—ἐγκρατ.: R.V. margin "self-control,"

Latin, *temperantia*, Vulgate, *castitate*. The presence of Drusilla by his side was in itself a proof how Felix had failed in this virtue also, ἐγκρ. being specially applicable to continence from sensual pleasures (Wetstein); opposed to it is ἀκρασία, 1 Cor. vii. 5 (= ἀκράτεια), "incontinence," Arist., *Eth.*, vii., 4, 2. In N.T., Gal. v. 23, 2 Pet. i. 6 (*bis*), *cf.* Tit. i. 8. The word is found in Ecclesiast. xviii. 15 S, 30, 4 Macc. v. 34. St. Paul gives a double proof of his courage in reasoning thus not only before Felix but before his wife, for like another Herodias her resentment was to be feared.—τοῦ κρίματος τοῦ μέλλ.: "the judgment to come," R.V., preserving the force of the article omitted in all E.V. except Rhem.: "ubi etiam illi, qui nunc iudices sedent, iudicandi erunt" (Wetstein).—ἐμφ. γεν., see on x. 4, *cf.* the attitude of Antipas with regard to the Baptist, Mark vi. 30.—Τὸ νῦν ἔχον, *cf.* Tob. vii. 11 (B<sup>1</sup> ἔχων), and for instances in Greek writers see Wetstein.—καιρὸν δὲ μεταλ., *cf.* Polyb., ii., 16, 15. μεταλαβόντες καιρ. ἀρμόττοντα (Alford, Blass). So far as we know, no more convenient season ever came, see reading in  $\beta$  text.

Ver. 26. ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐλπ.: connected by some with ἀπεκ. (*cf.* xxiii. 25), so Weiss, Wendt, Hackett; others punctuate as W.H., R.V., and render it as a finite verb.—ἔτι: on the construction with ἐλπίζειν see Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 121, and Blass, *in loco*: Luke xxiv. 31, 2 Cor. i. 13, xiii. 6, Philem. ver. 22 (not in Attic Greek).—On ἅμα *cf.* Blass, *Gram.*, p. 247, Col. iv. 3, Philem. ver. 22, 1 Tim. v. 13. ἅμα καί: only in Luke and Paul; on its use



λῶση αὐτόν· διδὸν καὶ πυκνότερον αὐτὸν μεταπεμπόμενος ὠμίλει αὐτῷ.  
27. Διαιτίας δὲ πληρωθείσης ἔλαβε διάδοχον ὁ Φήλιξ Πόρκιον

by them see further Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 187 (1893). —  *χρήματα*: the mention of "alms," ver. 17, had perhaps suggested the thought that Paul was in a position to purchase his freedom with money, and it was also evident to Felix that the prisoner was not without personal friends, ver. 23. Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 280, points to ver. 17, and to the fact that Felix could not be unaware that Paul was a man of wide influence and supported by many friends, as a sufficient answer to the supposed improbability urged by Pfeiderer that Felix could hope for money from a poor tent-maker and missionary. Spitta thinks that *Philippians* may have been written from Cæsarea, and that therefore (Phil. iv. 10) Felix had double cause to suppose that the poor missionary had command of money; but without endorsing this view as to the place of writing of *Philippians*, it may be suggested that St. Paul's friends at Philippi might have helped to provide financial help for the expenses of his trial: Lydia, *e.g.*, was not only ready with large-hearted hospitality, but her trade in itself required a considerable capital: see on the other hand the view of Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 312. It is urged, moreover, that a poor man would never have received such attention or aroused such interest. But St. Luke himself has told us how Herod desired to see the Son of Man, Who had not where to lay His head, and the same feeling which prompted Herod, the feeling of curiosity, the hope perhaps of seeing some new thing, may have prompted the desire of an Agrippa or a Drusilla to see and to hear Paul.—*ἐλπίζ.* . . . *δοθ.*: "sic thesaurum evangelii omisit infelix Felix," Bengel. When Overbeck expresses surprise that Felix did not deliver Paul to the Jews for money, he forgets that Paul's Roman citizenship would make such an action much more dangerous than his detention.—*διδὸν καὶ*: characteristic of Luke and Paul, and common to Luke's Gospel and Acts, *cf.* Luke i. 35, Acts x. 29, Rom. iv. 22, xv. 22, 2 Cor. i. 20, iv. 13, v. 9, Phil. ii. 9, only twice elsewhere in N.T., Heb. xi. 12, xiii. 12; "ut illiceret eum ad se pecunia temptandum," Blass, *Knabenbauer*.—*πυκνότερον*, *cf.* Luke v. 33, 1 Tim. v. 23; and LXX, Esther viii. 13, 2 Macc. viii. 8, 3 Macc. iv. 12. The comparative here is "verus comparativus": *quo sapius*, Blass. Nothing

could more plainly show the corruption of the Roman government than the conduct of Felix in face of the law: "Lex Julia de repetundis præcepit, ne quis ob hominem in vincula publice conjiciendum, vincendum, vincirive jubendum, exve vinculis dimittendum; neve quis ob hominem condemnandum, absolvendum . . . aliquid acceperit," *Digest.*, xl., 11, 3 (Wetstein); see further on ver. 3.—*ὠμίλει*: only in Luke, see above xx. 11; imperfect denoting frequent occurrence.

Ver. 27. *διαιτίας δὲ πληρ.*: on the question of chronology see below, *cf.* xx. 30, and for *τριαίτα*, xx. 31; on *διαιτία* in inscriptions see two instances in Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 86. *πληρ.*: perhaps indicating that two full years are meant. Weizsäcker throws doubt upon the historical character of this imprisonment, and thinks that the episode is merely introduced by the writer of Acts, who in his ignorance of the name of the procurator doubles the incident before Felix and Festus; but Wendt declines to value so lightly the definite notices and accounts in Acts, and adds that the delay of the trial under a procurator devoid of a sense of duty was no improbable event. The recall of Felix has been assigned to very varying dates, Lightfoot naming 60, Wendt (1899) 61, Schürer, at the earliest 58, at the latest 61, probably 60, Ramsay 59, whilst McGiffert, following the Chronology recently advocated by O. Holtzmann (with a few earlier writers), places it as early as 55 (Harnack 55-56, following Eusebius, whilst Blass has also defended the Eusebian date). Both McGiffert and Holtzmann fix upon 55 because before the end of this year Pallas, the brother of Felix, was in disgrace; and yet, according to Josephus, Felix escaped the accusations brought against him by shielding himself behind his brother Pallas, whom Nero was then holding in special honour, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 8, 9, Tac., *Ann.*, xiii., 14. "Either Josephus is in error," says O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 128, "or Festus went to Palestine in 55". But there is good reason for thinking that Josephus was in error in stating that Felix escaped by his brother's influence, then at its height, Jos., *u. s.* It is no doubt true that the influence of Pallas may have been very substantial

φήστον<sup>1</sup>. θέλων τε χάριτας καταθέσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὁ Φῆλιξ,  
κατέλιπε τὸν Παῦλον δεδεμένον.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of θέλων τε χαρ. Blass in β text with 137, Syr. H. mg. reads τον δε Παυλον ειασεν εν τηρησει δια Δρουσιλλαν, so Zöckler, Belser, Hilg., and J. Weiss, who thinks that T.R. is simply conformed to xxv. 9; but see on the other hand Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.*, i., 53.

long after his fall from court favour; but if the intervention of Pallas was subsequent to his fall, what becomes of the synchronism between his disgrace and the recall of Felix? But further, Pallas, according to the statement of Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiii., 14, was disgraced before the fourteenth birthday of Britannicus, in Feb. 55, but, if so, how could Felix have reached Rome at such an early period of that year? Nero came to the throne on 13th Oct., 54, and we have to suppose that the order for recall was sent and the return journey of Felix to the capital accomplished in spite of the winter season which made a sea voyage impossible (Ramsay, Zahn, Bacon); "one can therefore no longer base the chronology of an Apostle's life upon the dismissal of a court favourite". But are there no chronological data available? Albinus, the successor of Festus, was already procurator in 62. How long he had been in office we cannot say, but he was certainly procurator in the summer of that year (Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 188, E.T.; *Biblical World*, p. 357, 1897). From Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 9, 1, we learn that there was an interval of some few months full of disturbance and anarchy between the death of Festus and the arrival of Albinus in Jerusalem, so that we seem justified in inferring that Festus died probably in the winter of 61-62; and whilst the events of his procuratorship can scarcely have extended over five years (as would be demanded by the earlier chronology)—for in this case Josephus would surely have given us more information about them—it seems equally difficult to suppose that the events which Josephus does record could have been crowded into less than a year, or portions of two (Schürer). The entrance of Festus upon his office might thus be carried back to 59-60, and St. Paul's departure for Rome would fall probably in 60. But a further contribution to the subject has been made by Mr. Turner, "Chronology of the N.T.," Hastings' B.D., pp. 418, 419, and he argues for the exclusion of a date as late as 60 for the accession of Festus, and for placing the recall of Felix in 57-59, i.e., between

the earlier and later dates mentioned above; or, more definitely still, in 58, cf. p. 420. With this date Dr. Gilbert agrees, *Student's Life of Paul*, p. 252, 1899. See further Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 634; Wendt (1899), p. 56; *Expositor*, March, 1897, Feb., 1898; "Festus" (A. Robertson), Hastings' B.D. and B.D.<sup>2</sup>.—ἐλαβε διάδοχον, *Ecclus.* xlv. 1, xlviii. 8. In 2 Macc. iv. 29, xiv. 26, the meaning of successor is doubtful, and it would seem that the title rather denoted a high office about the court of the Ptolemies, cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, p. 111. In classical Greek it is used as here for successor, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 8, 9, so *successorem accepit*, Plin., *Epist.*, ix., 13.—Φῆστον. we know nothing of him except from the N.T. and Josephus. The latter, however, contrasts him favourably with his successor Albinus: "et Albinum cum ei dissimillimum fuisse tradit, scelestum hominem, simul illum laudat" (Blass). So far as our information goes, Festus also contrasts favourably with his predecessor; he acted with promptness to rid the country of robbers and *sicarii*, and amongst them of one impostor whose promises were specially seductive, *Ant.*, xx., 8, 9, 10, and B.D.<sup>2</sup>, ii., 14, 1. But although, as Schürer says, he was disposed to act righteously, he found himself unable to undo the mischief wrought by his predecessor, and after a short administration death prevented him from coping further with the evils which infested the province. For his attitude towards St. Paul as his prisoner see notes below. Two other events marked his procuratorship: (1) the quarrel between the priests and Agrippa, because the latter built on to his palace so as to overlook the Temple, and the priests retaliated by building so as to shut off his view. Festus sided with Agrippa, but allowed the priests to appeal to Rome. (2) The decision of the emperor in favour of the Syrian against the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea, which caused a bitterness provoking in A.D. 66 the disturbances in which Josephus marked the beginnings of the great War, *Ant.*, xx., 8, 9.—θέλων τε χάριτας καταθέσθαι τοῖς Ἰ.: "desiring to gain favour with



XXV. 1. ΦΗΣΤΟΣ οὖν, ἐπιβὰς<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ, μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀπὸ Καισαρείας. 2. ἐνεφάνισαν δὲ<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου, καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτόν, 3. αἰτούμενοι χάριν κατ' αὐτοῦ, ὅπως μεταπέμψηται αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, ἐνέδραν ποιοῦντες ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπαρχία, so also Lach., Hilgenfeld, Blass, W.H. text. ἐπαρχεία, so B; but Tisch., Weiss, and W.H. marg. (so Wendt probably) following Ν\*Α have ἐπαρχείω. Weiss regards ἐπαρχία (-εία) as a thoughtless emendation in accordance with xxiii. 34. See also Winer-Schmiedel, p. 44, and note below.

<sup>2</sup> For δε ΝABC, Vulg., Syr. Pesh., Aeth. read τε, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, R.V., Wendt, Blass. ο αρχ., but instead of the sing. ΝABCEL read the plural, so Tisch. and authorities above. For T.R. cf. xxiv. 1.

the Jews," R.V., literally to lay down or deposit a favour with the Jews as a deposit for which a due return might be expected, cf. 1 Macc. x. 23 R.; Jos., *Ant.*, xi., 6, 5, so too in classical Greek, Thuc., i., 33, 128; Herod., vi., 41, etc. The policy of Felix was to gain popularity with the Jews in view of the accusations which followed him on his return to Rome, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 8, 9. That the pursuit of such a policy was not alien to the character of Roman officials see Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 9, 5, where we learn that Albinus, desiring to gain the gratitude of the Jews, took money of all those in prison for some trifling fault, by which means the prisons indeed were emptied, but the country was full of robbers. In *B. J.*, ii., 14, 1, we learn that the same system was pursued by Albinus, the successor of Festus, until no one was left in the prisons but those who gave him nothing. According to β text Felix leaves Paul in prison to please his wife, but, as Blass points out, both reasons may be true.—χάριτα (W.H., R.V.) only (in N.T.) in Jude, ver. 4, cf. xxv. 9 A; found in classics, though rarer than χάριν, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 88; in LXX, Zech. vi. 14.—δεδεμ.: this does not at all imply that Paul had been quite free, and was now rebound, cf. ver. 23. ἀνέσις did not mean perfect freedom, and the *custodia militaris* might still continue. Nösgen thinks that the word in its position at the end of the verse indicates a severer form of custody, but this is by no means necessary, although as the last word of the episode, and as the result of all the intercourse with Felix, it has a dramatic force and pathos. Zeller, *Acts*, ii., p. 83, E.T., although he thinks it remarkable that Felix and Festus are represented as acting from the same motive, as Pilate for a similar reason had consented to the

execution of Jesus, is constrained to admit that conduct such as that of the two procurators is too natural for its repetition to be surprising; unscrupulous officials are always ready by complaisance at the expense of others to appease those to whom they have given just cause for complaint.

CHAPTER XXV.—Ver. 1. ἐπιβὰς: "having come into the province," A. and R.V., or, "having entered upon his province," R.V. margin. If we read τῇ ἐπαρχείῳ with Weiss and W.H. margin, the word is an adjective of two terminations, sc. ἐξουσία, i.e., having entered on his duties as governor of the province (see Weiss, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 8), and cf. xxiii. 34. For the adjective in inscriptions see Blass, *in loco*.—μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμ.: "sat cito," Bengel.—ἀνέβη: went up to Jerusalem officially as the capital; the visit had nothing necessarily to do with St. Paul, but the close-connecting τε may indicate that the action of the priests in again bringing up their case was to be expected.

Ver. 2. ἐνεφάνισαν, cf. xxiii. 15, xxiv. 1; here the context evidently implies that legal and formal information was laid against Paul.—If we read οἱ ἀρχ., cf. iv. 5. οἱ πρῶτοι: sometimes taken as = πρεσβ. in ver. 15, cf. xxiii. 14, xxiv. 1, but in Luke xix. 47 we have οἱ ἀρχ. καὶ οἱ γράμμ. καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ λαοῦ. The difference of designation seems to indicate that they were not identical with the πρεσβ., although perhaps including them, or possibly as their chief representatives: see also Plummer on Luke, l. c. Blass seems to identify πρῶτοι with ἀρχιερεῖς, cf. iv. 5, ἀρχοντες.—παρέκαλουν: the word and the tense mark their importunity.

Ver. 3. αἰτοῦν., cf. ver. 15. "Postulantes gratiam non justitiam," Corn

ὁδόν.<sup>1</sup> 4. ὁ μὲν οὖν φήστος ἀπεκρίθη, τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον<sup>2</sup> ἐν Καισαρείᾳ, ἑαυτὸν δὲ μέλλειν ἐν τάχει ἐκπορεύεσθαι. 5. Οἱ οὖν δυνατοὶ ἐν ὑμῖν, φησί, συγκαταβάντες, εἴ τί ἐστιν<sup>3</sup> ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ, κατηγορεῖσσαν αὐτοῦ. 6. Διατρίψας δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμέρας<sup>4</sup> πλείους ἢ δέκα, καταβάς εἰς Καισάρειαν, τῇ ἐπαύριον καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> After ὁδόν Syr. H. mg. adds *illi qui votum fecerant se pro virili (facturos esse) ut in manibus suis esset*; but not β text.

<sup>2</sup> For ἐν Καισ. **ΣABCE** 13, 40, 61, read εἰς, so Tisch., W.H., and authorities above. R.V., Weiss, Blass, Hilg. have Καισαρείαν with BC 13, 40; whilst W.H. read Καισαριαν.

<sup>3</sup> Instead of T.R. (so Meyer) **ΣABCE**, Vulg., Boh., Arm., Lucif. read ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἀποπον, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.

<sup>4</sup> R.V., following **ΣABC**, Vulg., Arm., reads οὐ πλείους ὀκτῶ ἢ δέκα instead of T.R., so too W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilgenfeld. Other variations, e.g., 137, Syr. P.H., Sah. omit οὐ πλείους. See Alford's note and Meyer-Wendt on probable confusion between ὀκτῶ of the more ancient MSS. and ἡ of later ones, the former η representing the numeral being absorbed in the second η.

ἀ Lapide. — ἐνέδραν ποιοῦντες, not ποιήσοντες, they were making and contriving the ambush *already* (Alford): priests and elders were willing as before to avail themselves of the assassin. — κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, cf. Luke x. 4, and three times in Acts, viii. 36, xxvi. 13, nowhere else in N. T. Syr. H. mg. adds a distinct reference to the forty conspirators previously mentioned, xxiii. 12, but Blass omits in β text—doubtless, as he says, there were many others ready for the deed at the service of the Sanhedrim.

Ver. 4. μὲν οὖν: no antithesis expressed; but Rendall, Appendix on μὲν οὖν, Acts, p. 162, holds that two phases of events are here contrasted: Festus refused to bring Paul away from Cæsarea, but he undertook to hear the charges of the Jews there.—ἐν Και., see critical note, perhaps here εἰς simply = ἐν, so Blass, and Simcox, cf. Mark xiii. 9, Acts xix. 22. On the other hand cf. Weiss on the frequent force of εἰς peculiar to Acts, viii. 40, ix. 21 (where he reads εἰς), intimating that Paul had been brought to Cæsarea with the purpose that he should be kept there. The Jews had asked Festus ὅπως μεταπέμψ. α. εἰς ἰ., but Festus intimates that the prisoner was in custody at Cæsarea, and that as he was himself going there, the prisoner's accusers should go there also; in other words, he returns a refusal to their request, cf. ver. 16.—ἐν τάχει, Luke xviii. 8, and three times in Acts, xii. 7, xxii. 18, not in the other Evangelists; Rom. xvi. 20, 1 Tim. iii. 14, Rev. i. 1, xxii. 6.—

ἐκπορ.: for the verb used absolutely as here cf. Luke iii. 7.

Ver. 5. φησί: change to the *oratio recta*, cf. i. 4. For other instances of the insertion of the single words ἔφη or φησίν, rare in N. T., see Simcox, *Language of the New Testament*, p. 200; cf. xxiii. 35, xxvi. 25, 1 Cor. vi. 16, 2 Cor. x. 10, Heb. viii. 5.—οἱ . . . δυνατοί: "Let them therefore, saith he, which are of power among you," R.V.; not simply "which are able," A.V., "qui in vobis potentes sunt," Vulgate. The word may be used by Festus, because he was not acquainted with the Jewish official terms, or it may be used in a general way as in 1 Cor. i. 26. In Jos., *B. J.*, i. 12, 5, we have the expression, ἦκον Ἰουδαίων οἱ δυνατοί, cf. Thuc. i. 89, Polyb., ix., 23, 4; but in addition to this general use of the word Jos. frequently conjoins the ἀρχιερεῖς with the δυνατοί as members of the Sanhedrim, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 178, E.T. This interpretation of the word is more natural than that adopted by Bengel: "*qui valent ad iter faciendum: ἡθὺς urbanum Festi respondentis Judeis molestiam viae causantibus*;" for other explanations see Wendt-Meyer, *in loco*.—συγκαταβάντες: "go down with me," R.V., *mecum*; only here in N. T., in LXX, Ps. xlviii. 17, Wisd. x. 13, Dan. iii. 49 (Theod. iii. 49) = Song of the Three Children, ver. 26.—ἀποπον, see critical note, and further on xxviii. 6.

Ver. 6. ἡμέρας πλ., see critical note, "not more than eight or ten days," R.V., *i.e.*, the whole period of Festus'



βήματος ἐκέλευσε τὸν Παῦλον ἀχθῆναι. 7. παραγενομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ, περιέστησαν<sup>1</sup> οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων καταβεβηκότες Ἰουδαῖοι, πολλὰ καὶ βαρέα<sup>2</sup> αἰτιάματα φέροντες κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου, ᾧ οὐκ ἴσχυον ἀποδείξαι. 8. ἀπολογουμένου αὐτοῦ, Ὅτι οὔτε εἰς τὸν νόμον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὔτε εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, οὔτε εἰς Καίσαρά τι ἤμαρτον. 9. ὁ Φῆστος δέ, τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις θέλων χάριν καταθέσθαι, ἀποκριθεὶς τῷ Παύλῳ εἶπε, Θέλεις, εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀναβάς, ἐκεῖ περὶ τούτων

<sup>1</sup> NABCL, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Blass, Hilg. read *αὐτον* after *περιέστησαν*; E has *αὐτῷ*; Meyer follows T.R.

<sup>2</sup> For *αἰτιάματα* NABCEHLP, so Tisch. and authorities above read *αιτιώματα*, a word which does not occur elsewhere, although Eustath. has *αιτιώσεις* for *αιτίας*. NABC 13, 40, 61, so Tisch. and authorities above read *καταφέροντες* instead of *φέροντες κατὰ τὸν Π.*

stay ἐν αὐτοῖς. Blass sees in the words an indication of the vigour of action characterising Festus. The expression may, however, be used from the standpoint of Paul and his friends at Cæsarea, who did not know how much of his absence Festus had spent in Jerusalem, or how much on the journey (so Weiss and Wendt).—τῇ ἐπαύριον: ten times in Acts, but nowhere in Luke's Gospel, *cf.*, however, ἐπὶ τὴν αὐρίον, Luke x. 35 and Acts iv. 5 only (Hawkins). This evidently implies that the accusers had come down with Festus, and it may again indicate his promptness, *cf.* ver. 17. There does not seem any indication that this immediate action shows that he had been prejudiced against Paul in Jerusalem (Chrys.).—ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος, xii. 21, xviii. 12, and ver. 10 below: seven times in Acts in this sense (Matt. xxvii. 19, John xix. 13), but nowhere in Luke's Gospel; twice by St. Paul, Rom. xiv. 10, 2 Cor. v. 10.—καθ. ἐπὶ τοῦ β.: a necessary formality, otherwise no legal effect would be given to the decision, *cf.* Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 15, E.T., for this and other instances.—ἀχθῆναι, *cf.* προσάγεσθαι, Polyc., *Mart.*, ix., 1 and 2.

Ver. 7. περιέστησαν: if we add αὐτόν, see critical note, "stood round about him," *i.e.*, Paul, R.V., "periculum intentantes," Bengel. (*cf.* John xi. 42, Judith v. 22, omit S<sup>1</sup>.)—πολλὰ καὶ βαρέα: "many and (indeed) heavy," etc., Winer-Moulton, lix., 3, perhaps as in Matt. xxiii. 23, weighty, of great moment.—αἰτιάματα φέρ., see critical note. αἰτίαμ. in Æschylus and Thucydides. For καταφέροντες, xxvi. 10, *cf.* Deut. xxii. 14.

Ver. 8. Evidently the charges classed as before under three heads, (1) the Law,

(2) the Temple, (3) the Empire. In this verse Hilgenfeld ascribes *ὅτι . . . ἤμαρτον* to his "author to Theophilus" (Jüngst, too, omits the words). But, not content with this, he concludes that the whole narrative which follows about Agrippa is to ratify the innocence of Paul before a crowned head of Judaism, *cf.* ix. 15, where *ὡὼν τε Ἰσ.* is also ascribed to the "author to Theophilus," and perhaps also *τε καὶ βασιλέων*; we are therefore to refer to this unknown writer the whole section xxv. 13-xxvi. 32.—ἤμαρτον with *εἰς* only here in Acts, three times in Luke's Gospel, three times in 1 Cor., only once elsewhere in N.T., Matt. xviii. 21.

Ver. 9. χάριν καταθέσθαι, xxiv. 27.—τοῖς Ἰ., best placed emphatically before *χάριν κατ.* (W.H.), so as to show that it was the compliance of Festus to the Jews which caused the turn which things took (Weiss).—θέλεις εἰς Ἰ.: "injustum videbatur condemnare, incommodum absolvere," Blass.—ἐκεῖ: he makes himself the same proposal to the prisoner which had previously been suggested by the accusers, ver. 3.—ἐπ' ἐμοῦ: "me præsentem," for the Sanhedrists would be the judges; otherwise, where would be the favour to the Jews? Felix may have added the words *speciose*, so as to reassure Paul and to obtain his acquiescence to the proposal; in ver. 20 omitted, but evidently from their close connection with *περὶ τούτ.* κρίν. they indicate that Festus would play some judicial part in the matter; *cf.* xxiv. 21 and 1 Cor. vi. 1. But Paul's answer plainly shows that he thought from the words of Felix that a Jewish and not a Roman tribunal awaited him: ἐπ' ἐμοῦ would therefore seem to mean that the

κρίνεσθαι<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' ἐμοῦ; 10. εἶπε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος, 'Επὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρος<sup>2</sup> ἑστώς εἰμι, οὐ με δεῖ κρίνεσθαι. Ἰουδαίους οὐδὲν<sup>3</sup> ἡδίκησα, ὥς καὶ σὺ κάλλιον ἐπιγινώσκεις· 11. εἰ μὲν<sup>4</sup> γὰρ ἀδικῶ καὶ ἄξιον θανάτου πέπραχά τι, οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὧν οὗτοι κατηγοροῦσί μου, οὐδεὶς με δύναται αὐτοῖς

<sup>1</sup> For κρίνεσθαι **NABCE**, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg. read κριθῆναι.

<sup>2</sup> **N**\* has ἑστώς at commencement of verse, B has it in both places, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Blass, Wendt place it at commencement.

<sup>3</sup> For ἡδίκησα (T.R. Lach.) **NB** have ἡδικηκα, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass.

<sup>4</sup> For γὰρ **NABCE** **δ**ι read οὖν, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. but [Blass].

Sanhedrim would judge, whilst Festus would ratify their judgment or not as seemed good to him, as Pilate had acted in the case of Christ. On the other hand it is possible that Festus may have been quite sincere in his proposal: his words at least showed that in his judgment there was no case against Paul of a political nature, and he may have thought that religious questions could be best decided before the Sanhedrim in Jerusalem, whilst he could guarantee a safe-conduct for Paul as a Roman citizen.

Ver. 10. ἑστώς εἰμι: "I am standing," used rhetorically, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 198; on the position of ἑστ. see critical note.—Καίσαρος: because the procurator was the representative of Cæsar: "quæ acta gesta sunt a procuratore Cæsaris sic ab eo comprobantur, atque si a Cæsare ipso gesta sint," Ulpian, *Digest.*, i., 19, 1.—δεῖ: because a Roman citizen, no need to suppose that the word has reference here to any divine intimation.—'Ιουδ. . . .: "to Jews have I done no wrong," the omission of the article in translation makes Paul's denial more forcible and comprehensive; for ἀδικεῖν with οὐδὲν and the double accusative cf. Luke x. 19.—ὥς καὶ σὺ κάλλιον ἐπιγιν.: "as thou also art getting to know better," Rendall (see also Page and Weiss): this rendering, it is said, saves us from the ungracious and unjust retort which A. and R.V. ascribe to Paul. But ver. 18 seems to show us by the confession of Festus himself that the Apostle might fairly have imputed to him a keeping back of his better and fairer judgment, whilst in the expression χαρίσασθαι, ver. 11, there seems to be an intimation that the Apostle felt that Festus might make him a victim. Zöckler sees in the comparative "a gentle reproach," as if

St. Paul would intimate to Festus that he really knew better than his question (ver. 9) would imply.

Ver. 11. εἰ μὲν γὰρ, see critical note, "if then (οὖν) I am a wrongdoer," referring to his standing before Cæsar's judgment-seat, and not to the ἡδίκησα in ver. 10.—ἀδικεῖν: only here absolutely in N.T.; the verb occurs five times in Acts, once in Luke's Gospel, and once in St. Matthew, but not elsewhere in the Gospels (Friedrich, p. 23).—ἄξιον θαν., i.e., according to Roman law.—οὐ παραιτοῦμαι τὸ ἀποθανεῖν: non recuso, Vulgate, so Blass; the verb is only used here in Acts, but it occurs three times in St. Luke's Gospel, three times in Hebrews, once in Mark xv. 6, W.H.—In the present passage, and in 1 Tim. iv. 7, v. 11, 2 Tim. ii. 23, Tit. iii. 10, Heb. xii. 25 (twice), the word is rendered "refuse," R.V. text; but in Luke xiv. 18, 19, the word is rendered "to make excuse"; "excused": Jos., *Ant.*, vii., 8, 2; but in each case the Greek verb literally means "to beg off from," and the Latin *deprecor* might well express the verb both here and in Luke xiv., i.e., cf. Esth. iv. 8 in the sense of supplicating, and for the sense as above 2 Macc. ii. 31, 3 Macc. vi. 27; see also Grimm *sub v.* for different shades of meaning. In Jos., *Vita*, 29, we have the phrase θανεῖν οὐ παραιτοῦμαι: upon which Krenkel insists as an instance of dependence upon Josephus, but not only is the phrase here somewhat different verbally, οὐ παραι. τὸ ἀποθ., the article expressing more emphatically, as Bengel says, *id ipsum agi*; but cf. the instances quoted by Wetstein of the use of similar phrases in Greek, and of the Latin *deprecor*, e.g., Dion. Hal., *A.V.*, 29. τὸν μὲν οὖν θάνατον . . . οὐ παραιτοῦμαι. See



χαρίσασθαι· Καίσαρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι. 12. τότε ὁ Φῆστος, συλλαλήσας μετὰ τοῦ συμβουλίου, ἀπεκρίθη, Καίσαρα ἐπικέκλησαι, ἐπὶ Καίσαρα πορεύσῃ.

further *Introd.*, p. 31.—**χαρίσασθαι**: "to grant me by favour," R.V. margin, *cf.* iii. 14, xxv. 16, xxvii. 24 (*Philem.* ver. 22), only in Luke and Paul in N.T.; see on its importance as marking the "We" section, xxvii. 24, and other parts of Acts, Zeller, *Acts*, ii., 318, E.T. Paul must have known what this "giving up" to the Jews would involve.—**Καίσαρα ἐπικ.**: *Appello: provoco ad Casarem*: "Si apud acta quis appellaverit, satis erit si dicat: Appello." *Digest.*, xlix., 1, 2, except in the case of notorious robbers and agitators whose guilt was clear, *ibid.*, 16. But we must distinguish between an appeal against a sentence already pronounced, and a claim at the commencement of a process that the whole matter should be referred to the emperor. It would appear from this passage, *cf.* vv. 21, 26, 32, that Roman citizens charged with capital offences could make this kind of appeal, for the whole narrative is based upon the fact that Paul had not yet been tried, and that he was to be kept for a thorough inquiry by the emperor, and to be brought to Rome for this purpose, *cf.* Pliny, *Epist.*, x., 97, quoted by Schürer, Alford, and others, and similar instances in Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 543, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 59, and div. ii., vol. ii., p. 278, E.T., and also "Appeal," Hastings' B.D., and below, p. 514.—This step of St. Paul's was very natural. During his imprisonment under Felix he had hoped against hope that he might have been released, but although the character of Festus might have given him a more reasonable anticipation of justice, he had seen enough of the procurator to detect the vacillation which led him also to curry favour with the Jews. From some points of view his position under Festus was more dangerous than under Felix: if he accepted the suggestion that he should go up to Jerusalem and be tried before the Sanhedrim, he could not doubt that his judges would find him guilty; if he declined, and Festus became the judge, there was still the manifest danger that the better judgment of the magistrate would be warped by the selfishness of the politician. Moreover, he may well have thought that at a distant court, where there might be difficulty in collecting evidence against

him, he would fare better in spite of the danger and expense of the appeal. But whilst we may thus base St. Paul's action upon probable human motives, his own keen and long desire to see Rome, xix. 21, and his Lord's promise of the fulfilment of that desire, xxiii. 11, could not have been without influence upon his decision, although other motives need not be altogether excluded, as St. Chrysostom, Ewald, Neander and Meyer (see Nösgen, 435). It has been maintained that there was every reason to suppose that St. Paul would have obtained his acquittal at the hands of the Roman authorities, especially after Agrippa's declaration of his innocence, xxvi. 32. But St. Paul's appeal had been already made before Agrippa had heard him, and he may well have come to the conclusion that the best he could hope for from Festus was a further period of imprisonment, whilst his release would only expose him to the bitter and relentless animosity of the Jews. Two years of enforced imprisonment had been patiently borne, and the Apostle would be eager (can we doubt it?) to bear further witness before Gentiles and kings of his belief in Jesus as the Christ, and of repentance and faith towards God.

Ver. 12. μετὰ τοῦ συμβ., i.e., his assessors, *assessores consiliiarii*, with whom the procurators were wont to consult in the administration of the law. They were probably composed, in part at all events, of the higher officials of the court, *cf.* Suet., *Tiber.*, 33, Lamprid., *Vita Alex. Sev.*, 46, Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 10, 2, Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 60, E.T.; and see further on the word Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 65, and references in Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* It would seem that the procurator could only reject such an appeal at his peril, unless in cases where delay might be followed by danger, or when there was manifestly no room for an appeal, *Dig.*, xlix., 5, and see Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden*, p. 252, and Blass, *in loco*.—**Κ. ἐπικ.**: no question, W.H., R.V., Weiss (as in A.V.): "asynd. rhetoricum cum anaphora," Blass, *cf.* 1 Cor. vii. 18, 21, 27. The decision of the procurator that the appeal must be allowed, and the words in which it was

13. Ἡμερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων τινῶν, Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς Βερνίκη κατήνησαν εἰς Καισάρειαν,<sup>1</sup> ἀσπασόμενοι τὸν Φῆστον. 14. ὥς δὲ πλείους ἡμέρας διέτριβον ἐκεῖ, ὁ Φῆστος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνέθετο τὰ κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον, λέγων, Ἀνὴρ τίς ἐστι<sup>2</sup> καταλειμμένος ὑπὸ

<sup>1</sup> For ἀσπασαμένοι (instead of -ομενοι) *NAEBC*. HLP 13, 31, 68, 105, Boh., Aeth., so Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, R.V. Hort (not Westcott) says the authority for -αμενοι is absolutely overwhelming, and as a matter of transmission -ομενοι can be only a correction. But he adds that it is difficult to remain satisfied that there is no prior corruption of some kind. Blass, *Gram.*, p. 193, rejects -αμενοι as impossible, and reads, -ομενοι, so Hilg. Wendt (1899), p. 386 strongly supports -αμενοι, and explains the aor. part. after the anal. of i. 24, x. 13, xiii. 27.

<sup>2</sup> καταλειμμ., W.H. have -λιμμ.; cf. Winer-Schmiedel, p. 45.

announced were not meant to frighten Paul, as Bengel supposed, but at the same time they may have been uttered, if not with a sneer, yet with the implication "thou little knowest what an appeal to Cæsar means". Moreover, Festus must have seen that the appeal was based upon the prisoner's mistrust of his character, for only if the accused could not trust the impartiality of the governor had he any interest in claiming the transference of his trial to Rome.

Ver. 13. Ἀγρ. ὁ βασιλεὺς: this was Herod Agrippa II., son of Agrippa I., whose tragic end is recorded in chap. xii. At the time of his father's death he was only seventeen, and for a time he lived in retirement, as Claudius was persuaded not to entrust him with the kingdom of Judæa. But on the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, A.D. 48, Claudius not only gave the young Agrippa the vacant throne, A.D. 50, but transferred to him the government of the Temple, and the right of appointing the high priest. His opinion on religious questions would therefore be much desired by Festus. Subsequently he obtained the old tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, and the title of king was bestowed upon him. We have thus a proof of St. Luke's accuracy in that he calls him βασιλεὺς, cf. xxvi. 27, but not king of Judæa, although he was the last Jewish king in Palestine. Bernice and Drusilla were his sisters. He offended the Jews not only by building his palace so as to overlook the Temple, but also by his constant changes in the priesthood. In the Jewish war he took part with the Romans, by whom at its close he was confirmed in the government of his kingdom, and received considerable additions to it. When Titus, after the fall of Jerusalem, celebrated his visit to Cæsarea Philippi—Herod's capital, called by him *Neronias* in honour

of Nero—by magnificent games and shows, it would seem that Agrippa must have been present; and if so, he doubtless joined as a Roman in the rejoicings over the fate of his people, *Hamburger, Real-Encyclopädie des Judentums*, ii., 1, 30, "Agrippa II."; Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 191 ff., "Herod" (6), Hastings' B.D., Farrar, *The Herods*, p. 193 ff. (1898).—Βερνίκη (Βερεν. = Macedonian form of Φερενίκη, see Blass, *in loco*, and C.I.G., 361; C.I. Att., iii., i., 556, Headlam in Hastings' B.D.): the eldest of the three daughters of Agrippa I. She was betrothed, but apparently never married, to Marcus, son of Alexander, the Alabarch of Alexandria (see Schürer for correct reading of Jos., *Ant.*, xix., 5, 1, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 342, note). On his death at the age of thirteen she was married to her uncle, Herod of Chalcis, Jos., *u.s.*, but after a few years she was left a widow, and lived in the house of her brother Agrippa II. In order to allay the worst suspicions which were current as to this intimacy, she married Polemon, king of Cilicia, *Ant.*, xx., 7, 3 (Juv., *Sat.*, vi., 156 ff.), but she soon left him and resumed the intimacy with her brother. Like Agrippa she showed openly at least a certain deference for the Jewish religion, and on one occasion, says Schürer, *u.s.*, p. 197, we find even her, a bigot as well as a wanton, a Nazirite in Jerusalem, *B.ŷ.*, ii., 15, 1. This was in A.D. 66, and she endeavoured while in the capital to stay the terrible massacre of Florus—"the one redeeming feature of her career," B.D.<sup>2</sup> But later on, exasperated by the Jewish populace who burnt her palace, she became, like her brother, a partisan of the Romans, and in turn the mistress of Vespasian and of Titus, Tac., *Hist.*, ii., 81; Suet., *Tit.*, 7; Jos., *B.ŷ.*, ii., 17, 6. O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 83,



φήλικος δέσμιος, 15. περὶ οὗ, γενομένου μου εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, ἐνεφάνισαν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τῶν Ἰουδαίων, αἰτούμενοι κατ' αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> δίκην· 16. πρὸς οὓς ἀπεκρίθη, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις χαρίζεσθαι τινα ἄνθρωπον<sup>2</sup> εἰς ἀπώλειαν, πρὶν ἢ ὁ κατηγορούμενος κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔχοι τοὺς κατηγοροὺς, τόπον τε ἀπολογίας λάβοι περὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος. 17. συνελθόντων οὖν<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν ἐνθάδε, ἀναβολὴν μηδεμίαν ποιησάμενος, τῇ ἐξῆς καθίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐκέλευσα ἀχθῆναι τὸν ἄνδρα· 18. περὶ οὗ σταθέντες οἱ κατήγοροι οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν<sup>4</sup> ἐπέφερον ὧν ὑπενόουν ἐγώ· 19. ζητήματα δέ τινα περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας εἶχον πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ περὶ τίνος

<sup>1</sup> For δίκην **ABC** read καταδικην, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass. Meyer explains καταδ. as an interpretation of δίκην, but more probably καταδ. was altered into δίκην on account of ver. 3 (Wendt).

<sup>2</sup> εἰς ἀπωλ. *om.* **ABCE**, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, but retained by Blass, Hilg., with HLP, Syr. P. and H., Chrys., GIG.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν *om.* B 40, so Weiss, W.H., Blass in **β** text; retained by Lach., Tisch., R.V., Hilg.; Wendt doubtful.

<sup>4</sup> For ἐπέφερον **ABCE** L 13, 40, 61, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilgenfeld, R.V. read εφερον. At end of verse **BCBE** 61, 100, add πονηρῶν, so R.V., Weiss, W.H. text, Blass; AC read πονηραν, so Lach., Tisch., Hilgenfeld, W.H. margin; **N**<sup>c</sup> **C**<sup>2</sup> read πονηρα.

speaks of Drusilla as a worthy sister of Bernice: he might have said the same of the other sister, Mariamne, since she too left her husband for the wealth of Demetrius, the Jewish Alabarch of Alexandria, Jos., *Ant.*, xx., 7, 3.—ἀσπασόμενοι, see critical note. No doubt an official visit of congratulation paid by Agrippa as a Roman vassal upon the procurator's entry on his office. The future participle makes the sense quite easy, but if we read the aorist it looks as if Agrippa and Bernice had previously saluted Felix, and afterwards came to his official residence, Cæsarea. Rendall includes in κατήντησαν not only the notion of arrival but also of settling down for a stay short or long: "came to stay at Cæsarea and saluted Felix" (aorist), but see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 125.

Ver. 14. ἀνέθετο: only in Luke and Paul, cf. Gal. ii. 2. "Laid Paul's case before the king," R.V., cf. 2 Macc. iii. 9, and instances in Wetstein, Gal. ii. 2. In the middle voice the idea is that of relating with a view to consulting, so here (cf. vv. 20, 26, Lightfoot on Gal. ii. 2); it was natural for Festus thus to consult Agrippa, see above on ver. 13.

Ver. 15. ἀρχ. καὶ οἱ πρεσβ., see on ver. 2.—ἐνεφάνισαν, see ver. 21.—δίκην, see critical note. If we read καταδίκην = "sentence," R.V., *i.e.*, of condemna-

tion; LXX, Symm., Ps. lxxxix. 3, Wisd. xii. 27; so in Polyb., xxvi., 5, 1.

Ver. 16. ἔθος, see vi. 14.—χαρίζ., p. 489.—πρὶν ἢ . . . ἔχοι, cf. Luke ii. 26, the only two passages where a finite verb occurs after πρὶν in N. T., see further Burton, pp. 52, 129, 133, and Plummer, Luke, l. c.—κατὰ πρόσωπον, see on iii. 13.—τόπον: "opportunity," Rom. xv. 23, Ephes. iv. 27, Heb. xii. 17, Eccclus. iv. 5, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, xvi., 8, 5 (Polyb., i., 88, 2).

Ver. 17. ἀναβ. μηδ. ποιησάμενος, xxiv. 22, for the phrase see Thuc., ii., 42; Plut., *Camill.*, 35, and Wetstein, *in loco*.

Ver. 18. οὐδ. αἰτίαν ἐπέφ.: classical, cf. Thuc., v., 76; Herod., i., 26, so in Polyb. and Jos., but see critical note.—αἰτίαν: *criminis delatio, accusatio*, and so in ver. 27; see for various meanings Grimm, *sub v.*—ὑπενόουν: possibly he supposed that there were to be some charges of political disturbance or sedition like that which had recently given rise to such bloody scenes and a conflict between Greeks and Jews in the streets of Cæsarea. St. Chrys., *Hom.*, well emphasises the way in which the charges against Paul had repeatedly broken down.

Ver. 19. ζητήματα . . . τινα: plural contemptuously (Weiss).—δεισιδαιμονίας, see on xvii. 22, "religion," R.V.: in ad-

Ἰησοῦ τεθνηκός, ὃν ἔφασκεν ὁ Παῦλος ζῆν. 20. ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἐγὼ<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὴν περὶ τούτου ζήτησιν, ἔλεγον, εἰ βούλοιτο πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, κακεῖ κρίνεσθαι περὶ τούτων. 21. τοῦ δὲ Παύλου ἐπικαλεσαμένου τηρηθῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ διάγνωσιν, ἐκέλευσα τηρεῖσθαι αὐτόν, ἕως οὗ<sup>2</sup> πέμψω αὐτόν πρὸς Καίσαρα.

<sup>1</sup> εἰς *om.* NABHP, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, but retained by Blass, Hilgenfeld. Although *απορ.* not elsewhere in N.T. with simple acc., but as this is good Greek no need to read the prep. For *τούτου* NABCEL read *τουντων*, so Tisch. and authorities above, so Blass, but brackets *περὶ τουντων* at end of verse.

<sup>2</sup> For *πεμψω* NABCE 13, 31, 40, 61, 137, read *αναπεμψω*, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg., R.V. After *διαγνωσιν* Blass in β with Gig. adds *επειδη τε αυτον ουκ εδυναμην κριναι*.

dressing a Jewish king Felix would not have used the term offensively, especially when we consider the official relation of Agrippa to the Jewish religion (see above, ver. 13), but he may well have chosen the word because it was a neutral word (*verbum μέσον*, Bengel) and did not commit him to anything definite.—*περὶ τίνος* 'I.: we note again the almost contemptuous, or at least indifferent, tone of Festus. At the same time this and the similar passage xviii. 15 are proofs of the candour of St. Luke in quoting testimonies of this kind from men of rank: in this "aristocratic ignorance of the Roman" Zeller sees a trait taken from life, so in Agrippa's answer to Paul's urgency, xxvi. 28. Festus does not even deign to mention the kind of death (but he accepts the fact of the death as certain); "*crucem* aut nescivit, aut non curavit," Bengel; see further Luckock, *Footsteps of the Apostles as traced by St. Luke*, ii., p. 269.—*ἔφασκεν*: with the notion of groundless affirmation, "alleging"; see Page, *in loco*, and Meyer on Rom. i. 22 (Rev. ii. 2). Blass and Knaßebauer take it as = *dictitabat*.

Ver. 20. ἀπορούμενος δὲ: "being perplexed how to inquire concerning," R.V., omitting *εἰς*, the verb *απορ.* talking a direct accusative. See above on ii. 12. Festus might have truly said that he was perplexed, as he still was, concerning Paul, and it is possible that the positive motive assigned for his action in ver. 9 was an honest attempt on his part to get more definite information at Jerusalem than he would obtain in Cæsarea—but we know how St. Paul viewed his question. On the other hand he may have wished to conceal his real motive (Weiss).

Ver. 21. ἐπικ. τηρηθῆναι αὐτόν: on the construction after words of request

or command of the infinitive *passive* see Simcox, *Language of the N. T.*, p. 121, and also Blass, *Gram.*, p. 222.—*εἰς τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ διάγνωσιν*: "for the decision of the Emperor," R.V., "the Augustus," *margin*; cf. xxiv. 22, and for the noun Wisd. iii. 18.—*Σεβ.*: here and in ver. 25 rendered "Emperor," R.V.—the title Augustus, A.V., might lead to confusion. The Cæsar Augustus in Luke ii. 1 was Octavian, upon whom the title of Augustus was first conferred, Suet., *Aug.*, 7, B.C. 27. The title was inherited by his successors, and thus it is ascribed to Nero here and in ver. 25. The divine sacredness which the title seemed to confer (cf. its Greek form, and the remark of Dio Cassius, liii., 16, 18, that Augustus took the title as being himself something more than human) excited the scruples of Tiberius, but succeeding emperors appear to have adopted it without hesitation.—*πέμψω*, see critical notes; the reading *ἀναπέμψω* would mean, literally, "till I should send him up," i.e., to a higher authority, cf. Luke xxiii. 7, where it is used of "referring" to another jurisdiction, and in vv. 11, 15, of "sending back" (Philem. ver. 12); see Plummer's note. For the use of this word in its technical sense of sending to a higher authority (as it is used in Plut., Phil., Jos., Polyb.) see further instances from inscriptions, Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, ii., 56. The verb is only used by Luke and Paul.—*Καίσαρα*: in N.T. the name is always official, never personal. It was first assumed as an official title by Octavius, the nephew of Julius Cæsar (see above), who doubtless took it on account of the fame of his uncle, and as a name not likely to be hated and despised by the Romans like that of "king". After the death of Gaius Cæsar, the last of the Julian stock,



22. Ἀγρίππας δὲ πρὸς τὸν Φῆστον<sup>1</sup> ἔφη, Ἐβουλόμην καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀκούσαι. ὁ δέ, Αὔριον, φησίν, ἀκούσῃ αὐτοῦ.

23. Τῇ οὖν ἐπαύριον ἐλθόντος τοῦ Ἀγρίππα καὶ τῆς Βερνίκης μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας, καὶ εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριον, σὺν τε τοῖς χιλιάρχοις καὶ ἀνδράσι<sup>2</sup> τοῖς κατ' ἐξοχὴν οὖσι τῆς πόλεως,

<sup>1</sup> ἐφη *om.* **Σ**AB 13, so Tisch. and other authorities as in ver. 21, except Hilg. o δε *om.* **Σ**AB, Vulg., Boh., so Tisch. and other authorities as above.

<sup>2</sup> For τοῖς . . . πόλεως Syg. H. mg. reads *qui descendissent de provincia*; in β text Blass adds the words after πόλεως (καί). τοῖς *om.* before χιλ., so **Σ**ABCE, so Tisch. and other authorities as above.

it was adopted by Claudius and by succeeding emperors, Tac., *Hist.*, ii., 80, until the third century, when the title Augustus was reserved for the supreme ruler, and that of Cæsar was adopted for those who shared his government as his possible heirs, as earlier still it had been conferred upon the heir presumptive: "Cæsar," Hastings' B.D. and B.D.<sup>2</sup>.

Ver. 22. ἐβουλόμην καὶ αὐτὸς: "I also was wishing to hear the man myself," R.V., margin, imperfect, as of a wish entertained for some time; it was probable from Agrippa's position, and his official relationship to Judaism, that he would have been already interested in Paul. Bethge takes it as if it meant that a strong desire had been already awakened by the governor's statement to hear Paul, see also Winer-Moulton, xli. a, 2; but it is most usual to explain the imperfect here (without ἄν) rather than the direct present as used out of politeness, softening the request, "I should like," Burton, p. 16, Page, *in loco*; Lightfoot, *On a Fresh Revision*, etc., p. 16. Calvin strangely takes the imperfect to mean that Agrippa had long cherished the wish to hear Paul, but had checked it hitherto, lest he should seem to have come with any other motive than to see Festus.—αὔριον: emphatic (and emphasised by φησίν), indicating the immediate compliance with Agrippa's wish.

Ver. 23. φαντασίας, Polyb., xv., 25, 15, etc.; Diod. Sic., xii., 83, and instances in Wetstein, *cf.* Herod., vii., 10. φαντάζεσθαι (Page); "in eadem urbe, in qua pater ipsorum a vermibus corrosus ob superbiam perierat" (Wetstein). The word here in the description may point to the presence of an eyewitness (Plumptre).—τὸ ἀκροατήριον: *auditorium*, but the article need not be pressed, as here the word may simply imply the chamber used on this occasion; it would scarcely

have been the place of formal trial, as this was not in question.—χιλιάρχοις: there were five cohorts stationed at Cæsarea, Jos., B. J., iii., 4, 2, but see the remarks of Belser, *Beiträge*, pp. 138-140.—ἀνδράσι τοῖς κατ' ἐξοχὴν: evidently from the context to be regarded as heathen. Both Jew and heathen in Cæsarea had equal civil rights, and had to conduct the public affairs in common; the expression here used does not mean that Jews were excluded from the government, although it is quite in accordance with the fact of the preponderating Gentile element mentioned by Josephus, B. J., iii., 9, 1; Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. i., p. 86, note, E.T.—κατ' ἐξοχὴν: here only in N.T., not in classical Greek in this sense; primarily of any prominence, *cf.* LXX, Job xxxix. 28, ἐξόχως, 3 Macc. v. 31; *cf.* for its meaning here Cic., *Ad Att.*, iv., 15, 7, in classical Greek ἐξοχος; for the phrase, Winer-Moulton, li., 2, g.

Ver. 24. βασιλεῦ, see above on p. 495.—συμπαρόντες: only here in N.T., *cf.* Wisd. ix. 10, Tobit xii. 12 AB.—πάν τὸ πλ.: the statement is not in the least inconsistent with vv. 2, 7, 15. In Jerusalem at all events it is easily intelligible that a noisy crowd would second the actual accusers, *cf.* xvii. 5, 6, while in connection with Cæsarea we know from the latter years of the government of Felix how bitter the Jews were against the Gentiles, and how natural it would be for them to oppose the Apostle of the Gentiles, Jos., B. J., ii., 13, 7; *Ant.*, xx., 8, 7.—ἐνέτυχόν μοι: "made suit to me," R.V., Wisd. viii. 20, 3 Macc. vi. 37, so in Plut., *Pomp.*, 55, *cf.* Polyc., *Martyr.*, xvii., 2, with dative only; it is used also of those making complaint before some authority, 1 Macc. viii. 32, x. 61, xi. 35, 2 Macc. iv. 36, see Westcott on Heb. vii. 25. The verb with the exception of Heb. vii. 25 and text is only found in

καὶ κελεύσαντος τοῦ Φήστου, ἤχθη ὁ Παῦλος. 24. καί φησιν ὁ Φήστος, Ἀγρίππα βασιλεῦ, καὶ πάντες οἱ συμπάροντες ἡμῖν ἄνδρες, θεωρεῖτε τοῦτον, περὶ οὗ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰουδαίων<sup>1</sup> ἐνέτυχόν μοι ἔν τε Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ἐνθάδε, ἐπιβοῶντες μὴ δεῖν ζῆν αὐτὸν μηκέτι. 25. ἐγὼ δὲ<sup>2</sup> καταλαβόμενος μὴδὲν ἄξιον θανάτου αὐτὸν πεπραχέναι, καὶ<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου ἐπικαλεσαμένου τὸν Σεβαστόν, ἔκρινα πέμπειν αὐτόν. 26. περὶ οὗ ἀσφαλές<sup>4</sup> τι γράψαι τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἔχω· διὰ προήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐφ' ὧν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ σοῦ, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, ὅπως τῆς ἀνακρίσεως γενομένης σχῶ τι γράψαι. 27. ἄλογον γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, πέμποντα δέσμιον, μὴ καὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ αἰτίας σημάειν.

<sup>1</sup> ἐνετυχον  $\aleph$ CAEHLP, Tisch., W.H. marg., Weiss, but in text W.H. read ἐνετυχεν (so Blass in  $\beta$  text), with B.H. 40, 105. For ἐπιβοῶντες  $\aleph$ AB 61, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt read βοῶντες. After ἐνετυχον μοι Blass in  $\beta$  text omits τε and καὶ ἐνθάδε (retained by Hilgenfeld) with Cod. Dublin, Berger, and proceeds with the same Codex, and Vers. Bohem. (Tisch.), and especially with Syr. H. mg. to reconstruct the text in  $\beta$  (see also Hilgenfeld's reconstruction). ὅπως παραδῶ αὐτὸν εἰς θάνατον. (εν) ἀκατήγορητον δε οὐκ ἡδυναμην παραδουαι αὐτον δια τας εντολας ας εχομεν παρα του Σεβαστου. εαν δε τις αυτου κατηγορειν θελη, ελεγον ακολουθειν μοι εις Καισαρειαν, ου φυλασσεται. ελθοντες δε εβοησαν αιρεισθαι αυτον. ακουσας δε αμφοτερων κατελαβομην εν μηδενι αυτον ενοχον θανατου ειναι. λεγοντος δε μου· θελεις κρινεσθαι μετ' αυτων εν Ιεροσολυμοις; Καισαρα επικαλεσατο. Belser sees in this, as compared with the shortened form in  $\alpha$ , a weighty confirmation of Blass's theory, p. 140, and cf. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> For καταλαβ.  $\aleph$ CAECE 40, 61, 68, Vulg., Boh., Syr. P., read κατελαβομην; so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V., Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ before αὐτοῦ om.  $\aleph$ ABCE 13, 40, 68, Vulg., Boh., and other authorities as above.

<sup>4</sup> For τι γράψαι  $\aleph$ ABC 5, Syr. H., Tisch., and other authorities above; so Blass, τι γράψω, but Hilg., γράψαι.

Rom. viii. 27, 34, xi. 2, in each place of making supplication to God. For its use cf. ἐντευξις and ἐντυχία, of making request to one in authority, cf. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, i., pp. 117, 118, 143, 144, e.g., the frequent formula on the papyri, ἐντευξις εἰς τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομα. Clemens regards the whole speech of Festus to Agrippa, vv. 24-27, as an interpolation on account of the repetition of ver. 21 in ver. 25, and of the contradiction supposed to exist between vv. 27 and 19. But Jüngst differs from him with regard to the latter point, and although admitting the hand of a reviser freely in the first speech, and also in vv. 14-21, he hesitates to define the revision too exactly in the latter speech.

Ver. 25. καταλαβόμενος, cf. iv. 13 and x. 34; Ephes. iii. 18.—τὸν Σ.: "sanctius hoc nomen erat Cæsar," Blass.—αὐτοῦ δὲ τούτου, cf. xxiv. 15, Thuc., vi., 33 (Wetstein).

Ver. 26. ἀσφαλές τι γράψαι, Dig., xlix., 6. "Post appellationem interpo-

sitam litteræ dandæ sunt ab eo, a quo appellatum est, ad eum qui de appellatione cogniturus est, sive principem, sive quem alium, quas litt. dimissorias sive Apostolos appellant" (Wetstein and Blass).—τῷ κυρίῳ: title refused by Augustus and Tiberius because it savoured too much of the relationship between a master and a slave, and perhaps because it seemed a title more fitting to God (as Wetstein explains it), cf. Suet., *Aug.*, 53, *Tiber.*, 27, and Tacitus, *Ann.*, ii., 87. It was accepted by Caligula and succeeding emperors (cf. Pliny's Letter to Trajan with the frequent *Dominus*), although Alexander Severus forbade it to be applied to him; for other instances, and instances on inscriptions, see Wetstein, *in loco*, Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 44, and *Bibelstudien*, 77, 78, and Tert., *Apol.*, 34, Polyc., *Martyr.*, viii., 2, ix. 2, who refused to utter it with reference to Cæsar. For the due significance of the word in St. Luke, who uses it more fre-



XXVI. 1. ἈΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ δὲ πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον ἔφη, Ἐπιτρέπεται σοι ὑπὲρ<sup>1</sup> σεαυτοῦ λέγειν. τότε ὁ Παῦλος<sup>2</sup> ἀπελογεῖτο, ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα, 2. Περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐγκαλοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, ἡγῆμαι ἑμαυτὸν μακάριον<sup>3</sup> μέλλων ἀπολογεῖσθαι ἐπὶ σοῦ σήμερον, 3. μάλιστα γνώστην ὄντα σε πάντων τῶν κατὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐθῶν τε καὶ ζητημάτων<sup>4</sup>. διὸ δέομαί σου μακροθύμως ἀκοῦσαί μου.

<sup>1</sup> ὑπερ, so BLP, W.H., Weiss, but W.H. marg. have περι, so Tisch., Wendt undecided, but apparently preferring περι.

<sup>2</sup> After Παυλος Blass in β adds θαρρων καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι παρακλησιν λαβων with Syr., Harcl., mg.

<sup>3</sup> R.V. reads ἐπὶ σοῦ μέλλων σήμερον ἀπολογεῖσθαι, with ΞABC, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Blass.

<sup>4</sup> After ζητημάτων ΞAC add ἐπισταμενος, so Blass and Hilgenfeld to avoid the anacoluthon; for the same purpose after ὄντα σε, δ, 29, 31, insert εἰδως, but neither part. is retained by W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss.

quently of Christ than the other Evangelists, see especially Wetstein, *in loco*. —ἀνακρίσεως: here not in its strictly legal and judicial sense of a preliminary inquiry, but an inquiry into the case, *cf.* ver. 22 (iv. 9), with a view to sending a report to the emperor as judge, Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 544, and Zöckler, *in loco*. Festus knew what the charges were, but not their significance, and he hoped to obtain some definite information from Agrippa or Paul—he wanted something ἀσφαλές; Paul had contradicted the charge of treason, and what was left, ver. 19, seemed full of obscurity and absurdity.

Ver. 27. ἄλογον, *cf.* Thuc., vi., 85, Xen., *Ages.*, xi., 1 (elsewhere in N.T., 2 Pet. ii. 12, Jude ver. 10, *cf.* Wisd. xi. 15, 16, 3 Macc. v. 40 (A om.), 4 Macc. xiv. 14, 18). It would seem from the verse that the procurator was not bound to send the *litteræ dmissoriae* (O. Holtzmann). —πέμποντα: for construction *cf.* Heb. ii. 10, or the expression may be quite general “that any one sending,” etc.—σημᾶναι: here *per litteras significare*, as in classical Greek (Wetstein). This decisive turn given to events by Paul’s appeal is regarded by Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, ii., 124, E.T.) as the most certain event in the whole history of the case; Paul as a prisoner could only be taken to Rome if he was to be brought before the emperor’s court, and this had to be done if he invoked such intervention. On Zeller’s and Weizsäcker’s attempt to see in the appearance of Paul before Agrippa a mere repetition of the episode of our Lord before Annas *cf.* Spitta’s reply, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 281.

CHAPTER XXVI.—Ver. 1. ἐπιτρέπεται, Burton, p. 9, on “the aoristic present”. Agrippa as a king and as a guest presides; and Paul addresses himself specially to him, *cf.* vv. 2, 7, 13, 19, 27; *cf.* xxviii. 16, 1 Cor. xiv. 34, for the passive with infinitive, and for other instances of the word in the same sense as here xxi. 39, 40, xxvii. 3; the verb is similarly used in all of the Gospels (three times in Luke), and in 1 Cor. xvi. 7, 1 Tim. ii. 12, Heb. vi. 3.—ἐκτείνας: not the same as in xii. 17, xiii. 16; here not to ensure silence, but *gestus est oratorius*, *cf.* ver. 29.—ἀπελογεῖτο, see above, xxiv. 10, although not formally on trial, the word shows that the Apostle was defending himself.

Ver. 2. ἐπὶ σοῦ, *cf.* xxiv. 19.—ἐγκαλοῦμαι, see on xix. 38.—ὑπὸ Ἰουδ.: “by Jews” simply (*cf.* xxv. 10), and therefore he is glad to address one acquainted with Jewish customs, but see on ver. 4.—ἡγῆμαι ἑμαυτὸν μακ.: only here by Luke in this sense, but frequently so used by St. Paul in his Epistles eleven times, *cf.*, e.g., Phil. iii. 7, 1 Tim. vi. 1. St. Paul too commences with a “captatio benevolentiae,” “sed absque adulatione,” Blass: “and yet had he been conscious of guilt, he should have feared being tried in the presence of one who knew all the facts; but this is a mark of a clear conscience, not to shrink from a judge who has an accurate knowledge of the circumstances, but even to rejoice and to call himself happy,” Chrys., *Hom.*, lii.

Ver. 3. μάλιστα: (1) “especially because thou art expert,” R.V. (so Blass, Felten, Weiss), or (2) “because thou art specially expert,” margin, R.V. (so Wendt, Rendall, Bethge, Zöckler). See

4. τὴν μὲν οὖν βίωσίν μου<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐκ νεότητος, τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γενομένην ἐν τῷ ἔθνει μου ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, ἴσασι πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι,  
5. προγινώσκοντές με ἄνωθεν, (ἐὰν θέλωσι μαρτυρεῖν,) ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας<sup>2</sup> θρησκείας ἔζησα Φαρισαῖος.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν before *ἐκ νεοτ.*, retained by Tisch., Blass and Hilg., is omitted by Weiss, W.H., Wendt, with BC<sup>8</sup>H. τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς om. by Blass in β, with Gig. After *ἐν ἸΑΒΕΣ* 40, Syr. P., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss, Hilg. add *τε*, Blass omits in β text.

<sup>2</sup> θρησκείας, so W.H., Weiss, Blass, Hilg., with ABHLP; Tisch. with *ΝΣΕ* read *θρησκίας*, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 44.

critical notes, and for construction Winer-Moulton, lxiii., 2, a, and xxxii. 7, Wendt (1899), p. 389.—*γνώστην ὄντα*: an anacoluthon, as if an accusative had been previously used, *πρός σε . . . ἀπολ.*, cf. xxii. 1. Zöckler takes it as an accusative absolute, following A. Buttman (see Winer-Moulton, u. s.), but no clear example (cf. Ephes. i. 18, and Hackett's note, *in loco*).—*γνώστην*, cf. Susannah, ver. 42 (Theod., not LXX), with genitive as here.—*ἐθὼν τε καὶ ἔθ.*: "*consuetudinum* in practicis, *quæstionum* in theoreticis," Bengel, on ver. 32 see above, xxv. 19.—*μακροθύμως*, only here in N.T., but *μακροθυμία* frequent in St. Paul's Epistles (cf. Eccclus. v. 11).

Ver. 4. *μὲν οὖν*: with no formal antithesis, but as marking the opposition between his present and former mode of life, a contrast dropped for the moment, and resumed again in ver. 9; see Rendall, Appendix on *μὲν οὖν*, but also Page, *in loco*, and notes below on ver. 9.—*βίωσιν*: *vivendi et agendi ratio*, Grimm; cf. the same word used in the description of a life very similar to that of Paul before he became a Christian, Eccclus., *Prol.*, 12, *διὰ τῆς ἐννόμου βιώσεως* (Symm., Ps. xxxviii. (xxxix.) 6).—*νεότητος*, 1 Tim. iv. 12, only elsewhere in N.T. in Luke xviii. 21, and in parallel passage, Mark x. 20, in LXX Gen. xliii. 33, Job xxxi. 18, etc. From its use with reference to Timothy it is evident that the word did not imply the earliest years of life, and although Paul may probably have removed to Jerusalem at an early age, the context does not require a reference to the years he had lived before his removal.—*τὴν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γεν.*: explanatory of preceding,—the commencement of his training, which was not only amongst his own nation, but also specially *τε*, at Jerusalem, cf. xxii. 3. The Apostle presses the point to show that he was most unlikely to act in violation of Jewish feeling—he is still a Jew.—*ἴσασι*: only here in N.T., per-

haps a conscious classicism, Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 33; on the classical forms in this speech see Blass, *Proleg.*, p. 14, and *Gram.*, p. 49, and especially p. 5, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 9. These literary forms are what we should have expected the Apostle to employ before an audience so distinguished.—*Ἰουδαῖοι*: Blass gives a further reason for the omission of article, "abest ut 2, 3, 7, 21, sec. usum Atticorum, cf. xvii. 21".

Ver. 5. *προγιν.* *με*: knowing me beforehand, i.e., *ἄνωθεν*, from the beginning of my public education in Jerusalem. *προγ.*: twice elsewhere by Paul, Rom. viii. 29, xi. 2, also in 1 Pet. i. 20, 2 Pet. iii. 17. For *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς* and *ἄνωθεν* cf. Luke i. 2, 3, and for the former also 2 Thess. ii. 13.—*ἀκριβ.*: "the straitest sect," R.V., on the double accusative in A.V. see Humphry, *Commentary on R.V.* For this classical form, the only instance of a superlative in *-ατος* in N.T., see especially Blass, u. s., cf. ver. 4; on the term in its close connection with Pharisaism cf. Jos., *B. J.*, i., 5, 2; *Ant.*, xvii., 2, 4, and references above on xxii. 3. Their "straitness" included not only observance and interpretation of the Mosaic law, but also of the whole *παράδοσις τῶν προσβυτέρων*.—*αἵρεσιν*, see on v. 17, the word in the sense of "a sect" was rightly applied to the exclusiveness of Pharisaism as in the N.T., cf. xv. 5, and in Jos., cf. *Vita*, 38.—*θρησκείας*: "*cultus religionis*, potissimum *externus*," Grimm, so here and in the other places where it occurs in N.T., Col. ii. 18, James i. 26, 27; twice in Wisdom, xiv. 18, 27, of the worship of idols; in Eccclus. xxii. 5 the reading is doubtful; in 4 Macc. v. 6, 13, of the religion of the Jews. The instances of its use both in Philo and Josephus show that it was plainly distinguished from *εὐσεβεία* and *δοσιότης*. Thus it is contrasted with the latter by Philo, *Quod det. potiori insid.*, c. 7: *θρησκείαν ἀντι*



6 καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίας γενομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔστηκα κρινόμενος, 7. εἰς ἣν τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν λατρεῦον ἐλπίζει<sup>2</sup> καταντῆσαι· περὶ ἧς ἐλπίδος ἐγκαλοῦμαι, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων. 8. τί;

<sup>1</sup> For πρὸς ὙΑΒΕ have εἰς; so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilgenfeld; for T.R., cf. xiii. 32. After πατέρας ὙΑΒΕ 61, Vulg., Syr. P.H., Boh. add ἡμῶν, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg., but Blass brackets.

<sup>2</sup> For καταντῆσαι B has καταντῆσειν, so W.H. marg., Weiss, βασ. at end of verse ὙΒΕΙ, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. After ὑπο, τῶν is omitted by ὙΑΒΕΗΛΡ, so by Tisch and other authorities above.

δυσίότητος ἡγούμενος; and in Josephus it is frequently used of the public worship of God, worship in its external aspect, cf. *Ant.*, ix., 13, 3; xii., 5, 4; v., 10, 1; xii., 6, 2. It was therefore a very natural word for St. Paul to use, and it is not necessary to suppose that he did so merely for the sake of Festus and the Romans (Blass), although the word was used of one mode of worship when contrasted with another; see further Hatch, *Essays in B.G.*, p. 55; Trench, *Synonyms*, i., p. 200, and Mayor on James i. 26.—Φαρισαῖος: emphatic at the end, expressing the "strictest sect" by name, cf. Gal. i. 14, Phil. iii. 5, 6.

Ver. 6. καὶ νῦν: the expression does not indicate any contrast with ver. 4: this hope for which he stands to be judged is in full accord with his whole past life.—ἐπ' ἐλπίδι: phrase only found elsewhere in St. Paul's Epistles, where it is frequent; Rom. viii. 20, 1 Cor. ix. 10, Tit. i. 2. A hope not merely of the resurrection of the dead, but of the Messiah's kingdom with which the resurrection was connected, as the context points to the national hope of Israel; cf. Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 175, E.T., see also pp. 137, 148, 149, and Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, i., pp. 75, 79, on the strong bond of the common hope of Israel.—πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας, see critical note. With either preposition we have a Pauline expression; on the force of εἰς see Alford and Weiss, *in loco*. If we read ἡμῶν after πατ. perhaps including Agrippa with himself as a Jew.

Ver. 7. εἰς ἣν: unto which promise, not *spem* (Grotius, Bengel), καταντῆσαι εἰς, cf. the same construction with the same verb, Phil. iii. 11, Ephes. iv. 13, only in Luke and Paul, but never by the former elsewhere in metaphorical sense; in classical Greek after verbs of hoping we should have had a future, but in N.T. generally aorist infinitive, Viteau, *Le*

*Grec du N.T.*, p. 154 (1893).—τὸ δωδεκάφυλον: here only in biblical Greek; perhaps used after the mention of the fathers, as the heads of the tribes; for the word cf. *Prot. Jac.*, i., 3, Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, lv., 6 (cf. xxxi. 4), and *Orac. Syb.*, λαὸς ὁ δωδεκάφυλος; the expression was full of hope, and pointed to a national reunion under the Messiah; for the intensity of this hope, and of the restoration of the tribes of Israel, see on iii. 21 (p. 115), and references in ver. 6, Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, p. 67, and especially *Psalms of Solomon*, xviii., 28, 30, 50.—ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ, cf. xii. 5, 2 Macc. xiv. 38, 3 Macc. vi. 41, Jud. iv. 9 (twice?); Cic., *Ad Att.*, x., 17, 1. See Hatch, *u. s.*, p. 12.—νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν, cf. xx. 31, also used by Paul; elsewhere in his Epistles five times, and once in Mark v. in genitive, 1 Thess. ii. 9, iii. 10; 2 Thess. iii. 8; 1 Tim. v. 5; 2 Tim. i. 3; Mark v. 5. The precise phrase in the accusative also occurs in Luke ii. 37, Mark iv. 25.—λατρεῦον, cf. Luke ii. 37, joined with νύκτα καὶ ἡμ. as here, and in both places of the earnest prayer for the Messiah's coming; same phrase elsewhere in N.T. only in Rev. vii. 15. For the force of the expression here and its relation to the Temple worship see Blass, *in loco*, and Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 174, E.T.—ὑπὸ Ἰουδ.: by Jews, O King! Agrippa knew that this hope, nowever misdirected, was the hope of every Israelite, and the Apostle lays stress upon the strange fact that Jews should thus persecute one who identified himself with their deepest and most enduring hopes.

Ver. 8. R.V. gives more clearly the significance of the original, "Why is it judged incredible with you, if God (as He does) raises the dead?" εἰ with indicative assumes that the hypothesis is true, Vulgate "si Deus mortuos suscitavit?" cf. Luke xvi. 31. It has sometimes been thought that St. Paul

ἄπιστον κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῖν, εἰ ὁ Θεὸς νεκροὺς ἐγείρει; 9. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἔδοξα ἑμαυτῷ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζωραίου δεῖν πολλὰ ἐναντία πρᾶξαι. 10. ὁ καὶ ἐποίησα ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγὼ φυλακαῖς κατέκλεισα, τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων

here makes a special appeal to the Sadducean part of his audience—παρ' ὑμῖν—including among them Agrippa, with his indifference and practical Sadduceism (Alford), with his policy favouring the Sadducees in the appointment of the high priests (Felten): others have seen in the words a reference to the general resurrection with which the Apostle's Messianic belief was connected, or to cases of resurrection in the history of Israel, as, *e.g.*, 1 Kings xvii., 2 Kings iv., as if the speaker would ask: Why is it judged a thing incredible in your judgment when you have instances before you in the sacred books accepted by Agrippa and the Jews? But it is far better to consider the words in connection with the great truth to which the whole speech was meant to lead up, ver. 23, *viz.*, that Jesus, although crucified, had risen again, that He was at this moment a living Person, and by His resurrection had been proved to be the Messiah, the fulfiller of the hope of Israel. Zöckler regards the question as forming a kind of transition from the general hope of the Jews in a Messiah to the specific Christian hope in Jesus.—ἄπιστον: only here in Acts, twice in Luke's Gospel, but frequent in St. Paul's Epistles of those who believed not. See further Nestle, *Philologica Sacra*, p. 54, 1896, and Wendt, p. 391 and note (1899). Nestle proposes to place the verse as out of connection here between vv. 22 and 23, with a full stop at the end of the former; and Wendt commends this view.

Ver. 9. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν: the words may be taken as simply resuming the narrative of the Apostle's life which he had commenced in vv. 4 and 5, the three succeeding verses forming a parenthesis, or as an answer to the question of ver. 8, the real antithesis to μὲν οὖν, ver. 9, and the narrative, vv. 9-11, being found in ver. 12 and what follows. On μὲν οὖν see Rendall, *Acts*, Appendix, p. 163, and also Page on ii. 41, *Acts*, pp. 94, 95; see also critical note above.—ἔδοξα ἑμαυτῷ: *mihi ipsi videbar*; so in classical Greek. If with Weiss, Wendt, Bethge we lay stress on ἑμ., the Apostle explains the fact that this obligation was his own wilful self-delusion. In classical Greek

instead of the impersonal construction we have frequently the personal construction with the infinitive as here, *cf.* 2 Cor. x. 9—only in Luke and Paul, indication of literary style, Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 152 (1893).—τὸ ὄνομα Ἰ. τοῦ Ν., see on iv. 10, 12.—ἐναντία πρᾶξαι, *cf.* xxviii. 17, and also 1 Thess. ii. 15, Tit. ii. 8.

Ver. 10. ὁ καὶ ἐποίησα, *cf.* Gal. ii. 10 (Bethge, p. 272), on the distinction between πράσσειν and ποιεῖν Westcott on St. John iii. 22.—ἐγὼ: emphatic.—τῶν ἁγίων, see above ix. 13, *cf.* its use in ix. 32; the word aggravates St. Paul's own guilt. Agrippa too would know of pious Jews by the same designation.—ἀναιρ. τε αὐτῶν: probably pointing to more deaths, not as expressing the death of Stephen alone, *cf.* viii. 1, ix. 1, xxii. 4. The state of affairs which rendered the murder of St. Stephen possible in the capital would easily account for similar acts of outrage in other places, so that there is no need to suppose with Weiss that the notice here is unhistorical.—κατήνεγκα ψῆφον: "I gave my vote," R.V., the ψῆφος, literally the pebble used in voting, *calculus deferro* sc. *in urnam* (Grimm), *i.e.*, *addo calculum, approbo*, *cf.* ψῆφον φέρειν, ἐπιφ. or ἐκφ. If the phrase is taken quite literally, it is said to denote the vote of a judge, so that Paul must have been a member of the Sanhedrim, and gave his vote for the death of St. Stephen and other Christians. On the other hand the phrase is sometimes taken as simply = συνευδοκεῖν τῇ ἀναιρέσει (so amongst recent writers, Knabenbauer), xxii. 20. (C. and H. think that if not a member of the Sanhedrim at the time of Stephen's death, he was elected soon after, whilst Weiss holds that if the expression does not imply that the writer represents Paul by mistake as a member of the Sanhedrim, it can only be understood as meaning that by his testimony Paul gave a decisive weight to the verdict in condemnation of the Christians.) Certainly it seems, as Bethge urges, difficult to suppose that Paul was a member of such an august body as the Sanhedrim, not only on account of his probable age at the time of his conversion, but also because of his comparatively obscure circumstances. The Sanhedrim was an



ἐξουσίαν λαβών. ἀναιρουμένων τε αὐτῶν κατήνεγκα ψῆφον. 11. καὶ κατὰ πάσας τὰς συναγωγὰς πολλὰκις τιμωρῶν αὐτούς, ἡνάγκαζον βλασφημεῖν· περισσῶς τε ἐμμαινόμενος αὐτοῖς, ἐδίωκον ἕως καὶ εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις. 12. ἐν οἷς<sup>1</sup> καὶ πορευόμενος εἰς τὴν Δαμασκὸν μετ' ἐξουσίας καὶ ἐπιτροπῆς τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων, 13. ἡμέρας μέσης κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν εἶδον, βασιλεῦ, οὐρανόθεν ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα

<sup>1</sup> καὶ om. NABCEI, 13, 40, 61, so Tisch. and other authorities in ver. 7. For T.R. read της των αρχ. N\*B, Tisch., Weiss, Wendt, R.V., Blass; της παρα om. AEI 40, 68, Lach.

assembly of aristocrats, composed too of men of mature years and marked influence, and the question may be asked how Saul of Tarsus, who may not even have had a stated residence in the Holy City, could have found a place in the ranks of an assembly numbering the members of the high priestly families and the principal men of Judæa: see *Expositor*, June, 1897, and also for the bearing of the statement on the question of Paul's marriage, with Hackett's note, *in loco*. For the voting in the Sanhedrim see Schürer, div. ii., vol. i., p. 194. E.T. Rendall, p. 336, meets the difficulty above by referring the expression under discussion to a kind of popular vote confirming the sentence of the court against Stephen, for which he finds support in the language of the law and in the narrative of the proto-martyr's condemnation.

Ver. 11. τιμωρῶν (*cf.* xxii. 5), more usually in the middle voice in this sense, although the active is so used sometimes in classical Greek, Soph., *O. T.*, 107, 140, Polyb., ii., 56, 15. For ecclesiastical censures and punishments see Edersheim, *History of the Jewish Nation*, p. 374, *cf.* Matt. x. 17, xxiii. 34.—ἡνάγκαζον: "I strove to make them blaspheme," R.V., all other E.V. render "I compelled them to blaspheme," but the imperfect leaves it quite doubtful as to whether the persecutor succeeded in his attempts or not. The imperfect may thus be regarded as conative, Burton, p. 12, *cf.* Luke i. 59, Matt. iii. 14. Blass points out that it may have the force of repeated action (*cf.* ἐδίωκον), but even if so, it does not say that the compulsion was effectual, *Gram.*, p. 186. See further Page, *in loco*, for the rendering of R.V., which he regards as correct. A striking parallel may be adduced from Pliny's Letter to Trajan, x., 97, where the Christians are urged to call upon the gods, to worship the emperor, and to blaspheme Christ, "quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur

qui sunt revera Christiani," *cf.* Polycarp, *Martyr.*, ix., 2, 3.—βλασφημεῖν, *i.e.*, Jesus, "maledicere Christo," Pliny, *u. s.*, James ii. 7; *cf.* 1 Tim. i. 13 with this passage, and Paul's later reflections on his conduct.—ἕως καὶ εἰς τὰς ἔξω π.: "even unto foreign cities," R.V., so that other cities besides Damascus had been included in the persecution, or would have been included if Saul's attempt had been successful.—ἐδίωκον: "I set about persecuting them". The imperfect ἐδίωκ. may however denote repeated action, and may indicate that Saul had already visited other foreign cities. Weiss regards the τε as connecting the two imperfects *de conatu* together—the latter imperfect being regarded as a continuation of the former, in case the victims sought to save themselves by flight.—ἐμμαιν.: only in Josephus once, *Ant.*, xvii., 6, 5, but ἐμμανής in Wisd. xiv. 23, and in classical Greek, so also ἐκμαινέσθαι.

Ver. 12. ἐν οἷς, *i.e.*, as I was thus engaged, *inter quæ*, "on which errand," R.V. margin, see xxiv. 18.—ἐπιτροπῆς, 2 Macc. xiii. 14, Polyb., iii., 15, 7, "commission," A. and R.V. "Paulus erat commissarius," Bengel, the two nouns show the fulness of the authority committed to Paul.

Ver. 13. ἡμέρας μέσης: temporal genitive, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 107 (in classical Greek ἡμ. μεσοῦσα). The expression is perhaps stronger than in xxii. 6, in the bright full light of day.—κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν: "on the way," and so foreboding nothing (Weiss).—βασιλεῦ: "advertitur rex ad miraculum rei," Blass, *cf.* ver. 7, so Weiss.—ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπ.: here only expressly, but implied in ix. 3, xxii. 6, indicating the supernatural nature of the light; noun only here in N.T., *cf.* Dan. xii. 3.—περιλάμψαν: only in Luke, *cf.* Luke ii. 9, where the word is also used for a light from heaven; nowhere else in N.T., but the verb is found in Plutarch,

τοῦ ἡλίου περιλάμπαν με φῶς καὶ τοὺς σὺν ἐμοὶ πορευομένους. 14. πάντων δὲ<sup>1</sup> καταπεσόντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἤκουσα φωνὴν λαλοῦσαν πρὸς με, καὶ λέγουσαν τῇ Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ, Σαούλ, Σαούλ, τί με διώκεις; σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. 15. ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον,

<sup>1</sup> For δε ἩΒΕΙ, Syrr. H.P., Vulg. read τε, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilgenfeld. For T.R. φωνὴν λ. . . . καὶ λεγ. ἩΒΕΙ, Vulg., Syrr. P.H., Boh., read φ. λεγουσαν πρὸς με, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, R.V. After γῆν Blass in β adds δια τον φοβον εγω μονος, 137 Syr. H. mg. (Gig.), so Hilg.

Josephus. The fact that the light shone round about Paul and his companions is at any rate not excluded by ix. 7 or xxii. 9, as Weiss notes. It is quite in accordance with the truth of the facts that the more vivid expression should occur in Paul's own recital.

Ver. 14. See notes on ix. 7 and xxii. 7, and reading above in β.—τῇ Ἑβραΐδι διαλ.: this is intimated in ix. 4 and xxii. 7 by the form Σαούλ, but here the words are inserted because Paul was speaking in Greek, or perhaps he spoke the solemn words, indelible in his memory, as they were uttered, in Hebrew, for Agrippa (Alford).—σκληρόν σοι κ.τ.λ.: a proverb which finds expression both in Greek and in Latin literature (see instances in Wetstein): cf. Scholiast on Pind., *Pyth.*, ii., 173: ἡ δὲ τροπὴ ἀπὸ τῶν βοῶν· τῶν γὰρ οἱ ἄτακτοι κατὰ τὴν γεωργίαν κεντριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρουντος, λακτίζουσι τὸ κέντρον καὶ μάλλον πλήττονται. Cf. also Aesch., *Agam.*, 1633 (cf. *Prom.*, 323), Eur., *Bacch.*, 791, and in Latin, Terence, *Phorm.*, i., 2, 27; Plautus, *Truc.*, iv., 2, 59; and there may have been a similar proverb current among the Hebrews. Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 5, 6, thinks that the introduction of the proverb on this occasion before Festus and Agrippa points to the culture which Paul possessed, and which he called into requisition in addressing an educated assembly. It is not wise to press too closely a proverbial saying with regard to Saul's state of mind before his conversion; the words may simply mean to intimate to him that it was a foolish and inefficacious effort to try to persecute Jesus in His followers, an effort which would only inflict deeper wounds upon himself, an effort as idle as that described by the Psalmist, Ps. ii. 3, 4. At all events Paul's statement here must be compared with his statements elsewhere, 1 Tim. i. 13; see *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 389 ff., and Bethge, *Die Paulinischen Reden*, p. 275.

Ver. 15. Evidently the following

verses contain a summary of what in the other two accounts of the Conversion is spoken to Paul by Ananias, and revealed by the Lord in a vision, cf. ix. 15, xxii. 14 (so Alford, Felten, Zöckler). This is far more satisfactory than to suppose that the two narratives in ix. and xxii. are really dependent upon xxvi., the author having employed in them an oral tradition relating to Ananias, without being at all aware that by introducing such an account he was really contradicting a point upon which Paul lays special stress, viz., the fact that he had received his apostleship neither from man nor through man, Gal. i. 1 (so Wendt (1899), p. 189, and McGiffert, pp. 120 and 355). But in the first place nothing is said as to the Apostle receiving his Apostleship from Ananias; he receives recovery of sight from him, but his call to his Apostleship commences with his call before Damascus: "epocha apostolatus Paulini cum hoc ipso conversionis articulo incipit," Bengel; and see specially Beyschlag, *Studien und Kritiken*, p. 220, 1864, on Gal. i. 15 (*Witness of the Epistles*, p. 379, 1892); and, further, the introduction and omission of Ananias are in themselves strong corroborations of the naturalness of the three accounts of the Conversion. Thus in chap. xxii., ver. 12, cf. ix. 10, "non conveniebat in hunc locum uberior de An. narratio, ix. 10 ff., sed conveniebat præconium ejus, quod non est illic" (Blass); so too it was natural and important to emphasise before a Jewish audience the description of Ananias (in ix. 10 he is simply τὸς μαθητῆς) as εὐλαβὴς κατὰ τὸν νόμον, well reported of by all the Jews, whereas in xxvi. "tota persona Ananiæ sublata est, quippe quæ non esset apta apud hos auditores" (Blass). The three narratives agree in the main facts (see notes in comment., and Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, 2nd edit., p. 216), and "the slight variations in the three accounts do not seem to be of any consequence," Ramsay, *Saint Paul*, p. 379, cf. also



Τίς εἶ, Κύριε ; ὁ δὲ<sup>1</sup> εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἰησοῦς ὃν σὺ διώκεις. 16. ἀλλὰ ἀνάστηθι, καὶ στήθῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὤφθην σοι, προχειρίσασθαι σε ὑπέρτερον καὶ μάρτυρα ὧν τε εἶδες<sup>2</sup> ὧν τε ὀφθῆ-  
σομαί σοι, 17. ἐξαῖρουμένους σε ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ<sup>3</sup> τῶν ἐθνῶν, εἰς οὓς

<sup>1</sup> ο δε, add Κύριος NABCEIL, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> After εἶδες BC\* 105, 137, Syrr. P.H., Arm., Ambr., Aug. add με, so W.H., Weiss, Hilg., R.V. text, but R.V. marg. Blass and Wendt omit; see the latter's note, p. 394 (1899), as against Weiss.

<sup>3</sup> Before τῶν ἐθνῶν NABEΓ-I 13, 40, 61, repeat εκ, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Hilg., Weiss, Wendt. For νυν NABCEHILP read εγω, so other authorities above.

Renan, *Apostles*, p. 13, E.T., Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 121. Clemen, who agrees in the main with Wendt in regarding xxvi. as the original narrative, refers chap. ix. to his Redactor Antijudaicus, and chap. xxii. to his Redactor Judaicus; he sees evidences of the hand of the former in ix., 10, 15, 17, and of the latter in xxii. 12, 14. If xxii. 17 f., and the words in ver. 15, πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, do not fit in with this theory, they are ascribed by Clemen to the later Redactor Antijudaicus; but the latter expression πρὸς π. ἀνθ. is already contained in the meaning of the original source, xxvi. 17, 20 a and c (20b belonging, according to Clemen, to the Redactor Judaicus). Space forbids any further examination of passages in the three narratives with regard to which the partition critics, Clemen and Jüngst, are again hopelessly at variance with each other, but cf. Jüngst, *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 84, 87, 89, 94, and the strictures of Knabenbauer, *Actus Apostolorum*, p. 11 (1899). But it is strange to find that Clemen should be prepared to fall back upon the view of Baur, *Paulus*, ii., 13, that the narrative of Paul's blindness was derived from the spiritual blindness referred to in xxvi. 17, and that therefore this narrative is evidently older than the other accounts in ix. and xxii., which introduce a tragical blindness. As Wendt points out, there is no hint in the text that Paul's blindness was symbolical, and there is nothing to suggest the circumstantial narratives relating to Ananias in the phrase xxvi. 17, which relates not to the Apostle's own conversion, but to his power of converting others.

Ver. 16. ἀλλὰ ἀνάστηθι: "Prostravit Christus Paulum ut eum humiliaret; nunc eum erigit ac jubet bono esse animo," Calvin; for the expression cf. Ezek. ii. 1, 2.—προχειρ., cf. iii. 14, xxii.

14, ix. 15, σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς.—ὑπέρτερον καὶ μάρτυρα ὧν τε εἶδες, so like the Twelve, and cf. also αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπέρ-  
ται τοῦ λόγου, Luke i. 1; in Cor. iv. 1 St. Paul speaks of himself as ὑπέρτης.—ὧν τε εἶδες με, see critical note, "where-  
in thou hast seen me," R.V., cf. 1 Cor. ix. 1, quite in harmony with the stress which the Apostle there lays upon "seeing the Lord".—ὧν τε ὀφθ. = τούτων δ: "and of the things wherein I will appear to thee," so A. and R.V. Cf. Acts xviii. 9, xxii. 18, 21, xxiii. 11, 2 Cor. xii. 2. ὀφθ., future passive (Grimm-Thayer), cannot be rendered "I will make thee to see," or "I will communicate to thee by vision," as if = ἐγὼ ὑποδείξω, ix. 16. For construction see Page, and Blass, *in loco*.

Ver. 17. ἐξαῖρουμένους σε: "delivering," A. and R.V. Vulgate, *eripiens*, and so the word is elsewhere rendered in N.T., cf. vii. 10, 34, xii. 11, xxiii. 27, Gal. i. 4, and below, ver. 22; so very frequently in LXX (although twice in the sense below, Job xxxvi. 21, Isa. xlvi. 10). It may be called a Lucan-Pauline word (only twice elsewhere in N.T.; in St. Matt. v. 29, xviii. 9, but in an entirely different signification). Blass renders it as above, and points out that there is no reason for rendering it "choosing" in this one passage, a sense which is not at all fitted to the context; for the language cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 35, Jer. i. 8, so Wendt (1899, but in the sense below previously), Weiss, Felten, Hackett, Bethge, Knabenbauer. It is no objection to say that Paul was not delivered, but was persecuted all his life long, for he was delivered in the sense of deliverance to proclaim the message for which he was sent as an Apostle. On the other hand Overbeck, Rendall, Page, so C. and H. take it in the sense of "choosing," cf. ix. 15, σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς. Grimm-Thayer is

νῦν σε ἀποστέλλω, 18. ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθαλμούς αὐτῶν, τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ Σατανᾶ ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, τοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις,

doubtful. Rendall urges that the word cannot mean "delivering" without some phrase such as ἐκ χειρός, as common in the LXX, but *cf.* on the other hand LXX, Judg. x. 15, xviii. 28 A, Ps. xxx. 2, xlix. 15, Hosea v. 14, etc. But how could Paul be said to be chosen ἐξ ἑθνῶν? The phrase would certainly sound strange to him as a description of his own position. Rendall also objects that in 1 Chron. xvi. 35 the word means to gather the scattered exiles from among the heathen as the context shows, but the Hebrew verb לָצַף means to deliver, and is so rendered, *l. c.*, in A. and R. V. It is also urged that λαός is always the name of honour, and that elsewhere the enemies of the Apostle were named Ἰουδαῖοι; but not only is the collocation "the people and the Gentiles" a common one, *cf.* ver. 23, Rom. xv. 10, but λαός is used of the unbelieving Jews in describing hostility to the Gospel, *cf.* iv. 27, xii. 4. Agrippa would understand the distinction between λαός and ἔθνη. ἐγὼ "denotat auctoritatem mittentis," Bengel.—ἀποστέλλω: Paul receives his Apostolic commission direct from Christ as much as the Twelve; Gal. i. 1, 16, 17, Rom. i. 5 (Matt. x. 16, John xx. 21-23); *cf.* Acts i. 25.

Ver. 18. ἀνοῖξαι ὀφθ. αὐτῶν, *cf.* Acts ix. 8, 40, and also Matt. ix. 30; so too Isaï. xxxv. 5, xlii. 7. Both Jews and Gentiles were blinded (οὓς above, referring to both), the former because seeing they saw not, Matt. xiii. 13, Rom. xi. 8; the latter in that knowing God in His creation they glorified Him not as God, and their senseless heart was darkened, Rom. i. 21; and to both St. Paul proclaimed the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, 2 Cor. iv. 6, Ephes. i. 18. The infinitive of purpose depending on ἀποστέλλω, Burton, p. 157; Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 169 (1893).—ἐπιστρέψαι: "that they may turn," R.V. ("to turn them," margin, so A.V.); in St. Luke, who uses the verb more frequently than any other N.T. writer, it is nearly always intransitive, except in Luke i. 16, 17, Moulton and Geden, while Grimm adds ver. 20 below; so here all E.V. before the authorised, *cf.* Vulgate, "ut convertantur"

(Humphry). If we thus take ἐπιστ. as intransitive, it is subordinate to the previous infinitive of purpose, ἀνοῖξαι, and τοῦ λαβεῖν again subordinate to ἐπιστ., expressing the final result aimed at (Page, and see also Wendt's note, *in loco* (1899)).—ἀπὸ σκότους εἰς φῶς: throughout St. Paul's Epistles the imagery was frequent with reference not only to Gentiles but also to Jews, *cf.* Rom. ii. 19, xiii. 12, 1 Thess. v. 5, Ephes. v. 18, Col. i. 12. The words gain in interest here if we think of them as corresponding with the Apostle's own recovering from blindness, spiritual and physical (Plumptre).—τοῦ Σατανᾶ, Blass, *Gram.*, pp. 32, 144; no less than ten times by St. Paul in his Epistles; *cf.* 2 Cor. iv. 4, Ephes. ii. 2, vi. 12 (Col. i. 13. ἐξουσία σκότους, Luke xxii. 53). There is no reason to suppose with Bengel that St. Paul is here referring to Gentiles rather than to Jews, for whilst the Jews no doubt would regard the Gentiles as loving σκότος and in the power of Satan, *cf.* also Luke xiii. 16, xxii. 31, Acts v. 3. For current ideas with regard to Satan and the teaching of the N.T. *cf.* Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., p. 775; Charles, *Book of Enoch*, Introd., p. 52, and *Assumption of Moses*, x., 1, where Satan is apparently represented as the head of the kingdom of evil; *cf.* in the N.T. Ephes. i. 21, vi. 12, Col. ii. 15, for the whole hierarchy of evil spirits at the disposal of Satan, and 2 Thess. ii. 9; *cf.* 2 Cor. xi. 14 for his supernatural powers of deceiving or preventing men; see especially Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 145.—τοῦ λαβεῖν: expressing the ultimate object of ἀνοῖξαι (see above, and Weiss, *in loco*).—ἄφεσιν ἁμαρ., iii. 16, the language here is quite Pauline, *cf.* Col. i. 12-14, where also deliverance out of the power of darkness and forgiveness of sins in the Son of God's love are connected as here.—τῇ πίστει εἰς ἐμέ: may be connected with λαβεῖν, faith in Christ as the condition of forgiveness placed emphatically at the end; *cf.* x. 43, A. and R.V. connect the words with ἡγιασμένοις, so Vulgate.—κλῆρον ἐν τοῖς ἡγιασ., *cf.* xx. 32, Col. i. 12.

Ver. 19. ὥθεν: "wherefore," R.V., so in Heb. ii. 17, iii. 1, vii. 25, viii. 3, ix. 18 (locally in Luke xi. 24, Acts xiv. 26, xxviii. 13); probably best taken here as



πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ. 19. Ὅθεν, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, οὐκ ἐγενόμην ἀπειθὴς τῇ οὐρανίῳ ὀπτασίᾳ, 20. ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν Δαμασκῷ πρῶτον<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἱεροσολύμοις, εἰς πᾶσάν τε τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀπήγγελλον μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν, ἄξια

<sup>1</sup> After πρῶτον **ΣΑΒ** 25, 61, add **τε**, so Tisch. and other authorities in ver. 17, except Hilg. Before **Ιερ.** **ΑΕ** read **εν**. Hilg. has **και τοις εν Ιερ.** **εις om.** **ΣΑΒ**, so Tisch., R.V., W.H., but retained by Weiss, Hilg. and Wendt, may easily have dropped out after the preceding **-οις**. Blass reads in **α** and **β** **εις πασαν τε (την) χωραν Ιουδαιους και τοις εθνεσιν**, with support by **Par.**<sup>2</sup> "Judæis," see note below, and Wendt (1899), p. 396. Clemen, p. 144, regards **τε και Ιερ.** . . . **Ιουδαίας** as a gloss of R. Judaicus (ver. 21 being added by R. Antijudaicus), and both Wendt and McGiffert view the whole reference as added to the original source.

referring to the whole revelation from ver. 12, marking the natural result of what had gone before; not used in St. Paul's Epistles.—**βασιλ. Α.**: "cum ad sua facta redeat, apte regem denuo compellat," Blass, marking the commencement of his real defence.—**ἀπειθής**: only in Luke and Paul in N.T., cf. Luke i. 17; Rom. i. 30, 2 Tim. iii. 2, Tit. i. 16, iii. 3; in LXX and in classical Greek.—**ὀπτασία**: here and here only Paul himself apparently speaks of the appearance of Christ vouchsafed to him before Damascus by this word, but **ὀπτασία**, as Beyschlag shows, is not confined to appearances which the narrators regard as visions, cf. Luke i. 22, xxiv. 23, and its meaning must be explained from the entire "objectivity" with which St. Paul invests the whole narrative of his Conversion, cf. *Witness of the Epistles*, p. 383 (1892), and p. 380 for further reference to Beyschlag in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1864, 1890, and his *Leben Jesu*, i., p. 435. In modern Greek **ὀπτασία** = a vision (Kennedy).

Ver. 20. **ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν Δ.**: "both to them of Damascus first, and at Jerusalem," reading **τε** (see critical note) after **πρῶτον**, thus closely connecting Damascus and Jerusalem as the scenes of Paul's first activity, cf. ix. 20, 28.—**εἰς πᾶσάν τε τὴν χώραν τῆς Ἰ.**, see critical note. If we read accusative simply without **εἰς** = accusative of space marking the extension of the preaching. Blass solves the difficulty by regarding **εἰς** = **ἐν**, *ut sæpe*. The statement seems to contradict Gal. i. 22, and there is no mention of such a widely extended preaching at this time in Acts. It has therefore been held by some that reference is made to the preaching at the time of Saul's carrying relief with Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem, xi. 30, xii. 25 (Zöckler and Rendall), while others refer the passage to Rome xv. 10 (Weiss), and

others combine xi. 29, 30, xv. 3 = Rom. xv. 10. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 382, regards the statement as so directly contradictory to all other authorities that he practically follows Blass in **β** text, and reads **εἰς πᾶσαν χώραν Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσι**, "in every land to both Jews and Gentiles". The text he regards as not Lucan and hardly Greek, see also Blass, *in loco*; **ἡ χώρα τῆς Ἰουδαίας** ought to be **τῶν Ἰουδ.**, as in x. 39, etc. But see in defence of reading in T.R. as against Blass, and the reference of the words to the journeys in xi. 30, xv. 3, Wendt, *in loco* (1899). The general meaning given to the words by Blass is at all events in accordance with the view of the speech as a summary, and not as an account in detail, of the Apostle's work (C. and H., p. 620). Dr. Farrar, *St. Paul*, i., 228, ingeniously supposes that Paul may have preached on his way from Damascus to Jerusalem in the guest chambers of the Jewish synagogues, so that he may not have come into contact with any Christian communities, and he would thus explain Gal. i. 22.—**ἀπήγγελλον**: imperfect, denoting continuous preaching; here only of preaching the Gospel, but cf. xvii. 30 W.H., where God announces to men everywhere to repent, **μετανοεῖν**, a striking similarity in language with Paul's words here (cf. 1 John i. 2, 3).—**ἐπιστρέφειν**, cf. for the expression xiv. 15, and see above on ver. 18.—**ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα**: "worthy of their repentance," R.V. margin, *i.e.*, of the repentance which they profess. In the Gospels **καρπούς**, **καρπὸν**, here **ἔργα**, but cf. Ephes. ii. 10, v. 11, Col. i. 10, Tit. iii. 8, and **ἀξίους** with genitive *rei*, more frequent in St. Luke and St. Paul than in any other N.T. writers.—**πράσσοντας**: used in N.T. sometimes of good, sometimes of evil, actions; in

τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα πρᾶσσοντας. 21. ἕνεκα τούτων με<sup>1</sup> οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι συλλαβόμενοι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐπειρῶντο διαχειρίσασθαι. 22. ἐπικουρίας οὖν τυχὼν τῆς<sup>2</sup> παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἔστηκα, μαρτυρούμενος μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ, οὐδὲν ἔκτος λέγων ὧν τε οἱ

<sup>1</sup> The art. before *Ιουδ.* *om.* *N<sup>o</sup>BL* 13, 61, 105, so Tisch., R.V., Hilgenfeld, W.H., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, but Lach. and Meyer follow T.R. After *συλλ.* Tisch., Hilgenfeld, with *N<sup>o</sup>CE*, Vulg. Chron. reads *οντα*, but the word may easily have been added to express more clearly that the temple, xxi. 30, was the place where they found Paul, not where they sought to kill him (Wendt).

<sup>2</sup> For *παρὰ* *NABE*, Chron. read *απο*, so Tisch., R.V., W.H., Hilgenfeld, Blass, Weiss, Wendt. *NABHLP*, Chrys., so Tisch. and authorities in *ver.* 21, read *μαρτυρομενος*.

classical Greek *ποιεῖν* is more frequent *de dishonestis*, cf. Xen., *Mem.*, iii., 9, 4, see Grimm, *sub v.*

*Ver.* 21.—*ἕνεκα τούτων*: because I preached to Jews and Gentiles alike, proclaiming one Gospel to both, and placing both on an equality before God (not for profaning the Temple), cf. xxi. 28. On *ἕνεκα* see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 21. This Attic form of the word is read here by all authorities, and Blass notes it as characteristic of the literary style of this address before Agrippa, see above on *ver.* 4.—*συλλαβόμενοι*, i. 16, xii. 3. So also in each of the Gospels in the active voice, of a violent arrest; in passive see above, xxiii. 27, and frequent in same sense in LXX, and 1 and 2 Macc.—*ἐπειρῶντο*: here only in N.T. in middle, but see critical note on ix. 26. Cf. 1 Macc. xii. 10, 2 Macc. x. 12, 3 Macc. i. 25, ii. 32, 4 Macc. xii. 3. Imperfect because the attempt was not actually made.—*διαχειρ.*, see on v. 30. The whole description ranks as a summary without giving all the details of the events which led up to the Apostle's imprisonment.

*Ver.* 22. *ἐπικουρίας . . . τῆς παρὰ (ἀπὸ) Θεοῦ*: "the help that is from God," R.V., i.e., the help which cometh from God only; only here in N.T., cf. Wisdom xiii. 18 (*ἡμπερίας*, S<sup>2</sup>), for the use of the same phrase cf. instances in Wetstein from Polybius; the word is found in Josephus, but also frequently in classical Greek, of succour against foes.—*τυχὼν*: no idea of chance, cf. 2 Tim. ii. 10; the aid was divine, not human.—*οὖν*, see Wendt, and references, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 267, Winer-Moulton, liii., 10, 4.—*ἔστηκα*: *sto salvus*, Bengel, after these repeated dangers. The A.V. hardly gives the force of the word; it is a Pauline expression, cf. Ephes. vi. 13, 14, Col. iv. 12, so Knabenbauer, *subsisto incolumis*.—*μαρ-*

*τυρούμενος*: "testifying," A.V., yet *μαρτυρόμενος*, see critical note, would rather signify "testifying," so R.V., see on vi. 3. Grimm-Thayer, if the reading in T.R. is retained, evidently considers that it should be rendered as passive, "testified to both by small and great". But *μαρτυρόμενος* marks most appropriately the office of bearing testimony to which Paul was appointed.—*μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ*: if taken to mean "both small and great," the words would have a special force in thus being spoken before Festus and Agrippa, but if = young and old, i.e., before all men, cf. viii. 10, Heb. viii. 11; cf. Gen. xix. 4, 11, etc., but in Rev. xi. 18, xiii. 16, xix. 5, reference is made rather to rank than to age, and the latter meaning may well be included here; cf. Deut. i. 17, Job iii. 19, Wisd. vi. 7.—*οὐδὲν ἔκτος λ. ὧν τε οἱ πρ. . . . μελλόντων = οὐδὲν ἔκτος τούτων ᾧ . . . ἐλάλησαν μέλλοντα*, cf. Rev. xvii. 8 Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 135. *μελλ. γίν.*, cf. Luke xxi. 36; *ἔκτος*, cf. 1 Cor. xv. 27; the word is only used by St. Paul elsewhere in N.T. (except Matt. xxiii. 26), cf. 1 Kings x. 13, 2 Chron. ix. 12, xvii. 19.—*οἱ προφ. . . καὶ Μ.*: more naturally Moses and the prophets, Luke xvi. 29, 31, and cf. xxviii. 23, but Moses may have been mentioned to influence the Sadducean element in the audience: the historical Christ was always the subject of St. Paul's preaching "Jesus is the Christ," and the historical Christ was also the ideal Christ; cf. iii. 13, 1 Cor. xv. 3. See on this verse critical note, and Wendt (1899), p. 397, note.

*Ver.* 23. *ἐλ* = Heb. vii. 15, i.e., as is most certain from the authority of Scripture, "how that the Christ," R.V.—*παθητὸς*: "must suffer," R.V. ("although is subject to suffering," margin), cf. Vulgate, *passibilis* (not *patibilis*); no question here of the abstract possibility of, or



προφήται ἐλάλησαν μελλόντων γενέσθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ Μωσῆς, 23.<sup>2</sup> εἰ παθητὸς ὁ Χριστός, εἰ πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσι. 24. Ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀπολογουμένου, ὁ Φῆστος μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ ἔφη,<sup>3</sup> Μαίνῃ, Παῦλε· τὰ πολλά σε γράμματα

<sup>1</sup> For καὶ Μωσῆς Flor. and Gig. have "scriptum est in Moysen". Blass regards this as the remaining fragment of the original β text, which ran somewhat as follows: γεγραπται γὰρ ἐν Μωσῇ καὶ τοῖς προφ. πολλά περὶ τούτων, τοῖς ἐρευνησασιν (1 Pet. i. 11).

<sup>2</sup> εἰ παθητός κ.τ.λ., Corssen, G. C. A., 1896, p. 429, points out that Tert., *De resurr. carn.*, 39, presupposes the reading of Flor. and Gig., and regards the passage, Gen. ix. 5, in support of bodily resurrection, as quoted by Paul. According to Corssen's view, this passage was noted in the margin of the Western text. Flor. and Gig. make Paul refer to some particular passage of the Pentateuch, instead of generally to Moses and the prophets, but in Corssen's view Blass has not helped the recovered reading, but rather destroyed its force by his conjectured additions (see further Wendt (1899), p. 397). But Blass in his β text leaves a lacuna: γεγραπται γὰρ ἐν Μωσῇ (καὶ τοῖς προφήταις) . . .

<sup>3</sup> Blass reads in β text Εμάνης Παῦλε εμάνης with Flor., so περιετρεψεν with Flor. (ut videtur), so ηγεμὼν for Φηστέ on the same authority.

capacity for, suffering, although primarily the Greek word implies this, but of the divine destination to suffering, cf. Luke xxiv. 26, 44, 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*; Justin Martyr, c. *Tryph.*, c. 89, παθητὸν τὸν Χριστόν, ὅτι αἱ γραφαὶ κηρύσσουσι, φανερόν ἐστι. But the same dialogue, c. 90, enables us to realise that even where the idea of a suffering Messiah was entertained, nothing was more abhorrent than the idea of the cross as the outward expression of such sufferings: "If the Messiah can suffer," cries the Jew Trypho, "yet he cannot be crucified; he cannot die such a shameful, dishonourable death". See also cc. 36, 76. For the incompatibility of the idea of a suffering Messiah with the ideas current in the time of Jesus see Dalman, *Der Leidende und der Sterbende Messias*, p. 30, and references may be made to *Witness of the Epistles*, pp. 360, 361, for other authorities to the same effect; cf. Matt. xvi. 22, Luke xviii. 34, xxiv. 21, John xii. 34, 1 Cor. i. 23, Gal. v. 11; see above on iii. 18 (p. 113). If we render εἰ if or whether it does not indicate that there was any doubt in Paul's mind; but he simply states in the hypothetical form the question at issue between himself and the Jews.—εἰ πρῶτος: "that he first by the resurrection of the dead," R.V., closely connected with the preceding; the Messiah was to suffer, but "out of his resurrection from the dead" assurance was given not only that the Suffering Messiah and the Triumphant Messiah were one, but that in

Him, the true Messiah, all the O.T. prophecies of the blessings of light and life, to Jew and Gentile alike, were to be fulfilled, cf. Isai. xlix. 6, Acts xiii. 47 (Isai. ix. 1, 2, lx. 1). This on the whole seems better than to limit the words to the fact that life and immortality had been brought to light by the resurrection of the Christ: φῶς means more than the blessing of immortality in the future, it means the present realisation of the light of life, cf. ver. 18, and Luke ii. 32, of a life in the light of the Lord. πρῶτος closely connected with ἐξ ἀναστ., as if = πρωτότοκος ἐκ νεκρῶν, Col. i. 18, 1 Cor. xv. 20, 23, or as if the Apostle would emphasise the fact that Christ first rose in the sense of rising to die no more, Rom. vi. 9, and so proclaimed light, etc.—καταγγέλλειν: "to proclaim," R.V., cf. xvi. 17, xvii. 3, 23.—λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσι, see above ver. 17; even in the Pharisaic hope expressed in *Psalms of Solomon*, xvii., cf. ver. 32, we see how far the Gentiles would necessarily be from sharing on an equality with the Jews in the Messianic kingdom, see Ryle and James, *Introd.*, liii., and also for later literature, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, lxxii., Edersheim on Isaiah lx., *Jesus the Messiah*, ii., pp. 728, 729.

Ver. 24. ἀπολ.: the present participle, indicating that Festus broke in upon the speech, cf. iv. 1.—μεγ. τῇ φ.: raising his voice, because interrupting in surprise and astonishment, and no doubt with something of impatience if not of anger (Chrysostom).—Μαίνῃ: a hyperbolic, but not a jesting expression; the mention

εἰς μανίαν περιτρέπει. 25. ὁ δέ, Οὐ μαίνομαι, φησί, κράτιστε Φήστε, ἀλλ' ἀληθείας καὶ σωφροσύνης ῥήματα ἀποφθέγγομαι. 26. ἐπίσταται γὰρ περὶ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς, πρὸς ὃν καὶ<sup>1</sup> παῖρρησιαζόμενος λαλῶ<sup>2</sup>. λανθάνειν γὰρ αὐτόν τι τούτων οὐ πείθομαι οὐδέν· οὐ γάρ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ after πρὸς υφ is omitted by W.H., following B, Boh., Arm., but retained by W.H. marg., Weiss, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> λανθ. γὰρ αὐτον κ.τ.λ., Wendt decides in favour of T.R. here, with  $\aleph$ HLP. In B 36, 69, 137, 180, τι is omitted, so by W.H. text, Weiss, Blass; in  $\aleph$ CAE 13, ουδεν is omitted, so by Lach.  $\aleph$ B read ουθεν, see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 61. Blass in  $\beta$  text, following Flor., reads ουδεν γαρ τούτων αυτον λανθανει, and omits ου γαρ . . . τουτο.

not only of a resurrection, but the expressed belief that this Christ Whom Festus could only describe as "one who was dead," xxv. 19, should bring light not only to Jews but even to Gentiles, to Romans like himself, was too much—such a belief could only result from a disturbed brain, cf. xvii. 32 for the effect of the announcement of a resurrection and a judgment on the polished Athenians, cf. St. John x. 20, where our Lord's words provoked a similar pronouncement by the Jews, the learned Jews of the capital. *μαίνεσθαι*: "qui ita loquitur ut videatur mentis non compos esse," Grimm, cf. xii. 15, 1 Cor. xiv. 23, opposite to *σωφροσύνης ῥήματα ἀποφθ.* (see also Page's note); cf. the passage in Wisd. v. 3, 4, and Luckock, *Footsteps of the Apostles*, etc., ii., p. 263.—τὰ πολλὰ σε γράμματα: "thy much learning," R.V., giving the force of the article perhaps even more correctly, "that great learning of thine." It is possible that the words may refer simply to the learning which Paul had just shown in his speech, of which we may have only a summary, and γράμμ. may be used of the sacred writings from which he had been quoting, and to which in his utterances he may have applied the actual word, and so Festus refers to them by the same term, cf. 2 Tim. iii. 15. Others refer the word to the many rolls which St. Paul had with him, and which he was so intent in studying. It is possible that the word may be used here as in John vii. 15, of sacred learning in general, of learning in the Rabbinical schools, and perhaps, as it is employed by a Roman, of learning in a more general sense still, although here including sacred learning = μαθήματα, cf. Plat., *Apol.*, 26 D. If books alone had been meant βιβλία or βιβλοι would have been the word used.—περιτρέπει εἰς μανίαν: "doth turn thee to madness," R.V.,

cf. our English phrase "his head is turned," literally "turn thee round" (Humphry), cf. Jos., *Ant.*, ix., 4, 4, ii., 4, 1. It is possible that Festus used the expression with a certain delicacy, since in using it he recognises how much wisdom Paul had previously shown (Weiss, Bethge). After such an expression of opinion by Festus, and owing to the deference of Agrippa to the Romans, Knabenbauer thinks that the king could not have expressed himself seriously in the words which follow in ver. 28.

Ver. 25. Οὐ μαίνομαι κ. φ.: whatever may have been the sense in which Festus addressed Paul, there is no doubt as to the courtesy of the Apostle's answer, μετὰ ἐπιεικείας ἀποκρινόμενος, Chrys. κράτιστε: "most excellent," R.V., see above, i. 1.—ἀληθ. καὶ σωφροσ.: *veritas* not *veracitas*, objective truth; no suspicion had been raised against St. Paul's truthfulness of character (cf. John xviii. 37); as our Lord stood before Pilate as a witness for the truth, so His Apostle stands face to face with a Roman sceptic as a witness to the existence of a world of real existences and not of mere shadows and unrealities (Bethge, p. 294). σωφρ.: the opposite of madness, cf. Plato, *Protag.*, 323 B (Xen., *Mem.*, i., 1, 16), ὁ ἐκεῖ σωφροσύνην ἡγοῦντο εἶναι τάληθῃ λέγειν, ἐνταῦθα μανίαν. The two nouns are only found here in St. Luke's writings, but cf. σωφρονεῖν, Luke viii. 35, Rom. xii. 3, 2 Cor. v. 13; cf. ῥήματα ζωῆς, chap. v. 20.—ἀποφθ., cf. ii. 4 and 14, of the Pentecostal utterances, and of the solemn utterances of St. Peter; "aptum verbum," Bengel. St. Paul was speaking with boldness like St. Peter, and under the same divine inspiration; in LXX of the utterances of the prophets, cf. 1 Chron. xxv. 1, of philosophers, and of oracular responses; like the Latin *profari* and *pronuntiare*, see above on ii. 4, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub* v.



ἐστιν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο. 27. πιστεύεις, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, τοῖς προφήταις; οἶδα ὅτι πιστεύεις. 28. ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας πρὸς τὸν Παῦλον ἔφη,<sup>1</sup> Ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν γενέσθαι.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστ. ποιῆσαι NB 13, 17, 40, 61, Syr. H., mg., Boh., Tisch., Weiss. Instead of πείθεις A, so Lach., Blass (Nösgen, Belser, Alford) πείθῃ, but prob. this was an attempt to solve the difficulty of the reading given above, and with the same purpose EHLP, Vulg., Syr. P. Harcl. text, Cyr.-Jer., Chrys. have γενέσθαι for ποιῆσαι, so Meyer and Hilg. Both Alford and Blass, while adopting πείθῃ, read ποιῆσαι. W.H. (and to this view apparently Wendt inclines, 1899) think that there must be some corruption in text, see *Abb.*, p. 100. Hort adds that possibly πεποιθας should be read for με πείθεις, for the personal με loses no force by being left to implication, and the changes of letters are inconsiderable, but at the same time he thinks it equally possible that the error may lie elsewhere.

Ver. 26. ἐπίσταται γὰρ: here only with περί: in proof that his words were words of soberness, and that he was basing his statements on facts, St. Paul appeals to the knowledge of Agrippa, a knowledge which he would have gained from his close connection with the Jewish religion, but also to some extent perhaps from the events of his father's reign, for Herod Agrippa had beheaded James with a sword, and had cast Peter into prison: "patet hoc," says Bengel, "nam etiam *Christianum nomen sciebat*."—If καὶ is retained, "to whom also," i.e., because of his knowledge just mentioned.—παρρησιαζ.: "freely," R.V., everywhere else R.V. renders "boldly"; verb only in Luke and Paul, see on ix. 27; the Apostle spoke freely because of the king's full knowledge, but his boldness is also shown in his question to the king, and to the reply which he makes to it in the king's name, ver. 27.—λανθάνειν γὰρ αὐτόν κ.τ.λ.: if οὐδέν and τι are both retained, see critical note, τι may be taken adverbially, "in any degree," but see Winer-Moulton, iv., 9, b., and Wendt's note, *in loco*, p. 399 (1899).—ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγ., cf. Luke vii. 17, xxiii. 8. Blass notes this expression, *Gram.*, p. 4, as a proof that Paul used more literary expressions than usual in addressing his audience, and no doubt the expression was used by classical writers, cf. Plato, *Gorg.*, 485 D; Epict., *Diss.*, ii., 12, 17, and other instances in Wetstein, cf. *angulus*, Ter., *Adelph.*, v., 2, 10.

Ver. 27. πιστεύεις; the question and answer were quite natural as addressed to a Jewish king; it was a belief which St. Paul could justly presuppose in every Jew, even in one like Agrippa, educated amongst the Romans. The question may well have been asked as a proof that the words which had preceded were

words of truth and soberness, and that the king could so regard them, even if Festus could not; if Agrippa believed the prophets—as Paul affirmed—he could not regard the fulfilment of their prophecies as irrational. Or we may view the question as taking up, after the interruption of Festus, the statement of vv. 22, 23, and as a forcible appeal to Agrippa, as to one who could judge whether in the death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth there was anything really contrary to the picture of the Messiah drawn by the Hebrew prophets. It is possible that the Apostle meant to add a second ground for the knowledge of the king; not only were these events not done in a corner, but they had been prophesied by the prophets, in whom Agrippa believed; but instead of thus stating a fact, he addresses the king with increasing urgency and emotion, as one specially interested in religious questions, ver. 3 (Zöckler, Meyer).

Ver. 28. ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις X. γένεσθαι, see critical note, "with but little persuasion thou wouldst fain make me a Christian," R.V. reading ποιῆσαι, and πείθεις being used *de conatu* (so Zöckler in his 2nd edition); cf. προσήλυτον ποιεῖν, Matt. xxiii. 15. Schmiedel, *Enycl. Bibl.*, i., 754, inclines to explain the phrase X. ποιῆσαι as a Latinism: *Christianum agere*, to play the part of a Christian. Weiss sees in the words a gentle irony, as if Agrippa would answer St. Paul's appeal to his belief in the prophets by intimating that it was not so simple a matter to become a Christian, even if one, as a Jew, believed in the prophets. Or we may regard Agrippa as rejecting, not so much in banter as in cold disdain, the enthusiasm of the orator, and adopting the tone of a certain Jewish orthodoxy (Zöckler), not, i.e., the indifference of

29. ὁ δὲ Παῦλος<sup>1</sup> εἶπεν,<sup>2</sup> Εὐξαίμην ἂν τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν πολλῷ οὐ μόνον σέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τοὺς ἀκούοντάς μου σήμερον, γενέσθαι τοιοῦτους ὅποιος κἀγὼ εἰμι, παρεκτὸς τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων.

<sup>1</sup> After ο δε Π. **Σ**AB, Vulg., Syr. Harcl. *om.* εἶπεν, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> εὐξαιμην **Σ**AB, so Lach., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.; but **Σ**<sup>\*</sup>HLP 61, so Tisch. εὐξαμην. For πολλῷ (HLP, Chrys.) **Σ**AB 13, 40, 61, Vulg., Syrr. P. H., Boh., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. have μεγαλῷ.

the Roman, but that of the Sadducees to the prophets. The A.V. "almost" must be abandoned, even if we retain γενέσθαι, for ἐν ὀλίγῳ cannot be so rendered, either here or elsewhere in the N.T.; παρ' ὀλίγον, or ὀλίγου or ὀλίγον δεῖ would be required as the classical expression for "almost". The best parallel is Ephes. iii. 3, ἐν ὀλίγῳ: "in a few words": so A. and R.V. (*cf.* 1 Pet. v. 12). But if in the next verse we read μεγάλῳ instead of πολλῷ, so R.V. (see critical note), it seems best to understand πόνῳ with ὀλίγῳ, as this noun could fitly stand with both μεγάλῳ and ὀλίγῳ = with little trouble, with little cost. The R.V. rendering of the two verses reads as if πολλῷ was retained in ver. 29, whereas μεγάλῳ is the reading adopted in R.V. text. So far as N.T. usage is concerned, ἐν ὀλίγῳ might be rendered "in a short time" (*cf.* James iv. 14, 1 Pet. i. 6, Rev. xvii. 10, so in classical Greek), but this rendering also is excluded by ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ in the next verse. Wendt maintains that ἐν ὀλίγῳ may still be rendered "almost"; the phrase is instrumental, as if expressing the thought contained in ὀλίγου δεῖ, and meaning that a little was wanted to attain the aim = almost; so St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Jerusalem; Luther, Beza, Grotius = *propetmodum*. The answer of Agrippa, therefore, need not be taken ironically, as by most moderns, but in earnest (*cf.* ver. 32, where his favourable opinion supports this view), although Wendt acknowledges that his confession was only half-hearted, as is seen by his desire to conclude the interview (Wendt, 1888, note, p. 530, and 1899, p. 400, to the same effect, so too Schürer, *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 198, note). If we read πείθῃ, see critical note, we render "with but little thou art persuading thyself that thou canst make me a Christian," taking up πείθομαι of ver. 26. This reading is adopted by Blass and Belser, but the former takes ἐν ὀλίγῳ as meaning *brevi tempore* in this verse (so in Plato, *Apol.*, 22 B), but in ver. 29 he takes it as =

*facile*, whilst ἐν μεγάλῳ (which he reads) = *difficile*. Belser, however, takes the phrase ἐν ὀλίγῳ in the same sense in both verses, "with little trouble or pains". St. Chrysostom thought that the phrase ἐν ὀλίγῳ was used by Agrippa in one sense and by St. Paul in another (so too Lewin, *cf.* Grimm-Thayer and Plumptre); Blass apparently obliges us to adopt the same view, but there is nothing in the context to support it (Wendt, Belser).—Χριστ.: there is nothing strange in this use of the word by Agrippa; he may have become acquainted with it in his knowledge of the Christian movement (see above), and the term could easily have spread from Antioch over the district which he ruled. It is difficult to say in what sense he used the term; and no doubt the shade of meaning which we attach to his employment of it will depend upon the meaning which we give to the rest of his answer—a meaning earnest or contemptuous. Thus on the former supposition it is possible that he may have used the word instead of the despised "Nazarene," to indicate his half-friendly attitude towards Christianity, and his relative recognition of it by connecting it with the name which was cherished by every Jew, although the context shows that he had no intention whatever of allowing Paul's persuasive powers further scope; see Wendt (1899), who points out as against Lipsius that there is nothing unhistorical in the introduction of the name here, as if the writer presupposed that it would be familiar to every Jew. On the other hand, although a Jew, Agrippa, before such an audience, might well have used a term with which the Romans also would probably have been familiar, and if he spoke contemptuously (so Blass, Rendall) he would naturally employ a title which had been given in scorn, and which apparently at this period even the Christians themselves had not accepted; see below, and note on xi. 26.

Ver. 29. εὐξαίμην ἂν: on the optative with ἂν, Burton, p. 80, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 202, Viteau, *Le Grec du N.T.*, p. 40



30.<sup>1</sup> Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, ἀνέστη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ἡγεμῶν, ἡ τε Βερνίκη, καὶ οἱ συγκαθήμενοι αὐτοῖς, 31. καὶ ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐλάλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους λέγοντες, "Ὅτι οὐδὲν θανάτου ἄξιον<sup>2</sup> ἢ δεσμῶν πράσσει ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος. 32. Ἀγρίππας δὲ τῷ Φήσῳ ἔφη, Ἀπολελῦσθαι ἐδύνατο ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, εἰ μὴ<sup>3</sup> ἐπεκέκλητο Καίσαρα.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ταῦτα εἰπ. αὐτου HLP (137), Syr. H., Flor., so Blass in β text, and Hilg.; but otherwise unsupported, R.V. omit.

<sup>2</sup> After ἄξιον Wendt is inclined to retain with Tisch. and W.H. marg. τι, so NA 13, 31, 40, 61, 68, Vulg., Boh.; BHLP om., so T.R., Lach., W.H., Weiss, Blass, Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεκ., but AL; Blass ἐπικ., but in β text Blass has ἐπεκ., so NBHP, etc.

(1893); with dative only here in N.T.—καὶ ἐν ὅλ. καὶ ἐν μ.ε.γ.: "whether with little or with much," R.V. See critical note and ver. 28, i.e., with little or much trouble, and cost.—σήμερον: to be joined not with γενέσθαι (as Chrysostom, Bengel), but with τοὺς ἀκούοντάς μου.—οὐ μόνον, Burton, pp. 183, 184, μὴ μόνον with infinitive only in Gal. iv. 18.—τοιούτους ὁποῖος κἀγὼ εἰμι, he does not repeat the word "Christian," which perhaps he would not recognise (Blass): "tales qualis ego sum, sive Chr. appellare vis, sive alio vel contemptiore nomine". γενέσθαι . . . εἰμι: "might become such as I am," R.V., thus giving the difference between γέν. and εἰμι; by whatever name he might be called, the Apostle knew what he actually was (1 Cor. ix. 9).—παρεκτὸς τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων; not figurative but literal; although the plural may be used rhetorically (Weiss), cf. Tac., Ann., iv., 28. παρεκτὸς: Matt. v. 32, xix. 9 (see W.H.) (2 Cor. xi. 28, adv.), Didaché, vi., 1, Test., xii., Patr., Zab., 1; "suavissima ἐπιθεραπεῖα et exceptio," Bengel. Faith and Hope—of these the Apostle had spoken, and his closing words reveal a Love which sought not its own, was not easily provoked, and took no account of evil: "totum responsum et urbanissimum et Christiano nomine dignissimum," Blass.

Ver. 30. καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ: if these words are not retained, see critical note, their omission seems to make the rising up more abrupt (*subito consurgit*, Blass), and probably this is the meaning of the passage, although the order of rank is maintained in leaving the chamber. For the vividness of the whole narrative see Zöckler and Wendt, and cf. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, p. 355.—ἀνέστη, Lucan, see on ἀναχωρ. Suet., Nero, 15; cf. xxiii. 19, and note on xxv. 12.

Ver. 31. πράσσει, present tense: "agit de vitæ instituto" (Grotius, Blass).

Ver. 32. ἐδύνατο: a true affirmative imperfect of verbs denoting obligation or possibility, when used to affirm that a certain thing could or should have been done under the circumstances narrated; therefore not correct to speak of an omitted ἄν, since the past necessity was not hypothetical or contrary to fact, but actual, Burton, p. 14, but cf. Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 114; cf. xxiv. 19, xxvii. 21.—εἰ μὴ ἐπεκ. Καίσαρα: the appeal had been made and accepted and Paul must be sent to Rome, but doubtless the decision of Agrippa would have great weight with Festus, and would greatly modify the letter which he would send to Rome with the prisoner (see above, p. 499), and we may thus account for the treatment of Paul on his arrival in the capital, xxviii. 16. The circumstance that the innocence of Paul is thus established at the mouth of various personages, and now by Agrippa, himself a Jew, as well as by Festus, a Roman, has been made the ground of objection to the narrative by Baur, Zeller, Overbeck, Weizsäcker, Schmiedel. But whilst we may frankly admit that St. Luke no doubt purposely introduced these varied testimonies to Paul's innocence, this is no proof of the incorrectness of his statements (Wendt, Matthias). If we grant, as St. Luke affirms, that the primary cause of the Apostle's imprisonment was the fanatical rage of the Jews against him as a despiser and enemy of the national religion, it is quite conceivable that those who were called to inquire into the matter without such enmity and prejudice should receive a strong impression of his innocence, and should give expression to their impressions. On the other hand, the description in Acts enables us to see how Paul, in spite of

XXVII. 1.<sup>1</sup> Ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, παρεδίδουν τὸν τε Παῦλον καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρους δεσμώτας ἐκατοντάρχη,

<sup>1</sup> With Flor., Gig., Syr. H. mg., Blass reconstructs the β text: οὕτως οὖν ὁ ηγεμὼν πεμπέσθαι αὐτὸν Καίσαρι ἐκρίνεν, καὶ τῇ ἐπαυρίῳ προσκαλεσαμένου ἐκατοντάρχη τινὰ σπειρής Σεβαστῆς ὀνοματι Ιουλίῳ, παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸν Παῦλον σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς δεσμώταις, so Hilgenfeld, 1899.

such declarations in his favour, might find himself compelled to appeal to Cæsar. Had he acted otherwise, and if release had followed upon the verdict of his innocence, he was sure that sooner or later the implacable Jews would make him their victim. McGiffert, *u. s.*, p. 356, observes that even if both Agrippa and Festus were convinced of the Apostle's innocence, this would not prevent Festus from seeing in him a dangerous person, who would stir up trouble and cause a riot wherever he went; such a man could not have been set at liberty by Festus as a faithful Roman official; but see above on xxv. 12. On the whole narrative see Zöckler, p. 311; Bethge, p. 260 (for phraseology). Zöckler supposes as a foundation for the narrative a written account by Luke himself, perhaps an eyewitness, at an early period after the events. Wendt (1899) also takes the view that the writer of the narrative had probably been in the personal company of St. Paul at Cæsarea before the start on the journey for Rome, xxvii. 1, and that the reason that he does not employ the first person in the narrative of xxv., xxvi., is because the facts narrated in these two chapters did not immediately concern him, although he was in Cæsarea during their process. In referring to the account of St. Paul's conversion as given in ch. xxvi. it is noteworthy that McGiffert, p. 120, speaks of it as occurring "in a setting whose vividness and verisimilitude are unsurpassed".

CHAPTER XXVII.—Ver. 1. Blass at the outset speaks of this and the next chapter as "clarissimam descriptionem" of St. Paul's voyage, and he adds that this description has been estimated by a man skilled in nautical matters as "monumentum omnium pretiosissimum, quæ rei navalis ex tota antiquitate nobis relicta sint". He refers to *Die Nautik der Alten* by Breusing, formerly Director of the School of Navigation in Bremen, 1886; a book which should be read side by side with J. Smith's well-known *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 4th edit., 1880 (cf. also J. Vars, *L'Art Nautique*, 1887, and see also *Intro.*, p. 8).—

ὥς: *particula temporalis*, often so used by St. Luke in Gospel and Acts, and more frequently than by the other Evangelists; in St. Matthew not at all, in St. Mark once; often in O.T., Apoc., and especially in 1 Macc.—ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπ.: common construction in LXX with kindred words, e.g., βουλευόμεαι, but no other instances of the genitive with infinitive after κρίνω (except 1 Cor. ii. 2, T.R.) in N.T., Lumby; see also Burton, p. 159. ἀποπ.: St. Luke stands alone amongst N.T. writers in the number of compounds of πλεῖν which he employs, no less than nine, J. Smith, *u.s.*, p. 28, 61.—ἡμᾶς: "with this section we tread the firm ground of history, for here at Acts xxvii. 1 the personal record of the book again enters, and that in its longest and fullest part" (Weizsäcker): see also on ἡμᾶς, as intimating by its recurrence the narrative of an eyewitness, Hilgenfeld, *Zw. Th.*, iv., p. 549 (1896), Wendt (1899), p. 402, note. The ἡμᾶς included Paul, Luke, Aristarchus; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 315, maintains that both Luke and Aristarchus must have accompanied Paul as his slaves, and that they would not have been permitted to go as his friends, but see Gilbert, *Student's Life of Paul*, p. 201; and Wendt (1899) in reply to Ramsay points out that as the ship was not sailing as a transport vessel with the prisoners direct to Rome, but that a vessel engaged in private enterprise and commerce was employed, it is quite possible that Paul's friends may have travelled on the same ship with him as independent passengers. But see further Ramsay, p. 323. So far as Luke is concerned, it is possible that he may have travelled in his professional capacity as a medical man, Lekebusch, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 393.—παρεδίδουν: assimilated to form of contracted verbs, so most certainly in Acts, cf. iii. 2, iv. 33, 35, Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 37. Winer-Schmiedel, p. 121.—δεσμώτας, see below, p. 516.—That Paul commanded respect is implied by the whole narrative: some of the other prisoners may also have been sent to Rome on the ground of an appeal, cf. Josephus, *Vita*, 3, but others may have been already condemned, Ramsay, p.



δρόματι Ἰουλίῳ, σπείρης Σεβαστῆς. 2. ἐπιβάντες δὲ πλοίῳ Ἀδρα-  
μυττηνῷ, μέλλοντες πλεῖν<sup>1</sup> τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τόπους, ἀνήχθημεν,

<sup>1</sup> After πλεῖν **AB** add εἰς, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt. Instead of μέ-  
λλοντες **AB**, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt read μέλλοντι; perhaps changed  
into plural after ἐπιβάντες. Blass reconstructs with Flor., Gig., Syr. P. μέλλοντες  
δε πλεῖν ἐπεβήμεν πλοίῳ Ἀδραμυττηνῷ, omitting μέλλοντι πλεῖν . . . τοπούς with  
Flor., retained, however, by Hilgenfeld, 1899, with Gig. and Syr. P. Blass con-  
tinues in β text, so Hilgenfeld, ἐπεβη δε συν ἡμῖν Ἀριστάρχος Μακεδὼν Θεσσαλον-  
ικεὺς with the same authority, except that Flor. omits Θεσσ. **AB**\*, so Weiss,  
W.H. read Ἀδραμυττηνῷ; see further Winer-Schmiedel, p. 58, and W.H., p.  
313 (for aspirate Ἀδρα.), and *Arr.*, p. 167.

314.—**ἑτέροις**: Meyer and Zöckler take the word to indicate prisoners of a character different from Paul, *i.e.*, heathen, not Christians; but Wendt (so Hackett) points out that Luke in Acts uses ἑτέρος in singular and plural as simply = another, or other, additional; vii. 18, viii. 34, xv. 35, xvii. 34. As against this Zöckler quotes Luke xxiii. 32, Gal. i. 7. —**Ἰουλίῳ**: name far too common for any identification; Tacitus speaks of a Julius Priscus, *Hist.*, ii., 92, iv., 11, a centurion of the prætorians, but see below on xxviii. 16.—**σπείρης Σ**: "of the Augustan band," R.V. It is suggested that the term is here used is a popular colloquial way by St. Luke, and that it is not a translation of a correct Roman name, but rather "the troops of the emperor," denoting a body of legionary centurions who were employed by the emperor on confidential business between the provinces and the imperial city, the title Augustan being conferred on them as a mark of favour and distinction. If this is so we gather from this notice in *Acts* a fact which is quite in accordance with what is known from other sources, although nowhere precisely attested. But can any connection be established between such a body and any branch of the imperial service which is actually known to us? There were certain legionary centurions who went by the name of *frumentarii*, who were employed not only, as their name implied, on duties connected with the commissariat, but also with the custody of prisoners and for purposes of police. In xxviii. 16, A.V. and R.V. margin, we have the remarkable reading: "and the centurion delivered the prisoners to the captain of the [prætorian] guard" (see on *l.c.*). But it is urged that we cannot understand by this expression the Prefect of the Prætorian Guard, who would not be concerned with the comparatively humble duty of receiving and guarding prisoners. But in the Old L.V. called

Gigas (unfortunately the only representative of the Old Latin for this passage) we have for a translation of the Greek στρατοπεδάρχης, in itself a very rare word, *princeps peregrinorum*. Now the legionary centurions who formed the *frumentarii* were regarded in Rome as being on detached duty, and were known as *peregrini*; on the Cælian Hill they occupied the camp known as the *castra peregrinorum*, and their commander bore the name of *princeps peregrinorum*. If therefore we may identify the Stratopedarch in Acts xxviii. 16 with this commanding officer, we may also infer that Julius was one of the *Peregrini*, and that he hands over his prisoners to his superior officer, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 315, 347, Mommsen, *Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad.*, 1895, p. 495 ff., Rendall, *Acts*, p. 340. But see on the other hand Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 389 (1897), Knabenbauer, *Actus Apostolorum*, p. 448, Belser, *Beiträge*, p. 147 ff., who point out amongst other reasons (1) that there is no clear evidence of the title *princeps peregrinorum* before the reorganisation of Sept. Severus, (2) that we have evidence that prisoners were sent from the provinces and committed to the care of the *præfectus prætorio*, cf. Traj., *Ad Plin.*, 57, with reference to one who had appealed: "vinculus mitti ad præfectos prætorii mei debet," and other instances in Zahn, *u. s.*, and Knabenbauer. See further for the value of the Old Latin reading in Gigas "Julius" (Headlam), Hastings' B.D., and below on xxviii. 16. But whether we adopt the explanation suggested by Prof. Ramsay or not, it is still open to us to maintain that the title "Augustan" was a title of honour and not a local title; not connected with Sebaste the chief town of Samaria, or with Cæsarea Sebaste. Schürer in answer to Mr. Headlam's criticism ("Julius," Hastings' B.D.) is still of opinion, *Theol. Literaturzeitung*,

ὄντος σὺν ἡμῖν Ἀριστάρχου Μακεδόνης Θεσσαλονικέως. 3. τῇ τε ἑτέρᾳ κατήχησεν εἰς Σιδῶνα· φιланθρώπως τε ὁ Ἰούλιος τῷ Παύλῳ χρησάμενος, ἐπέτρεψε πρὸς φίλους<sup>1</sup> πορευθέντα ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt read πορευθεντι with  $\aleph$ AB 13, 36, 68. Blass in  $\beta$  text follows Flor. according to which Paul's friends come to him, "permisit amicis qui veniebant (ad eum) uti curam ejus agerent".

20, 1899, that reference is here made to one of the five cohorts of Cæsareans and Sebasteni mentioned by Josephus (for references see *Jewish People*, div. i., vol. ii., p. 53, E.T., and Schmiedel, *Encyclop. Biblica*, i., 909, 1899), and therefore a σπεῖρα Σεβαστηνῶν; but he maintains that this same cohort was distinguished by the title Augusta from the other four cohorts, and that the writer of Acts is rendering this title in the word Σεβαστή (see also below). It is possible (as Wendt admits, although he prefers Schürer's view, 1899) that Julius might have belonged to the cohorts Augusta, cf. *C. I. L.*, iii., 66, 83, Augustiani, Suet., *Nero*, 25, Augustani, Tac., *Ann.*, xiv., 15, etc. (Belsler, *Beiträge*, p. 154, Knabenbauer, p. 425), a select number of Roman knights who formed a kind of body-guard for the emperor, instituted about 59 A.D., and that he may have been in Cæsarea on some temporary special duty; but on the other hand see Page's note, *in loco* (cf. note on x. 1). Grimm-Thayer, *sub v. Σεβαστός* (2), describes it as (an adj.) a title of honour given to certain legions, or cohorts, or battalions, for "valour": "Ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata," *C. I. L.*, vii., 340, 341, 344, but there is no inscriptional proof that this title was given to any Cæsarean cohort; see "Augustan Band" (Barnes), Hastings' B.D., and Wendt can only refer to the bestowal of the title as "probable".

Ver. 2. πλοῖον Ἀδραμ.: a boat which belonged to Adramyttium in Mysia, in the Roman province Asia, situated at the top of the gulf *Sinus Adramyttienus*, to which it gives its name (Ramsay, Hastings' B.D., *sub v.*). It was of considerable importance as a seaport and commercial centre, and under Roman rule it was the metropolis of the north-west district of Asia. Not to be confounded as by Grotius and others with Adrumetum on the north coast of Africa. For the spelling see critical note.—μέλλοντες: the usual route to Rome would have been by way of Alexandria, cf. the route taken by Titus from Judæa to the capital, Suet., *Tit.*, 5. But apparently there was no ship sufficiently large at hand.

From some of the great harbours of the Asian coast the centurion might have passed to Italy, or probably from Adramyttium (if the ship was going home) he intended to go to Neapolis, and take the great high road to Rome, if no ship could be found in the Asian harbours so late in the season.—τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν: "to sail by the coasts of Asia," A.V.; but with εἰς after πλεῖν see critical note, "to sail unto the places on the coast of Asia," R.V., cf. for the phrase, xi. 1, Polyb., i., 3, 6. In xvi. 3 τόποι is similarly used. See J. Smith's note, *u.s.*, p. 63.—ἀνήχ., see above on xiii. 13; in the preceding verse we have the corresponding nautical term κατέγεσθαι, to come to land.—Ἀριστ., cf. xix. 39, xxi. 4. Perhaps the expression σὺν ἡμῖν may mean that he was with them, but only for a time, not being actually one of them, *i.e.*, of Paul's company; he may have gone in the Adramyttian ship on his way to his native home, and left Paul at Myra. On the other hand, Col. iv. 10, he is named as one of Paul's companions in Rome, and as his "fellow-prisoner," see Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 383. Whether he made the journey as an actual fellow-prisoner with Paul cannot be proved, although Col., *u. s.* (Philem. ver. 24), may point to it, see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 35, 36, Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii. 183; "one Aristarchus," A.V., as if otherwise unknown; R.V. gives simply his name. Jüngst refers Μακεδ. Θεοσσ. to his Redactor.

Ver. 3. τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ: an easy journey to Sidon—distance 69 sea miles (Breusing).—κατήχ.: technical nautical term, opposite of ἀνάγειν in ver. 2, see above.—φιλανθ. τε ὁ Ἰούλιος . . . χρῆσθ.: "and Julius treated Paul kindly," R.V., cf. xxviii. 2. Bengel says "videtur audisse Paulum," xxv. 32. Hobart, so also Zahn, sees in φιλανθ., which is peculiar to Luke in N.T., the word a medical man might be likely to use. See also on φιλανθρωπία, xxviii. 2, below, but in Dem., 411, 10, we have the phrase φιλανθ. τινὶ χρῆσθαι, so in Plutarch, and the adverb occurs in 2 Macc. ix. 27, 3 Macc. iii. 20. χρῆσθ. only in Luke and Paul, cf. 2 Cor.



4. κάκειθεν ἀναχθέντες ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κύπρον, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίους. 5.<sup>1</sup> τὸ τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες, κατήλθομεν εἰς Μύρα τῆς Λυκίας. 6. Κάκεϊ εὐρὼν ὁ ἐκατόνταρχος πλοῖον<sup>2</sup> Ἀλεξανδρινὸν πλέον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐνεβίβασεν ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτό· 7. ἐν ἱκαναῖς δὲ ἡμέραις βραδυπλοοῦντες, καὶ μόλις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον, μὴ<sup>3</sup> προσεῶντος

<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of verse Blass in β text, with Flor., reads *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διαπλεύσαντες τὸν Κιλικίον κόλπον καὶ τὸ Παμφυλίον πέλαγος*, and with 137, Syr. H. c\*, Flor. adds *δι' ἡμερῶν δεκαπεντε*, which Wendt (1899) seems inclined to retain, and which is read by Hilg. (1899), W.H. marg. *Μύρα*, neut. plur.; in B *Μυρρα*, so Tisch., W.H., Weiss, but the reading in T.R. is supported by inscriptions, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 58, so Hilg., Blass, Wendt; NA have *Λυστραν*, and see further W.H., *App.*, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> Blass accentuates Ἀλεξανδρίνον.

<sup>3</sup> Blass corrects, on his own authority, *προεωντος* for *προσ*.

xiii. 10, in LXX Gen. xxvi. 29.—*πρὸς τοὺς φίλους πορευθέντα*: probably with the soldier to whom he was chained, but see also β text, critical note.—*ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν*: “to receive attention,” R.V. margin, cf. Isocr., 113 D. The noun is found in Prov. iii. 8, 1 Macc. xvi. 14, 2 Macc. xi. 23, 3 Macc. v. 1, and also in classical Greek; it was also frequently employed in medical language for the care bestowed upon the sick, and it may be so here; so Hobart, Zahn, Felten, Vogel, Luckock. St. Luke alone uses the word in the N.T., and he alone uses the verb *ἐπιμελίσθαι* in the sense of caring for the needs of the body, Luke x. 24, 35, another word frequently employed with this meaning by medical writers (Zahn). A delay would be made at Sidon, no doubt, for merchandise to be shipped or unladen. There is no occasion to regard the verse, with Overbeck, as an interpolation; see Wendt's note in favour of its retention, p. 543 (1888)).

Ver. 4. *ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κ.*: “we sailed under the lee of Cyprus,” R.V. So Wetstein with whom James Smith is in agreement, *i.e.*, to the east of the island, as was usual for ships westward bound, to avoid the prevalent west winds. Otherwise the direct course would have been to make for Patara in Lycia across the open sea to the south-west of Cyprus (cf. xxi. 1-3, where Paul makes a direct run from Patara to the Syrian coast (Ramsay, Goerne)).

Ver. 5. *τὸ τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κ. καὶ Π. διαπλ.*: the ship in its northerly course would reach the coast of Cilicia, and then creep slowly along from point to

point along the Cilician and Pamphylian coast, using the local land breezes when possible, and the current constantly running to the westward along the southern coast (Ramsay, J. Smith, Breusing). Blass takes *πέλαγος* as “mare vaste patens” and thinks that the ship did not coast along the shore, but J. Smith gives several instances of ships following St. Paul's route. On the additional reading in β text see critical note.—*Μύρα τῆς Λυκίας*: two and a half miles from the coast of Lycia; on the spelling see critical notes. On its importance as one of the great harbours in the corn trade between Egypt and Rome see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 298, 318, Lewin, *Saint Paul*, ii., 186, and for later notices Zöckler, *in loco*. As a good illustration of the voyage of the Adramyttian and Alexandrian ship see Lucian's dialogue, *Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί*, 7-9; Ramsay, p. 319; Breusing, 152.

Ver. 6. *πλοῖον*: St. Luke does not mention what kind of ship, but the fact that it was on its way from Egypt to Italy, and that in ver. 38 the cargo was evidently grain, makes it a reasonable inference that the ship was carrying corn for conveyance to Rome. On this trade to Rome, Seneca, *Epist.*, 77, and for the large size of the ships (cf. ver. 37) so employed cf. references in Wetstein to Lucian and Plutarch, and Breusing, p. 157, Goerne, and also for the reputation of the Alexandrian ships and sailors.—*εὐρὼν*: there was nothing unlikely in this, if Myra was situated as above described. The ship, therefore, Ramsay holds, had not been blown out of her

ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου, ὑπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμώνην· 8. μόλις τε παραλεγόμενοι αὐτὴν, ἤλθομεν εἰς τόπον τινα καλούμενον Καλοὺς Λιμένας, ᾧ ἐγγὺς ἦν πόλις<sup>1</sup> Λασαία. 9. Ἰκανοῦ δὲ χρόνου διαγενομένου, καὶ ὄντος<sup>2</sup> ἤδη ἐπισφαλοῦς τοῦ πλοός, διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθῆναι, παρήγει ὁ Παῦλος, λέγων αὐτοῖς,

<sup>1</sup> Λασαία, so HLP, Chrys., Arm., Blass in β text, Weiss, Hilgenfeld, but Λ<sup>α</sup> Λασσαία; B, so W.H., Λασα; Λαῖσσα B<sup>c</sup>; A 40, 96, Αλασσα (Lach.), Syr. H. mg., Alasa; Vulg., Thalassa; see further W.H., *Arr.*, p. 167, and Winer-Schmiedel, pp. 47, 58.

<sup>2</sup> ἡδη omit. in β text by Blass with Flor., Gig.

course, and the westerly winds, prejudicial to the run of the Adramyttian ship from Sidon to Myra, were favourable for the direct run of a ship from Alexandria, cf. ver. 9, and the course taken by the Alexandrian ship was probably a customary one during a certain season of the year for the voyage from Alexandria to Italy. Blass, on the other hand, quoting from Lucian, maintains that the ship was obliged to quit the usual course owing to the winds, but Ramsay has here the entire support of J. Smith, *u. s.*, p. 73.—ἐνεβίβασεν: *vox nautica*, Holtzmann, cf. Thuc., i., 53.

Ver. 7. ἐν ἰκαναῖς ἡμέραις or ἰκανός: in temporal sense only in Luke in N.T., see Hawkins, p. 151, and cf. *Vindictia Lucana* (Klostermann), p. 51.—βραδυποιοῦντες: Artemid., *Oneir.*, iv., 30; ταχυπλοεῖν, Polyb. (Blass), evidently on account of the strong westerly winds; the distance was about a hundred and thirty geographical miles to Cnidus.—καὶ μόλις γεν. κατὰ τὴν K.: "and were come with difficulty off Cnidus," R.V., to this point the course of the two ships would be the same from Myra; here they would no longer enjoy the protection of the shore, or the help of the local breezes and currents; "so far the ship would be sheltered from the north-westerly winds, at Cnidus that advantage ceased" (J. Smith).—Κνίδον: the south-west point of Asia Minor, the dividing line between the western and southern coast; a Dorian colony in Caria having the rank of a free city like Chios; see 1 Macc. xv. 23.—μὴ προσεῶντος: "as the wind did not permit our straight course onwards," Ramsay, so Blass, J. Smith, p. 79: the northerly wind in the Ægean effectually prevented them from running straight across to the island of Cythera, north of Crete; cf. Wendt's note (1899), *in loco*, inclining to agree with Ramsay, see critical note; others take the words to mean "the wind not permitting us

unto it," *i. e.*, to approach Cnidus (Hackett), so too R.V., margin. But there does not seem to have been any reason why they should not have entered the southern harbour of Cnidus. They might have done so, and waited for a fair wind, had they not adopted the alternative of running for the east and south coast of Crete. The verb προσεῶντος does not occur elsewhere, and the same must be said of the conjecture of Blass, προσεῶντος.—ὑπεπλεύ.: "we sailed under the lee of Crete off Cape Salmone" (Ramsay), *i. e.*, a promontory on the east of the island, and protected by it from a north-westerly wind (Ramsay). Strabo has Σαλμώνιον and Σαμώνιον (Pliny, *Sammonium*); Σαλμώνις is also found; Σαλμώνιον (or Σαμ.) may be explained, *sc. ὅρος*, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 65.

Ver. 8. μόλις τε παραλεγ. αὐτὴν: "and with difficulty coasting along it," *i. e.*, Crete on the southern side—with difficulty because under the same conditions as in their journey along the coast of Asia Minor (Breusing) (this is better than to refer αὐτὴν to Σαλμώνην, and render to work past, to weather, cf. Grimm-Thayer); παραλέγομαι, *oram legere*, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo.—Καλοὺς Λιμένας: a small bay two miles east of Cape Matala, in modern Greek, Λιμῶνας Καλοῦς, J. Smith, p. 82, and Appendix, p. 251 ff., 4th edition; not mentioned, however, elsewhere. This harbour would afford them shelter for a time, for west of Cape Matala the land trends suddenly to the north, and they would have been again exposed to the north-westerly winds; see further for a description of the place Findlay's *Mediterranean Directory*, p. 66, quoted by Breusing and Goerne, who also have no doubt that the place is identical with that mentioned by St. Luke (see also Wendt, 1898 and 1899).—Λασαία, see critical note; like the Fair Havens not mentioned by name in any ancient writer.



10. Ἄνδρες, θεωρῶ ὅτι μετὰ ὕβρεως καὶ πολλῆς ζημίας οὐ μόνον τοῦ<sup>1</sup> φόρτου καὶ τοῦ πλοίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, μέλλειν

<sup>1</sup> NABHLP, Chrys., and Tisch., W.H.. R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt read φορτίου.

but since 1856 it may be fairly said that its identification has been established with a place some four miles to the east of Fair Havens, or rather the ruins of a place to which the name Lasea was still given, see J. Smith, 4th edition, p. 82, and p. 268 (Appendix); Alford, *Proleg.* to Acts, p. 27. If Lasea was one of "the (ninety or) hundred towns of Crete," and one of the smaller amongst them, it ceases to be strange that no precise mention of it should occur in ancient writers (Grimm).

Ver. 9. ἰκανοῦ δὲ χρ. γεν.: not since the commencement of the voyage (as Meyer), but since they lay weather-bound. Wendt (1899) agrees with Meyer as against Weiss and Ramsay, on the ground that there is no ἐκεῖ, so Hackett. —ἐπισ. τοῦ πλοός: "terminus proprie nauticus," Klostermann, *Vindicia Lucanæ*, J. Smith, p. 84, who refers to Jul. Pollux, i., 105, although the adjective was not distinctively so. It is only used by St. Luke, and although it is frequently employed by medical writers, it is found also in Plato, Polybius, Plutarch (*cf.* also Wisd. ix. 14, and for the adverb iv. 4). τοῦ πλοός: "the voyage," R.V., but perhaps "sailing," A.V., is best, so Ramsay—the dangerous season for sailing had commenced; in the next verse = "voyage," *i.e.*, to Rome (Alford); only in Luke, *cf.* xxi. 7, on the form of the genitive see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 84, *cf.* 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 19, 2 Thess. ii. 2. The dangerous season was reckoned from 14th September to 11th November, and from 11th November to 5th March all navigation was discontinued; see Blass, *in loco*, and Ramsay, *Saint Paul*, p. 322; according to Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 619, navigation ceased after the setting of the Pleiades about 20th October. The Jewish period for navigation ended 28th September.—διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι: the mention of the fact that the Fast, *i.e.*, the Great Day of Atonement, Lev. xvi. 29, Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 16, 4, was over, Tisri the roth, made the danger more apparent. According to Mr. Turner, "Chronology," Hastings' B.D., the great Fast on Tisri 10 in 58 A.D. fell *circa* 15th September, so that the dangerous sailing season would have just commenced. In A.D. 59, the

date preferred by Ramsay, the Fast would be on 5th October. Starting from the view that a considerably later point of time than Tisri 10 is implied, *cf.* xxviii. 11, various attempts have been made to interpret νηστεία differently, and it has been referred to the Athenian festival of the Thesmophoria, the third day of which was so called; or to some nautical mode of expression not elsewhere employed equivalent to *extremum autumnii*, but all such attempts are based upon no authority (Zöckler, *in loco*), and there can be no doubt that the expression "the Fast" κατ' ἐξοχὴν refers to the Jewish Fast as above. St. Paul usually reckoned after the Jewish calendar, 1 Cor. xvi. 8, and as Wendt observes there is nothing strange in the fact that his travel-companion should also so reckon, *cf.* xx. 6 above, even if he was a Gentile Christian, an observation to be noted in face of Schmiedel's recent arguments against the Lucan authorship, *Encycl. Biblica*, p. 44, 1899. The indication that St. Paul kept the Jewish Fast Day is significant. —παρήναι: "admonished," R. and A.V., in N.T. only here, and in ver. 22, see note. The Apostle had sufficient experience to justify him, 2 Cor. xi. 25 (Weiss), his interposition is all an indication of the respect which he had secured: "the event justified St. Paul's advice," J. Smith.

Ver. 10. θεωρῶ: here used of the result of experience and observation, not of a revelation, *cf.* xvii. 22, xix. 26, xxi. 20. —θεωρῶ ὅτι . . . μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι: anacoluthon. ὅτι: forgotten by the number of words intervening in the flow of speech—a vivid dramatic touch; *cf.* Xen., *Hell.*, ii., 2, 2, see Blass, *Gram.*, p. 279, Winer-Moulton, xliv., 8, A 2. μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι, *cf.* xi. 28, xxiv. 15, 25, only in Luke, Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 120. μετὰ ὕβρεως καὶ πολλῆς ζημίας, *cf.* ver. 21: "with injury and much loss," A. and R.V. ὕβρις: used of the injury inflicted by the elements, *injuria tempestatis*, *cf.* Jos., *Ant.*, iii., 6, 4. τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμβρῶν ὕβριν: *Anthol.*, vii., 291, 3. δέισασα θαλάττης ὕβριν: Grimm-Thayer renders "injury inflicted by the violence of a tempest," and this well combines the active and passive shades of meaning;

ἔσεσθαι τὸν πλοῦν. 11.<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ ἑκατόνταρχος τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ἐπέειθετο μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου λεγομένοις. 12. ἀνευθέτου δὲ τοῦ λιμένος ὑπάρχοντος πρὸς παραχειμασίαν, οἱ πλείους ἔθεντο βουλὴν ἀναχθῆναι κάκειθεν, εἴ πως δύναιτο κατανήσαντες εἰς Φοίνικα παραχειμάσαι, λιμένα τῆς Κρήτης βλέποντα κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> Blass in β text reconstructs with Flor.: ο δε κυβ. και ο ναυκ. εβουλευοντο πλειν ει πως δυναιτο καταντ. εις Φ. λιμενα της Κ. (και) επειθετο εκεινοις μαλλον ο εκατονταρχης η τοις υπο Π. λεγ.; all the rest of ver. 12 omitted by Flor., see especially Blass, *Præf.* to β text, pp. x., xi.

for the passive signification of ὕβρις cf. 2 Cor. xii. 10. ζημίαν: only elsewhere in Paul, cf. Phil. iii. 7, 8. οὐ μόνον: occurs regularly with the infinitive in the N.T. instead of μὴ μόνον, Burton, p. 183. φόρτον, see critical note, if we read φορτίου the word which is dim. in form not in significance is often found of the freight of a ship; but see also Blass and Wetstein, *in loco*, for distinction between φορτίον and φόρτος.

Ver. 11. ὁ δὲ ἑκατόν.: the centurion evidently presides at the Council as the superior officer, see Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 324, 325, but, as Wendt notes (and so Blass), the majority decide, not the centurion alone.—τῷ κυβερ. καὶ τῷ ναυκλ.: "to the master and to the owner of the ship," A. and R.V., better "to the pilot and the captain"; ναύκληρος was not the owner, although the word might denote ownership as well as command of the ship, for the ship if it was a corn ship would belong to the imperial service, and would form a vessel of the Alexandrian fleet. In Breusing's view, p. 160, ναύκληρος is owner of the ship, but κυβερνήτης is better rendered, he thinks, "captain" than "pilot," cf. Plut., *Mor.*, 807 B (Wetstein and Blass).—ἐπέειθετο μᾶλλον τοῖς λεγ.: "locutio Lucana," cf. xxviii. 24, the centurion's conduct was natural enough; what would be said of him in Rome, where provision ships for the winter were so eagerly expected, if out of timidity he, though a soldier, had hindered the captain from continuing his voyage? Breusing, pp. 161, 162, and quotations from Suet., *Claudius*, 18, as to the compensation offered by the emperor to merchants for losses in winter and storm. Goerne points out that it may have been also to their interest to proceed on the voyage, rather than to incur the responsibility of providing for the keep of the large crew during a long stay at Fair Havens.

Ver. 12. ἀνευθέτου: here only, but in later Greek we have δύσθετος, so in Jos.

St. Luke, however, uses εὐθετος in his Gospel, ix. 62, xiv. 35 (found only once elsewhere in N.T., Heb. vi. 7). We may compare J. Smith's 1st and 4th edition, p. 85. In the latter he points out that recent surveys show that Fair Havens may have been a very fair winter harbour, and that even on nautical grounds St. Paul's action may have been justified, but Blass, *in loco*, adheres to the view that the harbour was only fit for use during the summer.—πρὸς παραχειμασίαν: noun only here in N.T., not found in LXX, but in Polyb. and Diod. Sic. παραχειμάσαι: only in Luke and Paul in N.T., 1 Cor. xvi. 6, cf. Acts xxviii. 11, Tit. iii. 12, not in LXX, but used by Dem., Polyb., Plut., Diod. Sic.—οἱ πλείονες: πλείονες (πλείους) with the article only by Luke and Paul in N.T., cf. xix. 32; by St. Paul seven times in his Epistles. Bengel well says, "plura suffragia non semper meliora".—ἔθεντο βουλὴν: on the noun and its use by St. Luke see above, ii. 23, and for the phrase cf. Luke xxiii. 51, in LXX, Ps. xii. 2 (Judg. xix. 30, *A al.*); so also in classical Greek.—ἀναχθῆναι: "to put to sea," R.V., see on xiii. 13.—εἴ πως δύναιτο: on the optative see Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 172; and Burton, p. 111; cf. Mark xi. 13, Acts viii. 22, xviii. 27, Rom. i. 10, xi. 14, Phil. iii. 11.—κατανήσαντες: Lucan and Pauline, see above, xvi. 1.—εἰς Φοίνικα, Strabo, x., 4; Ptolemy, iii., 17. Generally taken as = modern Lutro, so Ramsay, Alford, Renan, Rendall, Blass, J. Smith (pp. 87, 88), Lewin, Rendall, Plumptre, and Muir in Hastings' B.D., "Fair Havens"; so amongst recent German writers on this voyage, cf. Breusing, p. 162, and Goerne, *u. s.*, p. 360, both of whom quote Findlay, *Mediterranean Directory*, p. 67, "Port Lutro, the ancient Phoenix, or Phœnice, is the only bay on the south coast where a vessel could be quite secure in winter"; but on the other hand Hackett, *in loco*, Wordsworth,



λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον. 13. ὑποπνεύσαντος δὲ νότου,<sup>1</sup> δόξαντες τῆς  
προθέσεως κεκρατηκέναι, ἄραντες<sup>2</sup> ἄσσον παρελέγοντο τὴν Κρήτην.

<sup>1</sup> Flor. om. δοξ. . . . κεκρατ., so Blass in β.

<sup>2</sup> For ἄσσον Blass in β with Flor. reads θασσον, so Hilg. (1899); Vulg., so Erasmus, "cum sustulissent de Asson," taking Assos as Ἀσος (Asus, Pliny) as the name of one of the Cretan towns; Luther takes it as acc., "cum sustulissent Assum". Wycl. and Rhem. follow the Vulg., and Tynd. and Cranm. follow Luther, but there is no clear trace of the existence of a town so called in Crete, and Assos lay far to the north, xx. 13 (Plumptre).

Humphry and Page (whose full note should be consulted) suppose the modern Phineka to be meant; so also C. H. Prichard in Hastings' B.D., "Crete"; see below. Alford, *Acts*, Proleg., p. 28, quotes from J. Smith's Appendix (2nd edition) the words from Mr. G. Brown's Journal (1855, 1856) stating that Lutro is the only secure harbour *in all winds* on the south coast of Crete, words quoted by Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 326, and Muir, Hastings' B.D., "Fair Havens".—*λιμένα τῆς Κ. κ.τ.λ.*: "a harbour of Crete which faces south-west and north-west," so Ramsay, and so A.V. and Vulgate. But R.V. so Rendall, "looking north-east and south-east," which is a correct description of the entrance of the harbour of Lutro, so J. Smith, Alford, Lumby and Plumptre, who interpret "looking down the south-west and north-west winds," literally translated as=in the direction of these winds, *i.e.*, the direction *to* which they blew, and so north-east and south-east, *κατὰ* indicating the line of motion, *cf.* R.V. margin, and so Rendall and Knabenbauer, *in loco*. C. and H., so Ramsay and Farrar, find an explanation of the rendering in A.V. in the subjectivity of the sailors, who describe a harbour from the direction in which they sail into it; and thus by transmission from mouth to mouth the wrong impression arose that the harbour itself looked south-west and north-west. As against Rendall's interpretation and that of R.V., see Page and Hackett's learned notes *in loco*. Both lay stress upon the phrase, *βλέπειν κατὰ τι*, as used only of that which is *opposite*, and which you *face*. *Cf.* Luke's own use of *κατὰ*, iii. 13, viii. 26, xvi. 7, xxvii. 7. Page, and so C. H. Prichard, Hastings' B.D., "Crete," would adopt A.V. reading, but would apply it to the harbour Phineka, opposite Lutro, which does look south-west and north-west. *λίψ*, (*πρὸς* *λεῖβω*) Herod., ii., 25, Polyb., x.,

103, etc., south-west wind *Africus*, *χῶρος*, north-west wind *Corus* or *Caurus*.

Ver. 13. *ὑποπνεύσαντος*: *leniter afflante, aspirante, cf. ὑποκινέω, ὑπομεδιάω*, a moderate breeze from the south arose which would favour their westerly course. *Cf.* Luke xii. 55, not in LXX or Apocrypha, but see Heliod., iii., 3 (Wetstein).—*δόξαντες*, xii. 9, *τῆς προθ. κεκρατηκέναι*: their purpose, *i.e.*, of starting from Fair Havens for the more desirable anchorage of Lutro some forty miles distant. *προθέσεως, cf.* xi. 23; in N.T. only in Luke and Paul in this sense; *cf.* 2 Macc. iii. 8. *κεκρατ.*: only here in this sense in N.T., *cf.* Diod. Sic., xvi. 20, *κεκρατηκότες ἤδη τῆς προθέσεως* (Grimm-Thayer, Page), and for instances of the same collocation of words in Galen, and in Polyb. (*κατακρατεῖν*), see Wetstein and Blass, *in loco*. Breusing, p. 164, takes the phrase to refer here to their purpose of continuing their voyage to the end (so too Goerne).—*ἄραντες*: "they weighed anchor," R.V. So Ramsay, J. Smith, pp. 65, 97; only here in N.T. in this sense, *sc. τὰς ἀγκύρας, cf.* Thuc., i., 52, and ii., 23, but the word may imply simply *profecti*, of movement, whether by sea or by land, of armies or ships; so Breusing takes it intransitively, no need of any noun, Thuc., iv., 129; vii., 26 (p. 164): see also ver. 17. For aorist participle of an action antecedent in time to that of the principal verb *cf.* xiv. 19; Burton, pp. 63, 64.—*ἄσσον παρελ. τὴν Κ.*: "sailed along Crete, close in-shore," R.V., *i.e.*, as they rounded Cape Matala, about six miles west of Fair Havens; the statement so emphatically introduced by St. Luke seems to imply that their ability to weather the point was for some time doubtful, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 326. *ἄσσον*: "if the wind went round a point towards the west they would fail; and the anxious hour has left its record in the single word of ver. 13, 'ἄσσον,'" Ramsay, *u. s.* See critical note, and

14. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔβαλε κατ' αὐτῆς ἄνεμος τυφωνικός, ὁ καλούμενος<sup>1</sup> Εὐροκλύδων. 15. συναρπασθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλοίου, καὶ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> *Ευρακυλων* *ἸΑΒ\**, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, HLP, Chrys. have *Ευροκλύδων*, so Hilg. (1899); B<sup>s</sup> 40, 133; *Ευρυκλύδων* (Griesbach, Meyer, Nosen); i.e., a wind causing broad waves, the Wide-washer (Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, "der Breitspülende" supported "by respectable authorities"). Vulg., Cassiod. have "Euro-aquilo," see Hastings' B.D., *sub v.*, and comment. below.

above on ver. 8. ἄσσον, an adverb comparative of ἄγχι; the comparative degree makes it more emphatic (see above), as they had been coasting for weeks, and they now went "closer" in shore (see R.V.); Wendt (1899) takes it, however, not as a comparative with reference to ver. 8 (so Meyer, Weiss), but as a superlative, cf. xxiv. 22, xxv. 10.

Ver. 14. μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ, cf. xx. 12. οὐ μετρίως, Luke xv. 15, Acts i. 5, "observe the 'Litotes' of οὐ with an adjective or adverb, four times in 'We' sections, twelve in rest of Acts, twice in Luke vii. 6, xv. 13, rare in rest of N.T.," Hawkins, p. 153.—ἔβαλε κατ' αὐτῆς: intransitive, as often in classical Greek since Homer: "there beat down from it," R.V., i.e., from Crete and its mountains over 7,000 feet in height; so also Blass, Holtzmann, Ramsay, Zöckler, Page, Rendall, Wendt, Weiss, Knabenbauer, and J. Smith, in later editions, see p. 100, 4th edition; a graphic description of a common experience in the Cretan waters; as the ship crossed the open bay between Cape Matala and Phœnice, the wind suddenly shifting to the north, a violent hurricane (strictly from east-north-east) burst upon them from Mount Ida, cf. St. Luke's κατέβη, Luke viii. 23, of a squall descending from the hills on the Lake of Gennesaret, and κατὰ τοῦ κρημνοῦ, Luke viii. 33, cf. Matt. viii. 32 (J. Smith, Weiss, Zöckler). Breusing, p. 164 (so Hackett, Lewin, Farrar), takes κατ' αὐτῆς as = against the ship, but the word πλοῖον is used for ship, and not ναῦς until ver. 41. Luther regarded αὐτῆς as agreeing with προθέσεως (so Tyndale and Cranmer).—τυφωνικός: formed from τυφός, *turbo*, denoting not the direction, but the vehemence of the wind (Breusing, Page), a heavy, eddying squall (J. Smith, Ramsay), *vorticosus* (Bentley).—Εὐροκλύδων, see critical note. If we read with *ἸΑΒ\** Εὐρακύλων, render "which is called Euraquilo," R.V. Perhaps the irregularly formed Euraquilo occasioned the corrections. V. Euroaquilo. Blass calls it *vox hybrida* from εὐρος and Aquilo (*qui* Latin = κύ, ut 'Ακύλας,

xviii. 2), strictly the "East-north-east" wind (Breusing thinks "North-east" sufficient; so Wycliffe and Tyndale in their translations). Such a wind would drive the ship into the African Syrtis as the pilot feared, ver. 17, and the word is apposite to the context, to all the circumstances, and is so well attested as to fairly claim admission as the word of St. Luke. The Latin had no name for the Greek Καικίας blowing between Aquilo and Eurus, and it is quite possible that the Roman seamen, for want of a specific word, might express this wind by the compound Euro-Aquilo; cf. ὁ καλούμενος, which seems to point to some popular name given to the wind; for similar compounds cf. Εὐρόνοτος and Euro-Auster, and Gregalia, the name given to the same wind by the Levantines, as Euripus has become Εγρίπου (Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 551); see Bentley, *Remarks on a late Discourse on Freethinking*, p. 97, quoted at length by Breusing, "Euraquilo," Hastings' B.D. and B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i.

Ver. 15. συναρπασθέντος δὲ τοῦ πλοίου: "and when the ship was caught by it" (Ramsay), a graphic word as if the ship was seized in the grasp of the wind; only in Luke, cf. Luke viii. 29, Acts vi. 12, xix. 29; in LXX cf. Prov. vi. 25, 2 Macc. iii. 27, iv. 41, 4 Macc. v. 4; so in classical Greek, e.g., Soph., *Electr.*, 1150.—ἀντοφθαλμῖν: "and could not face the wind," R.V., "look at the wind eye to eye": eyes were painted on the prows of vessels, but Alford thinks that the word was not originally a nautical term derived from this practice, but that more probably the expression was transferred to a ship from its usage in common life; it is used in Polybius of facing an enemy, Polyb., i., 17, 3, of resisting temptation, xxviii. 17, 18, with δύνασθαι as here, and also with δύνασθαι in Wisd. xii. 14, cf. Acts vi. 11, β text. For the fit application of the word to a ship see Breusing, p. 168.—ἐπιδόντες ἑαρόμεθα: "we gave way to it (to the wind), and were driven," or τὸ πλοῖον may be regarded as the object, "we gave up the ship to the winds," "data nave fluctibus



δυναμένου ἀντοφθαλμῆν τῷ ἀνέμῳ, ἐπιδόντες<sup>1</sup> ἐφερόμεθα. 16. νησίον δέ τι ὑποδραμόντες καλούμενον<sup>2</sup> Κλαύδην, μόλις ἰσχύσαμεν περικρατεῖς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης. 17. ἦν ἄραντες, βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο,

<sup>1</sup> After επιδ. Blass in β text, so Hilg. (1899) add τῷ πνεοντι καὶ συστειλαντες τα ἰστια with 137, Syr. H. (cf. Cassiod., Bede), and before εφερ. Blass has κατὰ το συμβαλινον (Hilg. τυχον) with Syr. H.

<sup>2</sup> Κλαύδην HLP d;  $\aleph^*$  Κλαυδα Syr. H., Arm., Boh., so Tisch., Weiss; A has first three letters Κλα; but  $\aleph^*$ B, Vulg. have Καυδα, W.H., Blass, so R.V. text (Κλαυδα marg.), Hilg. (1899), and the form Κλαυδα is supported by Κλαυδος in Ptolem., iii., 15, 8, and other authorities in Hastings' B.D., "Cauda" (Ramsay). See note in comment., and Wendt, p. 408 (1899). The variation cannot be accounted for by the mere dropping out of Λ before Α as Weiss maintains, for the difference of spelling occurs in other than MS. authorities. But see further Winer-Schmiedel, p. 65, note.

ferebamur," Vulgate, so Holtzmann, Zöckler, Hackett, Wordsworth, and J. Smith, p. 106. The instances in Wetstein justify either rendering, see also references in Blass, *in loco*. ἐφερόμεθα: "and let the ship drive," Ramsay and A.V., others render as passive, so Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*; in classical Greek it is often used passively for being borne along by wind, or storm, or wave, cf. Hom., *Odys.*, v., 343 (Page); Diod. Sic., xx., 16.

Ver. 16. ὑποδραμόντες: "and running under the lee of a small island," R.V. J. Smith calls attention to the nautical accuracy of St. Luke's terms; they ran before the wind to leeward of Cauda; ὑποδραμ., they sailed with a side wind to leeward of Cyprus and Crete, ὑπελεύσαμεν, ver. 4, see also Ramsay, *Saint Paul*, p. 328, to the same effect; here was calmer water, and the island (see below) would afford them a refuge for a time from the gale. Breusing, pp. 167, 168, 181, thinks that the great sail had been struck at once, and that the artemon or small foresail was kept up as a storm sail; otherwise the ship would have been simply the plaything of the waves. But Ramsay and others (see Farrar) think, on the contrary, that the one huge sail, in comparison with which all others were of little importance, was kept up, but that the strain of this great sail on the single mast was more than the hull could sustain; the timbers would have started, and the ship foundered, had she not gained the smooth water to the lee of Cauda.—μόλις ἰσχύσ.: "we were able with difficulty to secure the boat," R.V., the boat had not been hauled in, as the storm was so sudden; and now as it was nearly filled with water, and battered by the waves and storm, it was hard work to haul it in at all (J. Smith), as Luke

himself experienced (pressed into this service of hauling in the boat; note first person, Hackett, Ramsay, p. 327); clearly they could not afford to lose such a means of safety; even as it was, the boat was dragging along as a heavy weight retarding the ship (Breusing, p. 169).—περικ., cf. Susannah, ver. 39, A, for ἐγκρατεῖς in B.—σκάφης: a small boat towed behind, only in this passage in N.T., cf. vv. 30, 32, Latin, *scapha*; Cic., *De Invent.*, ii., 51 (Humphry).—Κλαύδην, see critical note, an island twenty-three miles from Crete, nearly due south of Phœnice. Ramsay (but see on the other hand Wendt, p. 408, 1899) maintains that preference be given to the forms of the name in which the letter L is omitted, cf. the modern *Gaudho* in Greek, and *Gozzo* in Italian; not to be confounded with *Gozzo* near Malta (Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 551), and see further on its present name, J. Smith, pp. 95, 259, 4th edition.

Ver. 17. ἦν ἄραντες: "and when they had hoisted it up" into the ship, see on ver. 13.—βοηθ. ἐχρῶντο: they used helps ὑποζ. τὸ πλοῖον undergirding the ship, A. and R.V., on ἐχρῶντο see ver. 3, cf. 1 Cor. ix. 12, 15; often compared to the custom called in modern language *frapping*, or undergirding the ship with cables to prevent the timbers from being strained, or to hold them together during a storm, Plato, *Rep.*, 616, C, Polyb., xxvii., 3, 3, Horace, *Od.*, i., 14, 6. The difficult point to decide is whether the girders were put longitudinally round the ship, i.e., passed from stem to stern, or under the ship transversely. Breusing, p. 670 (so Goerne and Vars), defends the former at great length, following Böckh. The passage from Plato, u. s., he admits may possibly make for the latter view, but it is evident that the description is not

ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον · φοβούμενοί τε μὴ εἰς τὴν σύρτιν ἐκπέσωσι,  
χαλάσαντες<sup>1</sup> τὸ σκευός, οὕτως ἐφέροντο. 18. Σφοδρῶς δὲ χειμαζο-

<sup>1</sup> For χαλασ. το σκευος Blass has in β text εχαλασαν τι σκευος φερεσθαι following Gig. "vas quoddam dimiserunt, quod traheret," so Hilg. (1899), χαλασ. τι σκ. ἐφελευστικόν; see note below.

very definite or precise, and the passage in Isidore of Seville, *Orig.*, xix., 4, 4, "tormentum (ὑπόζωμα) funis in navibus longus, qui a prora ad puppim extenditur, quo magis constringantur," which Böckh quotes (so also Vars, *L'Art Nautique*, p. 219) is much clearer. Moreover, the girding was often performed when the ships were on land, on the stocks, and it is not likely that the operation in the circumstances under discussion could have meant passing a cable under the keel. Further, by girding the ship transversely, *i.e.*, underneath the ship (p. 175), only the timbers in the middle of the ship would be held together, whilst a girding longitudinally was needed to secure the whole plankage of the ship. But see on the other hand Ramsay, p. 329, who agreeing with Smith holds that the cables were passed underneath round the ship transversely. Either operation, one would suppose, would have been difficult during a storm. For instances of this practice in modern times, see Smith, and C. and H., small edit., p. 645. Wendt (1899) refers to Naber's conjecture of βοείαις for βοηθ. as very plausible.—μὴ εἰς τὴν Σ.: "on the great quicksands," Ramsay; "the Syrtis," R.V., not merely "the quicksands," as A.V., but the *Syrtis Major*, "the Goodwin Sands of the Mediterranean" (Farrar), lying at a distance to the south-west of Claudia; upon them the sailors knew that they would be cast, unless they could manage by some means to alter their course.—ἐκπέσωσι: a regular nautical term, to fall off, ἐκ, *i.e.*, from a straight course, εἰς—Eur., *Hel.*, 409, Herod., viii., 13, others supply "from deep water" and render ἐκτ. to be cast away, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, cf. vv. 26, 29.—χαλάσ. τὸ σκευός: "lowered the gear," R.V., "they reduced sail," Ramsay; here and in ver. 30 used as a nautical term; the tempting reference to Isa. xxxiii. 23, LXX, cannot be sustained, for the meaning of the words is very doubtful. The article with the singular (in ver. 19, the plural) seems to indicate "the gear," the mainyard carrying the mainsail (so Page, Wordsworth, Humphry). Of the A.V., J. Smith says that no more erroneous translation could be imagined, as "they struck sail" would imply that the ship

had no means of escaping danger, but was left to flounder hopelessly in the storm, although Meyer-Wendt take the words to mean that they preferred to let the ship drift without any mast or sail than to be driven on upon the Syrtis, as was inevitable with the ship kept in full sail. Chrysostom explains τὸ σκ. as = τὸ ἱστία, but some sail was necessary, and they had still the artemon or storm sail, so J. Smith, who thinks that they lowered the great sail and mainyard *some way*, but not apparently entirely. The aim of the sailors was not merely to delay their course (which would only bring them upon the Syrtis), but to alter it, and it is therefore quite possible that χαλάσ. τὸ σκευός may denote a series of operations, slackening sail, lowering as much of the gear as they could, but leaving enough sail spread to keep the ship's head to the wind, *i.e.*, to the north instead of drifting to south-west upon the quicksand (Ramsay). Breusing, p. 177 ff., who thinks that the mainsail had been lowered at the commencement of the storm, adopts quite a different meaning for the words, and interprets them as implying that weights and great stones were let down by ropes into the sea for the purpose of retarding the progress of the vessel, and with this view Blass and Knabenbauer are in agreement (Wendt, 1899, evidently inclines to it, and Goerne adopts it); this curious view, which Ramsay finds it difficult to regard seriously, Breusing supports by a passage in Plut., *Moral.*, p. 507, A (so Hesychius' explanation, ἀγκυρα τὸ ναυτικόν σκευός), which intimates that σπείραι and ἀγκυραι were frequently employed to check the course of a ship in a storm; but even if the Greek words admit of this explanation, the object of the sailors was nothing less than to alter the course of the vessel, and Breusing's supposition would not conduce to this.—οὕτως ἐφέροντο: "so were driven," R.V., *i.e.*, in this state, "and drove on so," Rendall; meaning that we let the ship drift in that position, *viz.*, undergirded, with storm sail set and on the starboard tack; J. Smith, so Ramsay, not simply "were driven hopelessly". For οὕτως, xvii. 33, xx. 11.

Ver. 18. σφοδρῶς δὲ χειμαζ. ἡμῶν:



μένων ἡμῶν, τῇ ἐξῆς ἐκβολὴν ἐποιούντο· 19. καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ αὐτόχειρες τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου<sup>1</sup> ἐῤῥίψαμεν· 20.<sup>2</sup> μήτε δὲ ἡλίου μήτε ἄστρον ἐπιφαινόντων ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας, χειμῶνός τε οὐκ ὀλίγου ἐπικει-

<sup>1</sup> Instead of 1st pers. pl. **ΝΑΒ**\*C, Vulg., Arm., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass in **β**, Weiss, Wendt have 3rd pers. (W.H., so Tisch., with one ρ with **ΝΒ**\*, while **ΑΒ**\*C have double ρ); HLP, Syr. H. and P., Boh. have 1st pers. pl., and so Hilg. (1899) with one ρ. 137 Syr. H., Wern. add **εἰς τὴν θαλάσσαν**, so Blass in **β** text, and Hilg.; Winer-Schmiedel, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> At beginning of verse Blass in **β** and Hilg. (1899) add **ἐπιμενοντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ** with Gig., Syr. P. (the latter with **ἐπὶ πλ. ἡμ.** after **χειμῶνος**), whilst **χειμ.** . . . to **λοιπον** is omitted.

"and as we laboured exceedingly with the storm," R.V., Ramsay, Rendall, a regular nautical and classical term; *cf.* Thuc., ii., 25; iii., 69; viii., 99; Plato, *Ion*, 540 B. In Attic Greek usually **σφόδρα**, but *cf.* LXX, Josh. iii. 16, Eccclus. xiii. 13, 4 Macc. vi. 11; only here in N.T. Weiss thinks that it is used to express how severely they were distressed by the storm.—τῇ ἐξῆς . . . καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ, *cf.* Luke xiii. 32, connected with the words which follow in R.V. and by Ramsay. For τῇ ἐξ. *cf.* Luke vii. 11 (but see W.H.), ix. 37, and above on xxi. 1, xxv. 17; nowhere else in N.T.—ἐκβολὴν ἐποιούντο: "they began to throw the freight overboard," R.V., Ramsay, Felten, a technical term, so in classical Greek, for throwing out cargo to lighten a ship; Latin *jactura*, LXX, Jonah i. 5, with τῶν σκευῶν, and Julius Pollux, i., 99, who also has the phrase **κουφίσαι τὴν ναῦν**, *cf.* ver. 38 below. The imperfect marks that they began by throwing away the cargo, probably what was on deck, so that the vessel would ship less water; and in ver. 19 they cast out (ἐῤῥιψαν, aorist) the furniture of the ship, its fittings and equipment, anything movable lying on the deck upon which the passengers could lay their hands (αὐτόχειρες only here in N.T. representing the haste, Weiss). Others include under the word the actual baggage of the passengers, but we should have expected ἡμῶν instead of τοῦ πλοίου, whilst others explain of beds and crockery, tables, etc., furniture in this sense (Zöckler and Felten, exclusive of beds which were not in use). Breusing rejects this interpretation as "too silly," and he thinks that the expression really means that by thus throwing overboard the poles and tackling, room was found for the crowd of passengers on the deck, as the hatchways could not be kept open, since the heavy sea would have swamped

the ship, p. 186. J. Smith takes **σκευή** to mean the mainyard, but the word is here apparently used in a more general sense, as above, R.V., margin, "furniture of the ship".

Ver. 19. ἐῤῥίψαμεν, see critical note. Ramsay prefers the first person, although not well supported, because it increases the effect; but in any case the scene is graphically described, ἐῤῥιψαν may be due to ἐποιούντο, but, as Wendt notes, ἐῤῥίψαμεν may have been equally due to αὐτόχειρες. Breusing rejects the first person, p. 187, from a seaman's point of view; the sailors would have kept the passengers in their places, and not have allowed them to engage in a work in which they might perchance have done more harm than good.

Ver. 20. μήτε δὲ ἡλίου μήτε ἄστρον: the omission of the article here intensifies the meaning, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 143, "weder etwas von Sonne".—ἐπιφαινόντων, *cf.* Luke i. 79; only in Luke and Paul, Tit. ii. 11, iii. 4; "shone upon us," R.V., thus their only guidance, humanly speaking (for, of course, they had no compass), was taken from them, *cf.* *Æneid*, i., 88; iii., 195; Horace, *Epod.*, x., 9, and for the phrase, Polyb., v., 6, 6.—ἐπὶ πλείονας: often in Luke ἐπὶ with acc. of time, *cf.* xxviii. 6, and for instances in Luke and other parts of Acts of the same usage as predominant (though not exclusive) in Luke see Hawkins, *Horæ Synoptica*, p. 152; Klostermann, *Vindiciæ Lucanæ*, p. 53; Luke x. 35, xviii. 4, Acts iii. 1, iv. 5, xiii. 31, xvi. 18, xvii. 2, xviii. 20, xix. 8, 10, 34.—οὐκ ὀλίγον: only in Luke, eight times in Acts; see above on ver. 14.—ἐπικειμ., *cf.* 1 Cor. ix. 16, Heb. ix. 10, Luke v. 1, xxiii. 23 (John xi. 38, xxi. 9, literal sense), and for its use here, Plut., *Timol.*, 28, τέλος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπικειμένον. In LXX, Job xix. 3, Wisd. xvii. 21 S, 1 Macc. vi. 57, 3 Macc. i. 22, etc.—

μένου, λοιπὸν περιηρεῖτο πᾶσα ἐλπὶς τοῦ σώζεσθαι ἡμᾶς. 21. πολλῆς δὲ<sup>1</sup> ἀσιτίας ὑπαρχούσης, τότε σταθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν εἶπεν, "Ἐδεῖ μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, πειθαρχήσαντάς μοι μὴ ἀνάγεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης, κερδῆσαί τε τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν.

<sup>1</sup> For δε ἵABC have τε, so Tisch., W.H., Blass, R.V., Hilg., Weiss, Wendt.

λοιπὸν (*cf.* Matt. xxvi. 45), "now," R.V., *jam*, Blass; often = ἤδη, L. and S.; others render it: for the future (2 Tim. iv. 8), finally, at last.—περιηρεῖτο: "was gradually taken away," Ramsay, "imperf. quod in dies magis," Blass; Page renders "was being gradually stripped from us," a very vivid word, *cf.* 2 Cor. iii. 16, Heb. x. 11 (ver. 40, see below), and its use in LXX and *Psalms of Solomon*, ii. 22; *cf.* Westcott's note on Heb., *l.c.*, but on the other hand Blass, *in loco*, regards the force of περί as lost in the word in N.T. J. Smith (so Breusing) sees in the expression more than the hopelessness arising from the force of the storm—we have also to consider the fact that they could not see their course, and the increasing leakage of the vessel.

Ver. 21. δέ: if we read τε, see critical note, the word closely connects what follows as the result of the hopelessness.—πολλῆς δὲ (τε) ἀσιτίας ὑπαρχ.: "and when they had been long without food," R.V.; "abstinence" A.V. and Tyndale, "fasting" in Wycl., Rhem., imply rather a voluntary refraining which is not in the Greek; disinclination for food may have resulted from their anxiety (Humphry), and to the same effect Breusing, Goerne, "and little heart being left for food," Rendall. But the storm may also have prevented the preparation of food (so Smith, Ramsay, Page, Farrar); the former gives instances to show that ἀσιτία was one of the most frequent concomitants of heavy gales, owing to the impossibility of cooking food, and to the destruction of provisions by leakage. ἀσιτίας, see below, ver. 33, for the adjective: both noun and adjective peculiar to St. Luke, and much employed in medical language, both so noted by Hobart and Zahn, the noun often meaning "want of appetite," see instances in Hobart, p. 276, Hipp., Galen, Aret. The word was no doubt similarly used in classical Greek, so in Jos., but *cf.* the striking parallel in ver. 33 in medical phraseology. For the genitive absolute *cf. locutiones Lucanæ* (Klostermann, p. 53), xv. 7, xix. 40, xxi. 40, xxiii. 10. Felten, Zöckler, Bethge

(and so Wendt, 1888, but *cf.* p. 410 (1899)), rightly refuse to regard vv. 21-26 or ver. 10 as interpolations in the "We" section, or a "vaticinium post eventum," and no one has contended more forcibly than Weizsäcker that the narrative is to be taken as an indivisible whole, and that it is impossible to disentangle the mere history of travel from it, or to strip away the miraculous additions, see especially *Apostolic Age*, ii., pp. 126, 127, E.T.—τότε: in this state of things, at this juncture,—hungry, and thirsty, and their soul fainting in them; *cf.* xxviii. 1, so also in classical Greek.—σταθεὶς ὁ Π. ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, *cf.* i. 15, ii. 14, xvii. 22; vividness and solemnity of the scene (αὐτῶν, not ἡμῶν), characteristically marked by Luke; Mr. Page well says that it is impossible not to recall Horace, *Od.*, iii., 3, 1, "vir justus et propositi tenax," unmoved amidst the storms "inquieti Adriæ".—ἔδει μὲν: antithesis, not strictly expressed. . . . καὶ τὰ νῦν, ver. 22, "modestiam habet." Bengel. For μὲν answered not by δέ, but occasionally by other particles, as here by καί, *cf.* Luke xxii. 22, Acts iv. 16; see Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 168, and for τὰ νῦν, see iv. 29, v. 38, xvii. 30, xx. 32, and note on p. 135. On the imperfect ἔδει *cf.* Burton, p. 14; Winer-Moulton, xli., 2.—ὦ ἄνδρες: "gentlemen," "*virī quos decet virtus*," Bengel, the word may thus mark St. Paul's courtesy, and also his firmness; in counsel, ver. 10, he had been prudent and confident; in danger he was equally so; *cf.* especially Weizsäcker, *u. s.*—πειθαρχ.: only in Acts in N.T., v. 29, 32, except once again as used by St. Paul, Tit. iii. 1.—ἀνάγ., see above, xiii. 13, and Blass, *in loco*, on the tense.—κερδῆσαι: "and have gotten this injury and loss," R.V., carrying on μή; Page on the other hand prefers the combination ἔδει τε κερδῆσαι ("hoc non pendet a μή," Bengel), *i.e.*, you ought not to have put to sea, and (you ought by so not putting to sea) to have gained this loss, *i.e.*, not suffered it; with nouns signifying loss, injury, the verb κερδαίνειν is used of the gain arising from shunning or escap-



22. καὶ τανῦν παραινῶ ὑμᾶς εὐθυμεῖν· ἀποβολὴ γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν, πλὴν τοῦ πλοίου. 23. παρέστη γάρ μοι τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ἄγγελος τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὗ εἰμι,<sup>1</sup> ᾧ καὶ λατρεύω, 24. λέγων, Μὴ φοβοῦ, Παῦλε· Καίσαρί σε δεῖ παραστῆναι· καὶ ἰδοῦ, κεχάρισται σοι ὁ Θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλείοντας μετὰ σοῦ. 25. διὸ εὐθυμεῖτε, ἄνδρες· πιστεύω γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι οὕτως ἔσται καθ' ὃν τρόπον λελάληταί μοι. 26. εἰς νῆσον δέ τινα δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἐκπεσεῖν. 27. Ὡς δὲ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ νυξ ἐγένετο, διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ, κατὰ μέσον

<sup>1</sup> After εἰμι Tisch. reads εγω, but om. W.H., Weiss, Wendt, etc., with B\*CHLP. ἄγγελος best after λατρ. with  $\aleph$ ABC, so W.H., Weiss, Blass, Wendt, R.V., Hilgenfeld instead of before τοῦ Θεοῦ.

ing from the evil, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, see Eur., *Cycl.*, 312, with ζημίαν, to escape a loss, and cf. Jos., *Ant.*, ii., 3, 2, and the Latin *lucrifacere*, Pliny, *N.H.*, vii., 40, "lucri fecit injuriam". The Genevan Version adds an explanatory note, "that is, ye should have saved the losse by avoyding the danger"; see also ver. 10. κερδήσαι = κερδᾶναι, -δῆναι; almost always in N.T., cf. Winer-Schmiedel, p. 110.

Ver. 22. καὶ τὰ νῦν, see on ver 21, Paul would spare their reproaches, and rather awaken hope in their hearts (Bethge).—παραινῶ: only in Luke, here and in ver. 9. Hobart speaks of it as the verb employed for a physician giving his advice, and although the word is common in classical Greek, cf. also 2 Macc. vii. 25, 26 R, 3 Macc. v. 17, vii. 12 A, its frequency in medical usage may account for its occurrence in this "We" section only; see also Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, p. 153.—εὐθυμεῖν, cf. vv. 25, 36, and xxiv. 10, elsewhere in N.T. only in James v. 10, but in classical Greek, and εὐθυμος in 2 Macc. xi. 26. The verb, adjective, and adverb εὐθύμως are used in medical language of the sick keeping up spirit, opposed to ἀθυμία and δυσθυμία; εὐθυμεῖν παραινῶ might therefore well be a medical expression, Hobart, p. 280, although the verb εὐθ. is used intransitively, as here, in classical Greek, and in Plutarch.—ἀποβολή: only here in N.T., "there shall be no loss of life among you, but only of the ship," R.V., Winer-Moulton, lxvii. I.e., πλὴν with the genitive, Acts viii. 1, xv. 28 (once elsewhere in N.T., Mark xii. 32).

Ver. 23. παρέστη . . . ἄγγελος: on this Lucan phrase and description of angelic appearances cf. Luke ii. 9, xxiv. 4, Acts xii. 7 (xxiii. 11), and see above, i. 10.—τοῦ Θεοῦ: "of the God whose I am,

whom also I serve," R.V., Ramsay, Rendall, not "an angel of God," as A.V.; the R.V. rendering gives the force of the Greek more naturally in addressing a heathen; see also critical note.—λατρεύω, see on xxiv. 14; cf. Rom. i. 9, and LXX, Jonah i. 9.

Ver. 24. μὴ φοβοῦ, see above, xviii. 9.—παραστῆναι, cf. Rom. xiv. 10, the words emphatically bear out the prominence already laid upon the Apostle's witness in Rome.—καὶ ἰδοῦ, see on i. 10.—κεχάρισται σοι: "hath granted them as a favour"; see on iii. 14, no doubt Paul had prayed for this, cf. especially Philemon ver. 22. The statement in ver. 24 looks back to xxiii. 11, which, as Wendt allowed (1888), is only to be rejected if one presupposes that Paul could not have confidently looked forward to a visit to Rome, or at least if we suppose that the confidence could not have been created and sustained by a heavenly vision. Wendt, however, in 1899 edition, speaks much more doubtfully as to the existence of vv. 21-26 as part of the original source; see also on ver. 21.

Ver. 25. πιστεύω γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ ὅτι οὕτως ε. καθ' ὃν τρόπον, cf. xv. 11, and also i. 11, Klostermann, *Vindiciæ Lucanæ*, p. 53.

Ver. 26. εἰς νῆσον δέ κ.τ.λ.: the words do not form part of the message of the angel as they stand, but they may be considered as forming part of the contents of that message, and the Apostle may himself be regarded as speaking *μαντικῶς*. With Jüngst's question "How could Paul know anything of an island?" and his dismissal of the statement here as a *vaticinium ex eventu*, cf. Weizsäcker, *u. s.*, see ver. 21; in the section, vv. 33-36, which Jüngst defends and refers to his source A, the element of prophecy is equally present, ver. 34, as in the verse

τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπενόουν οἱ ναῦται<sup>1</sup> προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν· 28. καὶ  
βολίσαντες, εὗρον ὀργυῖδας εἴκοσι· βραχὺ δὲ διαστήσαντες, καὶ πάλιν

<sup>1</sup>προσαγειν Ἡ<sup>c</sup>ACHLP Chrys., Tisch., W.H. text, Weiss, Blass in β text; προσαγαγειν Ἡ<sup>a</sup>; προσαχειν B<sup>a</sup>, cf. *resonare*, Gig., which suggests an earlier Greek reading προσηχειν (Ramsay, Harris, Rendall): Hilgenfeld (1899) reads προσεγγίζειν, so 137 csc., Syt. P.; B<sup>3</sup> has προσανεχειν, Vulg. *apprehere*; Winer-Schmiedel, p. 52.

before us.—*ἔκπεσείν*, cf. ver. 17, and further instances in Wetstein, see also vv. 29, 32, below.

Ver. 27. *τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ νύξ, i.e.*, since their departure from Fair Havens, cf. vv. 18, 19, see also the reckonings of mileage in Breusing, p. 189, and Goerne, who reckons from the departure from Cauda.—*διαφερομένων ἡμῶν*: "as we were driven to and fro," R.V., so Ramsay; "huc illuc ferri," Blass, cf. for a similar meaning of the verb Philo, *De Migr. Abr.*, 27, Strabo, 3, p. 144, and other instances as in Plutarch, see Wetstein, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* But J. Smith (so Breusing, Goerne, Rendall) takes the word as signifying that they were driven through the waters of the Adria uniformly in the same direction, *i.e.*, right across from Cauda to Malta, and not as moving up and down, or to and fro. Ramsay (so Farrar) holds that St. Luke writes as a landsman who supposes that they drifted to and fro, whilst a sailor would have known that they drifted in a uniform direction (an explanation which Page describes as easy but unsatisfactory, but he thinks that the Greek word cannot be used as J. Smith believes); Rendall however maintains that throughout the Acts the habitual force of *διά* in composition, *e.g.*, *διέρχουμαι*, *διαπλεῖν*, *διαφεύγειν*, *διαπερᾶν*, *διοδεύειν*, whether governing an accusative or used absolutely is to express continuous movement onwards over an intervening space.—*ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ*: "in the sea of Adria," R.V. (on the form of the word see Hastings' B.D., more properly "Adrias"); not in the narrower sense of the Adriatic, the Gulf of Venice, or as we now speak of "the Adriatic," but as including the whole sea which lay between Malta, Italy, Greece and Crete; St. Luke probably used the term as it was colloquially used by the sailors in this wider sense. For Mommsen's objection to the term here see above, *Introd.*, p. 8. The passage in Strabo, ii., 123 (cf. vii., 187), where the Ionian sea is spoken of as a part of what is now called Adria plainly justifies a wider use of the term in St. Paul's day than had been originally attached to it, cf. Ptolemy, *Geogr.*,

iii., 4, 14, 15, 16, who applies it to the sea extending from Sicily to Crete, and thus represents, although living some sixty or seventy years after him, what was no doubt the current usage in St. Luke's day; so J. Smith, Breusing, Goerne, Vars, Ramsay, Renan, Blass, etc. Josephus, *Vita*, 3, speaks of being taken up in the middle of Adria, *κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν*, when his ship foundered, by a vessel sailing from Cyrene to Puteoli. See further "Adria," Hastings' B.D., where a full criticism of the attempt made by W. Falconer (and others), *Dissertation on St. Paul's Voyage*, 1817, republished with additions in 1870, to limit the term to the branch of the sea between Italy and Illyria, and to identify Melita with an island off its Illyrian shore, will be found; see further on xxviii. 1, and C. and H., small edition, p. 660 ff., for other references to the meaning of the term "Adria," and Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 552, J. Smith, p. 280 ff., 4th edit. (editor's note), and *Encycl. Bibl.*, i., 72, 1899.—*κατὰ μέσον τῆς ν.*, cf. xvi. 25 for a similar expression, only in Luke.—*ὑπενόουν*: only in Luke; "surmised," R.V., less decided than "deemed," A.V., see on xiii. 25 (cf. 1 Tim. vi. 4).—*προσάγειν τινὰ αὐτοῖς χ.*: "that some land was approaching them," R.V., so Breusing and Ramsay; intransitive in LXX, Josh. iii. 9, 1 Sam. ix. 18, Jer. xxvi. (xlii.) 3, etc., "Lucas optice loquitur, nautarum more," Kypke; the opposite verb would be *ἀναχωρεῖν*, *recedere*, see Wetstein and Blass for illustrations. J. Smith thinks that probably they heard the breakers on the shore, but Breusing and Goerne (so Blass) think that the anchor or whatever weight was dragged behind the ship appeared to strike the ground, see above on ver. 17, cf. critical note for *προσαχειν*, Doric for *προσηχειν*.—*χώραν*: the point of Koura, east of St. Paul's Bay, J. Smith; the ship would pass within a quarter of a mile of it, and while the land is too low to be seen when the night is stormy, the breakers can be heard for a considerable distance; cf. the description of the wreck of the *Lively* in 1810, Smith, p. 123, 4th edition.

Ver. 28. *βολίσαντες*: having let down



βολίσαντες, εὔρον ὀργυιάς δεκαπέντε· 29. φοβούμενοί τε<sup>1</sup> μήπως εἰς τραχεῖς τόπους ἐκπέσωσιν, ἐκ πρύμνης ῥίψαντες ἀγκύρας τέσσαρας, ἤρχοντο ἡμέραν γενέσθαι. 30. τῶν δὲ ναυτῶν ζητούντων φυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου, καὶ χαλασάντων τὴν σκάφην εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν,<sup>2</sup> προφάσει

<sup>1</sup> For *μηπως*, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss read *μηπου* with  $\aleph$ BC 13, 40, 61. Hilgenfeld (1899) retains *μηπως* with HLP (A *μηπω*). Instead of *εἰς*  $\aleph$ ABC have *κατα*, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, but Hilgenfeld has *εἰς* (Vulg., Gig., *in*). *ἐκπεσωμεν*  $\aleph$ ABCHLP Vulg., Syr. P. and H., Boh., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. After *γενέσθαι* Blass in  $\beta$  text (so Hilg.) adds *του εἶδεναι εἰ σωθῆναι δυναμεθα* with Gig.

<sup>2</sup> After *θαλ.* Blass in  $\beta$  text adds *ευκαιριαν ζητούντων*, so Hilgenfeld (1899) with Gig., and after *εκτ.* both add on the same authority *του ασφαλεστερον το πλοιον εσταναι*.

the sounding-lead (*βολίς*), elsewhere only in Eustath., in active voice, but see also Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*—*ὀργυιάς*: five or six feet, a fathom, Grimm; Breusing compares Herod., iv., 41, and gives six feet; on the accent see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 72. "The ancient fathom so nearly agrees with the English that the difference may be neglected," J. Smith, p. 131.—*βραχὺ δὲ διαστήσαντες*: "and after a little space," so Ramsay, Rendall; the phrase may refer to space or time; if we understand *τὸ πλοῖον* or *ἐαυτούς* we should take it of the former (Grimm); but if we explain = *βραχὺ διάστημα ποιήσαντες* (Blass), it may be taken of either. *διάστημα* is only found in Luke for signifying any space of time, Luke xxii. 59, *cf.* Acts v. 7; but Luke xxiv. 51, *διάστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν*. J. Smith shows how exactly the geographical details in the traditional St. Paul's Bay correspond with the description here. Before a ship drifting from Cauda could enter the bay it would not only pass within a quarter of a mile of Point Kaura, north-east of Malta, but the measurements of 20 and 15 fathoms exactly correspond to ascertained soundings according to the vessel's average of speed.

Ver. 29. *φοβούμενοι*: the diminution of the depth of water increased the danger of running aground, perhaps on some hidden reef of rocks.—*τραχεῖς τόπους*, *cf.* Luke iii. 5, in quotation Isa. xl. 4; nowhere else in N.T., *cf.* Bar. iv. 26 (3 Macc. i. 23), so in Diod. Sic., xii., 72, of rocks, Polyb., i., 54. It was evidently a hydrographic term, and classed with *δύσσορμος*, *ἀλίμενος*, etc., Jul. Pollux, i., 101; J. Smith, p. 132.—*ἐκπέσωμεν*, see ver. 17, "to cast ashore," R.V., or simply "cast on rocky ground," which is more indefinite than the former rendering, and

perhaps correctly so, as there were possible dangers from sunken reefs as well as from a rocky coast. On the subjunctive after verbs of fear and danger *cf.* Burton, p. 15.—*ἐκ πρύμνης*: this was unusual, but to anchor was their only chance of safety, and four anchors would make the vessel more secure: ancient vessels carried as a rule several anchors. Athenæus speaks of a ship which had eight iron anchors, *cf.* for the number here, and the security which they gave, Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.*, i., 25, "naves quaternis anchoris destinabat, ne fluctibus moverentur"; anchorage from the prow would have caused the ship to swing round from the wind, whereas anchorage from the stern would enable the sailors to manage the ship far more easily, and to bring her under control of the helm when they wished to run her aground (see the description in Ramsay, Rendall, Farrar, and J. Smith). On the interesting parallels of anchoring ships from the stern in our own naval engagements see C. and H., small edition, p. 653, and J. Smith, p. 133, 4th edition.—*ἤρχοντο*: "prayed," R.V. margin, the Greek sailors might pray at such a crisis (Rendall).—*ἡμέραν γενέσθαι*, *cf.* vv. 33, 39, characteristic of Luke, *cf.* Luke iv. 42, vi. 13, xxii. 26, Acts xii. 18, xvi. 35, xxiii. 12.

Ver. 30. *ζητούντων*: "and as the sailors were seeking," R.V.; "about to flee," A.V. is incorrect, for they were planning possible means of escape, and could scarcely be said to be about to escape, *cf.*  $\beta$  text—if they succeeded the passengers and the soldiers would thus be left to their fate.—*προφ. ὥς*: under colour, under pretence, *specie*, *cf.* Mark xii. 40, Luke xx. 47, John xv. 22, Phil. i. 18, 1 Thess. ii. 5. *cf.* for its use here Thuc., v., 53, vi., 76. For *ὥς* *cf.* xvii. 14, xxviii.

ὡς ἐκ πρώρας μελλόντων ἀγκύρας ἐκτείνειν, 31. εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος τῷ ἑκατοντάρχῃ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις, Ἐὰν μὴ οὗτοι μείνωσιν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, ὑμεῖς σωθῆναι οὐ δύνασθε. 32. τότε οἱ στρατιῶται ἀπέκοψαν τὰ σχοινία τῆς σκάφης, καὶ εἶσαν αὐτὴν ἐκπесεῖν. 33. ἄχρι δὲ οὐ ἔμελλεν ἡμέρα γίνεσθαι, παρεκάλει ὁ Παῦλος ἅπαντας μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς, λέγων, Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες,

19, Luke xxiii. 14, and ὡς μέλλων with present infinitive active as here, Acts xxiii. 15, 20, Klostermann, *Vindiciae Lucanae*, p. 54.—ἐκτείνειν: "lay out anchors," R.V., Ramsay, *i.e.*, at the full length of the cable. The sailors pretended that more anchors from the prow would help to steady the ship, and that they must go off in a boat to carry them out to cable's length, rather than drop them out as in ver. 29.—ἐκτ.: a technical expression (*cf. élonger*, Vars, p. 248, and so ῥίπτειν in ver. 29, *mouiller*), Breusing, p. 195. It seems impossible to suppose with Breusing, p. 194, and Vars, p. 248 (so also Goerne), that the sailors may have been actuated by an honourable motive, and that they wished to put off in the boat to see if the soundings and the nature of the ground allowed the ship to get nearer shore, for although St. Paul's words do not expressly accuse them of treachery, yet the narrative of his companion does so, *cf. προφάσει*, etc. But, as Breusing himself points out, St. Paul's words issued in the best result, for the centurion's counsel prevented a terrible scene of *saue qui peut* (as in the stranding of the *Cimbria*, Goerne).

Ver. 31. ὑμεῖς not ἡμεῖς: St. Paul appeals to the law of self-preservation, and the centurion acts promptly on his advice; although safety had been divinely promised, human means were not excluded, and it is altogether hypercritical to find any contradiction here with vv. 24-26, as Holtzmann supposes.

Ver. 32. τότε οἱ στρ. ἀπέκ.: Lewin, *Saint Paul*, ii., 202, sees in this the absolute ascendancy which St. Paul had gained; he had said that their lives should be spared, and although, humanly speaking, the boat offered the best prospect of reaching land, yet at a word from St. Paul the soldiers deprived themselves even of this last resource.—σχοινία: only elsewhere in N.T. in John ii. 15; in classical Greek, and also frequently in LXX. For the terrible scene which would doubtless have ensued if the soldiers had not thus acted, Breusing and Vars (so Wetstein, *in loco*) strikingly compare the description of a

shipwreck in Achilles Tatius, iii., 3; the whole passage is cited by Breusing, p. 194.

Ver. 33. ἄχρι δὲ οὐ: only used by Luke in the historical books of the N.T., *cf. Luke* xxi. 24, Acts vii. 18; in St. Paul's Epistles three or four times, Heb. iii. 13, Rev. ii. 25. Ramsay renders "and while the day was coming on," so A. and R.V.; *dum* with imperfect, Heb. iii. 13 (Blass). But Rendall takes it as = *until*, as if Paul had continued his entreaties until close on dawn (imperfect).—μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς, *cf. ii. 46* for the same phrase, only in Luke in N.T.—τεσσαρεσκ. . . . προσδοκῶντες κ.τ.λ.: "this is the fourteenth day that ye wait (A.V. 'tarry,' Ramsay, 'watch') and continue fasting". Rendall renders "this is the fourteenth day that ye have continued fasting on the watch for the dawn"—προσδ. sc. ἡμέραν, as if St. Paul did not mean a fourteenth day of continuous fasting, but fourteen successive nights of anxious watching for the dawn, all alike spent in restless hungry expectation of what the day might reveal (*Acts*, p. 347), but προσδοκᾶν is here without an object as in Luke iii. 15 (Weiss). For the word see further xxviii. 6, and *cf. προσδοκία* only in Acts xii. 11 and Luke xxi. 26. On the accusative of time, as expressed here, *cf. Blass, Gram.*, p. 93.—ἄσιτοι διατελεῖτε: precisely the same collocation of words occur in Galen, εἰ ποτε ἄσιτος διετέλεσεν, so also καὶ ἀδιψοὶ διατελοῦσιν, and Hippocrates speaks of a man who continued suffering πάσχων διατελεῖ for fourteen days (see Hobart and Zahn). It must however be admitted that the same collocation as in this verse ἄσιτοι and διατελεῖν is found in Dion. Hal. (Wetstein, *in loco*). For the construction see Winer-Moulton, xlv., 4; *cf. Thuc.*, i., 34.—μηδὲν προσλ., *i.e.*, taking no regular meal, so Weiss, Blass, Zöckler, Alford, Plumptre, Felten, Bethge, Wendt. Breusing, p. 196, and Vars, p. 250, both explain the word as meaning that in their perilous and hopeless condition those on board had not gone to fetch their regular food and rations, but had subsisted on any bits of



ἄστικοι διατελεῖτε, μηδὲν<sup>1</sup> προσλαβόμενοι. 34. διδὲ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς προσλαβεῖν<sup>2</sup> τροφῆς· τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν θρῖς<sup>3</sup> ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς πεσεῖται. 35. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον, εὐχαρίστησε τῷ Θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων, καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν.<sup>4</sup> 36. εὐθυμοὶ δὲ γερόμενοι πάντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ

<sup>1</sup> Instead of προσλαβ. Lach. with A 40 reads προσλαμβανομενοι, prob. change to suit προσδοκῶντες.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of προσλ. NABC, Chrys., so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt read μεταλ. For ὑμετ. ALP have ημετ., so Hilg.

<sup>3</sup> For ἐκ ABC minusc., Tisch., W.H. and other authorities above read απο, but Hilg. has ἐκ with NHP. For πεσεῖται NABC Vulg., Syr. P., Boh., Arm., Aethpp. have απολείται, so Tisch., W.H. and other authorities above; but πεσ. is supported by HLP, Sah., Syr. H., so Hilg. and Meyer who suppose that απολ. is from Luke xxi. 18; but see on the other hand Alford's note. After ὑπάρχει Blass in β text and Belser, so Hilg., add ἐλπίζω γὰρ ἐν τῷ Θεῷ μου ὅτι with Gig.

<sup>4</sup> After ἐσθίειν Blass and Hilgenfeld add ἐπιδίδους καὶ ἡμῖν with 137 Sah., Syr. H., c\*.

food they might have by them; in ancient ships there were no tables spread, or waiters to bring food to the passengers, and each one who wanted refreshment must fetch it for himself. Plumptre takes πρὸς as meaning no extra food, only what would keep body and soul together, but it is doubtful whether the Greek will bear this or Breusing's interpretation.

Ver. 34. διδὲ: so that they might be ready for the work which would be necessary.—προσλαβεῖν, see critical note.—πρὸς: here only with genitive in N.T., cf. Blass, *Gram.*, p. 136; i.e., stands, so to speak, on the side of our deliverance, Latin *a parte*, cf. Thuc., ii., 86; iii., 59; Plat., p. 459 C; Winer-Moulton, xlviii. f.—ὑμετ., emphatic.—σωτ.: "safety," R.V., only used here and in Heb. xi. 7 of the preservation of physical life, safety, so in classical Greek and in Greek medical writers, see on xvi. 17; "health," A.V., not limited formerly as now to the condition of body and mind, cf. Luke i. 77, "science of health" Wycliffe = "knowledge of salvation," and cf. also Ps. lxxvii. 2, "thy saving health," literally "thy salvation" (Humphry). Effort on their part was necessary, and yet no hair of their heads should perish; what a significant union of faith in God and self-help! (Bethge).—οὐδενὸς γὰρ . . . πεσεῖται, see ver. 22, cf. Luke xxi. 18, nowhere else in N.T., but the proverbial phrase, as it apparently was, is found in 1 Sam. xiv. 45, 2 Sam. xiv. 11, 1 Kings i. 52 (cf. Matt. x. 29), see critical note, and cf. Shakespeare, *Tempest*, Act i., Scene 2.

Ver. 35. λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησε τῷ Θεῷ, cf. Luke xxii. 19, xxiv. 30, with intentional solemnity (Weiss, Weizsäcker). The words are sometimes taken to mean that Paul simply encourages them by his own example to eat. But Blass, see critical note, who comments "et oratione confirmat et exemplo," adds in β text ἐπιδίδους καὶ ἡμῖν, i.e., to Luke and Aristarchus, in which he sees a distinct reference to the *cæna sacra* (so Belser). But quite apart from this reading in β the peculiar language of St. Luke seems to intimate such a reference. Olshausen and Ewald (so Plumptre) take the words to refer to the *Agape*, whilst Meyer (so Hackett) sees a reference to the act of the Jewish house-father amidst his household; but Wendt simply refers it to the act of a pious Jew or Christian giving thanks before eating a meal and sharing it, so Zöckler. Bethge, more specifically, sees in the act a thanksgiving of a Christian to God the Father, an instance of what St. Paul himself recommends, Ephes. v. 20, Col. iii. 17, and both Felten and Knabenbauer apparently prefer to interpret the words as marking Paul's reverence towards God before the Gentiles around him. Breusing shows, p. 196, that ἄρτος might = *panis nauticus*, but in the passage which he quotes from Lucian we have ἄρτους ναυτικούς.

Ver. 36. τροφῆς: with a partitive meaning; cf. γεύσασθαι, xxiii. 14, μεταλαβεῖν, ver. 33, κορένυσθαι, ver. 38. Cf. Herod., viii., 90. Luckock points out that St. Luke distinguishes between the bread of which the Apostle partook and

προσελάβοντο τροφῆς. 37. ἤμεν δὲ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ αἱ πᾶσαι ψυχαὶ  
διακόσται<sup>1</sup> ἐβδομηκοντάξ. 38. κορεσθέντες δὲ τροφῆς, ἐκούφιζον τὰ

<sup>1</sup> For διακοσται W.H. read in text *ως* (so R.V. marg.) (in marg. *διακ.*) with B, Sah. Epiph., so Hilgenfeld; Weiss however declines here to follow B, and speaks of "the impossible" *ως* before 76 which is no round number, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 34 (so Blass); the mistake seems best explained by supposing that the last letter of *πλοιω* was read as if Σ = 200, and thus = ΩΣ. Or, to explain it more fully, by supposing that the sign for 200, Σ, was misunderstood, and with the double reading of the *ω* in *πλοιω* easily became *ως*; this is of course if we read with W.H. *αἱ πᾶσαι ψ. ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ*, a different order from T.R. (see also Hilgenfeld's note, where explanation of the reading *διακ.* from *ως* is certainly not so obvious). For *εξ* A has *πεντε*.

the food, *τροφῆς*, taken by the rest, and certainly the expression *κλάσας* is remarkable, cf. Luke xxii. 19, 1 Cor. xi. 23, 24; but it is perhaps noteworthy that the Romanist Felten (see above) sees no reference to the Eucharist, although he fully admits that this act of Paul in thus giving thanks must have made a great impression at such a moment.—*εὐθυμοί*, ver. 22, cf. 2 Macc. xi. 26.—*καὶ αὐτοί*: "also themselves," following his example. For the second time Paul had restored their courage by his faith and prudence; the event had already shown that he deserved confidence, and it is evident that he inspired it; see the testimony of Breusing, pp. 198, 199.

Wendt, so too Jüngst, and Clemen see no reason to regard vv. 33-36 as an interpolation in the "We" source, as vv. 21-26 above. Overbeck regards both sections as standing or falling together, and treats them both as interpolations, but Ramsay, whilst regarding the two sections as inseparably connected, treats them both as belonging to the original "We" source, and he rightly expresses surprise at those who accept ver. 33 ff., and refuse to accept vv. 21-26 (*Saint Paul*, p. 337); much more intelligible is the judgment of Weizsäcker than that of the other German critics in question when he describes the narrative as an indivisible whole, and considers it impossible to disentangle the mere history of travel from it, or to strip away the miraculous additions.

Ver. 37. The number was large, but nothing is told us of the size and manning of the Alexandrian ship, and Josephus, *Vita*, 3, mentions that there were about 600 in the ship which took him to Italy. On the large size of the ships engaged in a traffic similar to that of the corn ship in this chapter see Breusing, p. 157; Vars, p. 191; Hackett and Blass, *in loco*, and ver. 6; Lucian, *Πλοῖον ἢ Εἵχαλ.*, 5. The

number may be mentioned at this point that they might know afterwards that all had been saved. But Breusing thinks that it would have come perhaps more naturally at the end of the narrative, and that it is given here because the rations were distributed to each on board at this juncture. For the phrase cf. xix. 7.

Ver. 38. *κορεσθ.*, 1 Cor. iv. 8, nowhere else in N.T., with genitive of the thing with which one is filled, as in classical Greek. Alford refers to LXX, Deut. xxxi. 20, but see Hatch and Redpath, *sub v.*—*ἐκούφιζον*: *de nave*, Polyb., i., 60, 8; LXX, Jonah i. 5.—*τὸν σίτον*: "the wheat," A. and R.V., Vulgate, *triticum*; so Ramsay, Breusing, Vars, J. Smith, Page, and so too Erasmus, Bengel, etc., *i.e.*, the cargo, cf. ver. 6. Blass thinks that the word used is decisive in favour of this interpretation; otherwise we should have had *σιτία* or *ἄρτοι* if merely food had been meant; not only was the cargo of sufficient weight really to lighten the ship, but there was need for the ship being as clear as possible for the operations in ver. 40. Wendt 1899 appears also to favour this view, cf. his comments with those in 1888 edition, where he adopts the view of Meyer and Weiss, that the word means provisions of food, as at first sight the context seems to indicate. But the latter would not have made much appreciable difference in weight, nor would those on board have been likely to throw them away, since they could not tell on what shore they might be cast, whether hospitable or not, or how long they would be dependent on the food which they had in the ship. In ver. 18 the reference may be to the cargo on deck, or at all events only to a part of the cargo (Holtzmann). Naber conjectured *ιστόν*, but no such emendation is required (Wendt).



πλοῖον, ἐκβαλλόμενοι τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. 39. Ὅτε δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο,<sup>1</sup> τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκον· κόλπον δέ τινα κατενόουν ἔχοντα αἰγιαλόν, εἰς ὃν<sup>2</sup> ἐβουλευσαντο, εἰ δύναιτο,<sup>3</sup> ἐξῶσαι τὸ πλοῖον. 40. καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας περιελόντες εἶων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἅμα ἀνέντες τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων· καὶ ἐπάραντες τὸν<sup>4</sup> ἀρτέμονα τῇ

<sup>1</sup> Before τὴν γῆν Gig., Syr. P. add οἱ ναῦται, so Blass in β and Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> For ἐβουλευσαντο  $\mathfrak{N}^{BC}$ , Vulg., Syr. P. and H., Boh., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilgenfeld read ἐβουλευοντο; A 40, 61 have ἐβουλοντο.

<sup>3</sup> For ἐξῶσαι B\*C, Boh., Aeth., Arm. have ἐκῶσαι, so W.H. text, R.V. marg., but Tisch., W.H. mg., R.V. text, Blass, Weiss, Hilgenfeld read ἐξῶσαι (Wendt doubtful).

<sup>4</sup> ἀρτεμονα LP, Chrys., but -ωνα W.H., Weiss, Blass with  $\mathfrak{N}^{ABCH}$ , B<sup>1</sup> has ἀρτομωνα, see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 86.

Ver. 39. τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπεγ.: "they did not recognise the land," Ramsay; the sailors probably knew Malta, since, xxviii. 11, there was evidently nothing unusual in eastern ships touching at the island on their way to Rome. But they did not know St. Paul's Bay, which is remote from the great harbour, and was not distinguished by any marked features to secure recognition, Ramsay, J. Smith; see also note on xxviii. 1. C. and H. lay stress on the imperfect, "they tried to recognise . . ., but could not"; but in xxviii. 1 we have the aorist indicating that the land was recognised immediately on landing.—κατενόουν: "perceived," R.V., cf. Matt. vii. 3, Luke vi. 41, xx. 23.—κόλπον τινα: a sort of bay or creek, "a bay," R.V., the word means a bay either small or large, and St. Paul's Bay may be described as a small bay or creek (Rendall); ἔχοντα αἰγιαλόν "with a sandy beach," Ramsay, with a beach, R.V., i.e., smooth and fit for a vessel's landing-place, cf. xxi. 5, Matt. xiii. 2, 48, John xxi. 4; cf. Xen., *Anab.*, vi., 4, 4 (see Page's note); in LXX, Judg. v. 17 A, Eccclus. xxiv. 14 S<sup>2</sup>, al. J. Smith adds that St. Luke here again employs the correct hydrographical term, frequently used by Arrian in this sense. The traditional St. Paul's Bay may certainly well have been the place meant (so Wendt, 1899, and Blass). On the smooth, sandy beach see Hackett, note, p. 334, who has also visited the spot, and confirmed Smith's view, although both admit that the former sandy beach has been worn away by the action of the sea; Smith, p. 247, 4th edition, and see also Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 341.—ἐξῶσαι τὸ πλοῖον: "to drive the ship upon it," R.V., i.e., the beach, so Ramsay, Rendall, Breusing, Vars, Goerne, J. Smith

(4th edit., p. 142); the object was not to save the ship from being destroyed, but the crew from perishing; under like circumstances the same would be done to-day (so Breusing, Vars), cf. Arrian, *Peripl. Pont. Eux.*, 6. ἐξῶσαι: so in Thuc., ii., 90; viii., 104 (and see Wetstein); see also critical note on ἐκῶσαι εἰ δύναιτο, and Burton, p. 106, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub* εἰ, i., 7, c., with optative, where the condition represents the mind and judgment of others . . ., as if the sailors had said amongst themselves ἐξώσομεν εἰ δυνάμεθα, cf. xxiv. 19.

Ver. 40. καὶ τὰς ἀγκ. περιελόντες: "and casting off the anchors," R.V., cf. ver. 20 for the same verb, so that the meaning cannot be as A.V., following Vulgate, "having taken up"; in fact it is the very reverse. The sailors loosed the cables of the anchors which were fastened within the ship, that they might fall off into the sea (Blass); Breusing and Vars compare Xen., *Hell.*, xvi., 21, τὰς ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες=τὰ σχοινία τῶν ἀγκυρῶν.—εἶων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν: "they left them (the anchors) in the sea," R.V., *relinquibant*, Blass; so Breusing, Vars, Goerne, as against A.V., and Vulgate, *committent se*, or Luther's rendering (Beza and Grotius), εἶων τὸ πλοῖον λέναι εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. Grimm-Thayer renders "they let down into the sea," i.e., abandoned, which gives better the force of εἰς than regarding it simply as = ἐν.—ἅμα: "at the same time," R.V., "simul laxantes," Vulgate, "loosing withal," Rhem., but in no other E.V. (*Speaker's Commentary*).—τὰς ζευκτ. τῶν πηδαλίων: the bands of the rudders, the fastenings of the rudders, i.e., the two paddle-rudders with which Greek and Roman ships were supplied, one on each quarter, C. and H. and J. Smith, p. 183, 4th edition,

πνεύση κατείχον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. 41. περιπεσόντες δὲ εἰς τόπον  
διθάλασσον,<sup>1</sup> ἐπώκειλαν τὴν ναῦν· καὶ ἡ μὲν πρῶρα ἐρείσασα ἔμεινεν

<sup>1</sup> For ἐπώκειλαν (B<sup>3</sup>LP, Chrys., Meyer, Hilgenfeld), NAB<sup>3</sup>C 13, 40, 61, 73 have ἐπεκέιλαν, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, see note below (and Wendt's note in both edit., 1888 and 1899), and Blass, *in loco*. After τὴν ναῦν Blass in β and Hilgenfeld adds εἰς σὺρτιν with Syr. H. c\* (so Hilg.).

these rudders had been lifted from the water and lashed up while the ship was anchored by the stern (see Breusing's description, p. 98, *cf.* Eur., *Hel.*, 1536: *πηδάλια ζεύγλαισι παρακαθίετο*), but the rudders were wanted when the ship again got under weigh.—τῇ πνεύσῃ, *sc.* αὐρᾷ.—ἐπάραντες: technical word for spreading out the sail, opposite to *ὑφίστασθαι*.—κατείχον εἰς τὸν αἶγ.: "they made for the beach," R.V., in order to land, *cf.* Xen., *Hell.*, ii., 1, 29; others take it as meaning to check the ship's headway, but better, to *hold or head* the ship, Herod., vii., 59, 188, so Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, *sc.* τὴν ναῦν, whilst others take the verb intransitively as above in R.V.—τὸν ἀρτέμονα: "the foresail," R.V., Ramsay, J. Smith. The word has been interpreted by various writers as meaning nearly every sail which a vessel carries. If the interpretation of ver. 17 is correct, it could not mean the mainsail as A.V. Others apply it to the stern-sail, which bears the name to-day (Italian, *artimone*; French, *voile d'artimon*), but to set this sail would have been the most foolish thing they could have done, so Vars, Breusing. The word is found only here for the foresail, and its meaning is fixed by the fact that no other sail could be so well used by sailors under the circumstances, see Breusing, p. 79, J. Smith, pp. 141 and 193 ff., 4th edit. In his edition, 1899, Wendt thinks it probable that the sail here meant is otherwise called *δῶλων*, but see J. Smith, p. 200, 4th edit. In his former edition he preferred to interpret it of the topsail (Meyer, Weiss, Zöckler, Baumgarten), but Breusing, p. xii., points out that only in the sixteenth century were topsails introduced; see also Vars, p. 93.

Ver. 41. περιπ. δὲ εἰς τ. διθ.: Luke x. 30, James i. 2, with the dative, as generally, but Arrian, *περιπίπτειν εἰς τόπους πετρώδεις* (Wetstein), 2 Macc. vi. 13, x. 4, Polyb., i., 37, i. εἰς τόπον διθ.: a bank or a ridge between two seas, which has sea on both sides; *cf.* Dio Chrys., 5, p. 83, where reference is made to the dangers of the sea: *βραχέα καὶ διθάλαττα καὶ ταινία μακρά* . . .

ἄπορον . . . παρέχουσι τὸ πῆλαγος (Wetstein and Blass). Breusing, Vars and Goerne (so Blass) take the words εἰς τ. διθ. to refer to a hidden ridge beneath the water, and the aorist περιπ. in contrast to the imperfect κατείχον seems to favour this, as expressing that they came upon a τόπ. διθ. unexpectedly, *cf.* Page's note and Ramsay's translation, "chancing on a bank between two seas". But the latter writer adds that the περιπ. does not imply want of purpose, as ἐπώκειλαν shows, and the meaning is that while at anchor they could not see the exact character of the spot (see also C. and H.), but as they approached they found that they had lighted on the channel not more than a hundred yards in breadth between the island of Salmonetta and the mainland; this might very properly be called "a place where two seas meet," A. and R.V., as it formed a communication between the sea within the bay and the sea outside. The adjective διθ. is as applicable to *water* uniting two seas, *e.g.*, the Bosphorus, *cf.* Strabo, ii., 5, 12 (quoted by Smith), as to *land* like the Isthmus of Corinth; see J. Smith, pp. 142, 178, 4th edit., Hackett, C. and H., Lumby, Rendall, and note in *Speaker's Commentary*. Breusing, p. 204, Goerne, Wendt (1899) take it of St. Paul's Bank which lies just in front of St. Paul's Bay, so too Vars, p. 258, for the same view and its support.—ἐπώκειλαν τὴν ναῦν: "they ran the vessel aground" (*cf.* J. Smith, p. 143, 4th edit.), see critical note. ἐποκέλλω and ἐπικέλλω are both used in classical Greek, but the latter is "altogether poetical" (Blass), and more usually intransitive. In Homer, *Odys.*, ix., 148, however, we have νῆας . . . ἐπικέλλσαι, and 546, νῆα ἐκέλσαμεν (*cf.* *adpellere navem*). Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 186, sees in this sudden introduction of the phrase ἐπώκειλαν τὴν ναῦν an indication that St. Luke had read his Homer, since in no other passage in the N.T. do we find the obsolete word ἡ ναῦς, the commoner expression τὸ πλοῖον occurring in this chapter no less than thirteen times. R.V. renders τὴν ναῦν "the vessel," all other E.V. "the ship," and



ἀσάλευτος, ἡ δὲ πρύμνα ἐλύετο ὑπὸ τῆς βίας τῶν κυμάτων.<sup>1</sup> 42. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βουλὴ ἐγένετο ἵνα<sup>2</sup> τοὺς δεσμώτας ἀποκτείνωσι, μήτις ἐκκολυμβήσας<sup>3</sup> διαφύγοι. 43. ὁ δὲ<sup>4</sup> ἑκατόνταρχος, βουλόμενος διασῶσαι τὸν Παῦλον, ἐκώλυσε αὐτοὺς τοῦ βουλήματος, ἐκέλευσέ τε τοὺς δυναμένους κολυμβᾶν,<sup>5</sup> ἀπορρίψαντας πρώτους ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξιέναι, 44. καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς, οὓς μὲν ἐπὶ σανίσιν, οὓς δὲ ἐπὶ τινων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου. καὶ οὕτως<sup>6</sup> ἐγένετο πάντας διασωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

<sup>1</sup> τῶν κυμ., but  $\Sigma^*AB$ , so Tisch., W.H., R.V. have only *υπο τ. βίας*. The words *των κυμ.* are, however, retained here by Weiss, Blass, Hilg.; Vulg., Gig. have *maris*.

<sup>2</sup> Before *τους δεσμ.* Blass (not Hilg.) with Gig. in  $\beta$  text adds *παντας*.

<sup>3</sup> *διαφυγοι*, but very slight authority. Tisch., W.H., Blass, Hilg., Weiss, Wendt διαφυγη  $\Sigma ABCHLP$  61, Chrys.

<sup>4</sup> After *εκατον.* Blass adds with Gig. *εκωλυσεν τουτο γενεσθαι, μαλιστα δια τον Π. ινα διασωση αυτον*.

<sup>5</sup> *απορρ.* for the one  $\rho$  W.H., see ver. 19, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> After *ουτως* Blass with Gig. reads *πασαι αι ψυχαι διεσωθησαν (επι την γην)*.

it has been thought that the word is so changed here because that which had hitherto been a πλοῖον capable of sailing was now reduced to a mere hulk (Wordsworth, Humphry).—*καὶ ἡ μὲν πρύμνα ἐρείσασα*: “and the prow struck,” R.V., Ramsay, this is accounted for by the peculiar nature of the bottom in St. Paul’s Bay, see J. Smith, Ramsay, Hackett, Alford, “a bottom of mud graduating into tenacious clay, into which the fore part would fix itself, and be held fast while the stern was exposed to the force of the waves”. For the verb in intransitive sense as here *cf.* Prov. iv. 4, *cf.* *Æneid*, v., 206 (Wetstein).—*ἀσάλ.*: only in Heb. xii. 8 in N.T., but *σαλεύειν* several times in Luke, in Gospel and Acts; in classical Greek and LXX; adverb *-τως*, Polyb., ix., 9, 8, *cf.* also Ecclus. xxix. 18.—*ἡ δὲ πρύμνα ἐλύετο ὑπὸ τῆς βίας*: “but the stern began to break up,” R.V., marking the imperfect as distinguished from aorist *ἔμεινεν*, Blass, *Gram.*, p. 186; *Æn.*, x., 303, Cic., *Att.*, xv., 11 (Wetstein).—*βίας τῶν κυμ.*, see critical note. *βία*: four times in Acts, see on v. 26, nowhere else in N.T., but frequent in LXX, Vulgate, “a vi maris,” which Breusing, p. 203, strongly endorses.

Ver. 42. *τῶν δὲ στρατ.*: only the soldiers, since they and not the sailors were responsible for the safety of the prisoners, *cf.* xii. 7, xvi. 27; C. and H., small edit., p. 236.—*ἐκκολ.*: “swim away” (Ramsay), literally “out,” Eur., *Hel.*, 1609, Dion H., v., 24.—*διαφ.*:

only here in N.T., LXX, Josh. viii. 22, Judg. vii. 19, Prov. xix. 5, 1 Macc. xv. 21, 2 Macc. xii. 35, etc., so absolutely in Herod., i., 10.

Ver. 43. *βουλόμενος*: “desiring,” R.V.; the centurion had from the first, ver. 3, treated Paul with respect, and the respect had no doubt been deepened by the prisoner’s bearing in the hour of danger, and he would naturally wish to save the man to whom he owed his own safety, and that of the whole crew. *διασῶσαι*, even if he cared little for the rest he was determined “to save Paul to the end,” literally, so C. and H. There is no reason whatever to regard the words *βουλ. . . τὸν Π.* as an interpolation.—*ἐκώλυσε αὐτοὺς τοῦ β.*: only here with this construction, accusative of person and genitive of thing, but similar usage in Xenophon, Polybius. For the resultative aorist, *i.e.*, the aorist of a verb whose present implies effort or intention, commonly denoting the success of the effort, *cf.* also Matt. xxvii. 20, Acts vii. 36, Burton, p. 21.—*τοὺς δυν. κολυμβᾶν*: probably Paul was amongst the number; he had thrice been shipwrecked, and had passed a day and a night in the open sea, 2 Cor. xi. 25 (Felten, Plumptre).—*ἐξιέναι*: four times in Acts, nowhere else in N.T., xiii. 42, xvii. 15, xx. 7.—*ἀπορρίψαντας*: “should cast themselves overboard and get first to the land,” R.V., where they could help the others to safety, so Breusing, Goerne, Renan; A.V. not so expressive. *ἀπορρίπτειν*: here used reflexively, see instance in Wetstein.

XXVIII. 1. ΚΑΙ διασωθέντες, τότε<sup>1</sup> ἐπέγνωσαν ὅτι Μελίτη ἡ νῆσος καλεῖται. 2. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι παρείχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῶν· ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυράν,<sup>2</sup> προσελάβοντο πάντας ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Instead of ἐπεγνωσαν  $\mathfrak{N}ABC^*$  13, 61, 68, 137, Syrr. P. and H., Boh. read ἐπεγνωμεν, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg. διασ. om. by Blass with Gig., Syr. Pesh., but retained by Hilg. Instead of Μελίτη (Tisch., R.V. text, Weiss, Blass, Hilg.), W.H., R.V. marg. read Μελιτηνη with B\*, Syr. H. mg. Gk., Arm., Boh., Gig.

<sup>2</sup>  $\mathfrak{N}^*$  has προσαναλαμβάνον, so Blass and Hilg.; 137 has προσελαμβάνον; Vulg., Par. *reficiebant*; Gig. *refecerunt*, and Blass takes the word in his text as = *reficiebant*. Wendt thinks that this may have been the original reading. For ἀναψ. (Meyer)  $\mathfrak{N}ABC$  61, 68, Tisch., W.H., Blass, Hilg., Weiss read ἀψαντες.

Ver. 44. τοὺς λ., sc. ἐξίναί ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ.—οὓς μὲν . . . οὓς δὲ, Luke xxiii. 33, and in classical Greek.—ἐπὶ σανίσιν: "some on planks and some on pieces from the ship," Ramsay; the planks which were in use in the ship as distinguished from actual parts or fragments of the ship in the next clause; in LXX, Ezek. xxvii. 5, the word is used of planks for the deck of a ship (Cant. viii. 9, 2 Kings xii. 9 (?)). Breusing, pp. 45, 203 (so Blass), takes it of the boards or planks which were used for keeping the cargo firmly in its place. The furniture of the vessel had already been thrown overboard, so that we can only think of the pieces broken away as the ship stranded, or perhaps broken off by the escaping crew. ἐπὶ: here used promiscuously with dative and genitive in the same sense.—ἐγένετο: with infinitive following, characteristic of St. Luke, Friedrich, p. 13.—διασωθῆναι: on its use by St. Luke here and in xxviii. 1, 4 (Luke vii. 3), see Hobart, pp. 9, 10, 284. For the remarkable correspondence between the details of the scene of the shipwreck and the topography of St. Paul's Bay see not only J. Smith and Ramsay, but Goerne, p. 374, Breusing, p. 204, and Vars, p. 257. Breusing and Vars both admit that it is not safe to trust too much to tradition, but in this case, as they both point out, it was only likely that St. Paul would have won loyal adherents in the island who would have handed down every detail of his visit to their children, and the local tradition is in striking accordance with the description of the sacred narrative; see further *Introd.*, p. 8.

CHAPTER XXVIII.—Ver. 1. διασωθέντες, see on xxvii. 43. Used by Josephus of his own shipwreck and escape, *Vita*, 3, and in Xen. and Thuc. of coming safely to a place.—τότε ἐπέγν.

not imperfect as in xxvii. 39; here denoting the immediate recognition of the place after they had once gained safety (Weiss, Rendall, C.H.). St. Paul's Bay is several miles distant from Valetta, the harbour which the sailors doubtless knew previously, see also Breusing, p. 190, Vars, p. 243, and J. Smith, pp. 140 and 148, 4th edition.—Μελίτη, see critical note; Malta, cf. Diod. Sic., v., 12, Strabo, vi., 2, Ovid, *Fasti*, iii., 567, Sicula Melita as distinct from Melita Illyrica (*Meleda*). There is no need here to refute the view that the latter, in the Adriatic Sea on the coast of Dalmatia, is meant. This view depends chiefly upon the narrow view of the meaning of the *Adria* xxvii. 27, see also below on vv. 2, 3. It was first put forward in the tenth century by Constantine the Porphyrogenite, and was advocated in the last century by a Dalmatian monk, Padre Georgi, himself a native of Meleda, no doubt jealous for the honour of his birth-place and his monastery. Its chief champion may be said to be W. Falconer, in his *Dissertation on St. Paul's Voyage*, 1817, republished in 1870 by his nephew, Judge Falconer. This last was an unsuccessful attempt to controvert the arguments of J. Smith in favour of Malta, who may be said to have established his case to demonstration (see for a candid description of Falconer's view "*Adria*" (Dickson), Hastings' B.D.). More recent nautical authorities have most decisively confirmed the view of J. Smith, cf. Breusing, p. 190, and Vars, p. 242. Quite apart from the strong local tradition in favour of Malta, and the testimony of the Apocryphal *Acta Petri et Pauli* in favour of Γαυδομελίτη (*Gosso-Malta*) (for references to Lipsius' edition, Wendt and Zöckler, *in loco*), it is not too much to say that Meleda could not have been reached without a miracle under the



ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψῦχος. 3. Συστρέψαντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου φρυγάνων<sup>1</sup> πλήθος, καὶ ἐπιθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν πυράν, ἔχιδνα<sup>2</sup> ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> After φρυγ.  $\Sigma$ ABC 61, Vulg., Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass add  $\tau$ , but Hilg. omits (so Glg.).

<sup>2</sup> The authorities for  $\alpha\pi\omicron$  instead of  $\epsilon\kappa$  are overwhelming,  $\Sigma$ ABCHLI, and other authorities above with Hilg. For  $\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\lambda$ , which is strongly supported by  $\Sigma$ ABC 61, and so other authorities above, except Hilg., HLP (Meyer, Alford) read  $\delta\iota\epsilon\zeta$ .

circumstances of weather described in the narrative, cf. Dean Howson's "Melita," B.D.<sup>1</sup>, ii., pp. 315-317, and Zahn (in answer to Mommsen), *Einleitung*, ii., p. 422.

Ver. 2.  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\rho\alpha\iota$ , i.e., they were not a Greek-speaking population, cf. Rom. i. 14 (not barbarians in the modern sense of rude and uncivilised); they were of Phœnician descent, and came under the Roman dominion in the second Punic War, Livy, xxi., 51. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 343, sees in the title an indication that the writer was himself of Greek nationality. For the use of the term in classical Greek, and by Philo and Josephus, see "Barbarian" (F. C. Conybeare), Hastings' B.D., Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and Mr. Page's note. (In 2 Macc. ii. 21 the writer describes Judas Maccabæus as chasing "barbarous multitudes,"  $\tau\alpha$   $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\rho\alpha$   $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\eta$ , retorting on the Greeks the epithet habitually applied by them to all nations not their own, *Speaker's Commentary*.) See further the evidence of coins and inscriptions in Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., 422, proving as against Mommsen that the Phœnician tongue had not died out in the island, and cf. above, Introd., p. 8.— $\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\eta\eta$   $\tau\upsilon\chi\epsilon$ , cf. xix. 11, "no common kindness," R.V. (and so A.V. in xix. 11).— $\phi\iota\lambda\alpha\upsilon$ : see note on xxvii. 3. The word is found in LXX, Esther viii. 13, 2 Macc. vi. 22, xiv. 9, 3 Macc. iii. 15, 18, and in classical Greek, but it was a word which a physician would be very likely to employ, for Hippocrates speaks of "philanthropy" in a physician as ever accompanying a real love of his profession. Galen distinguishes between those who healed through "philanthropy" and those who healed merely for gain, and even a more generous diet for the sick was called  $\phi\iota\lambda\alpha\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$   $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\acute{\eta}$ , Hobart, p. 296. The word is used here only and in Tit. iii. 4 in N.T.— $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\psi$ . γὰρ  $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ , Luke xii. 49, James iii. 5; if we read the simple verb (see critical note) we have it three times with  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\omicron\nu$  in Luke viii. 16, xi. 33, xv. 8, and nowhere else

in N.T. (except with meaning "to touch").  $\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ : only here and in ver. 3 in N.T., cf. Judith vii. 5, 1 Macc. xii. 28, 2 Macc. i. 22, x. 36 (see H. and R.), and similar phrases in classical Greek.— $\pi\rho\sigma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\beta\omicron\nu\tau\omicron$ , cf. xvii. 5, xviii. 26 for similar use, and five times by St. Paul; cf. 2 Macc. x. 15, see critical note.— $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\tau\alpha$ , cf. Polyb., xviii. 3, 7; in N.T. 2 Tim. iv. 6, only in Luke and Paul, *præsentem*, Wetstein, "present," A. and R.V. Weiss and De Wette take it as meaning that the rain suddenly came upon them.— $\psi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ : this and the mention of the rain prove that St. Paul's ship could not have encountered a sirocco wind, i.e., from the south-east, for this only blows for two or three days, and even in November is hot and sultry (Hackett). W.H. read  $\psi\acute{\upsilon}\chi\omicron\varsigma$ , but Weiss, Wendt, Blass as above, see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 68.

Ver. 3.  $\sigma\upsilon\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\psi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ : here only in Acts, but cf. xi. 27, xvi. 39, in  $\beta$  text; =  $\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\mu\pi\lambda\omicron\mu$   $\acute{\alpha}\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta\gamma\iota\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , Bengel. Cf. Matt. xvii. 22, W.H., R.V. margin; of collecting men, 2 Macc. xiv. 30.— $\phi\rho\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\omega\upsilon$ : brushwood, copse; the furze still growing near St. Paul's Bay would well afford material for a fire (Lewin), and it may be quite true that wood is found nowhere else but in a place at a distance from the Bay; in classical Greek used in plural for dry sticks, especially firewood; here only in N.T., but several times in LXX, for straw, stubble, and bramble.— $\tau$  before  $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ , see critical note: implying as much as he could carry, Weiss;  $\pi\lambda$ . used elsewhere of persons.— $\epsilon\chi\iota\delta\eta\alpha$ : the objection that no poisonous serpents are found to-day in Malta, like that based on the absence of wood in ver. 2, may well be dismissed as "too trivial to deserve notice; such changes are natural and probable in a small island, populous and long civilised," Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 343, Breusing, p. 191, Vars, p. 243; so too J. Smith, p. 151, 4th edition, refers to the gradual disappearance of the viper in Arran as the island became more frequented, and cf.

τῆς θερμῆς ἐξελθοῦσα καθῆψε τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ. 4. ὡς δὲ εἶδον οἱ βάρβαροι κρεμάμενον τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους, Πάντως φονεὺς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, ὃν διασωθέντα ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ δίκη ζῆν οὐκ εἶσεν. 5. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀποτινάξας τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν κακόν. 6. οἱ δὲ προσεδόκων αὐτὸν μέλλειν<sup>1</sup> πίμπρασθαι ἢ καταπίπτειν ἄφνω νεκρόν· ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν προσδοκόντων, καὶ θεωρούντων μηδὲν ἄτοπον εἰς αὐτὸν

<sup>1</sup> πίμπρασθαι ἩcBHLP, Chrys., so Lach., W.H., Weiss, Wendt, Blass, Hilg.; Tisch. has ἐμπιρασ. with Ἡ<sup>\*</sup>; πίμπρασθ. A.

Hackett's note for similar proof. Mr. Lewin, as late as 1853, believed that he saw a viper near St. Paul's Bay, *St. Paul*, ii., 208.—ἐκ: "out of," but if ἀπό "by reason of," R.V. margin, "from the heat," the viper numbed by the cold felt the sudden heat, and was restored to activity, cf. on its habits (Hackett), ἀπό "in causæ significatu sæpe apud Græcos," Grotius, Bengel. Cf. xx. 9, and Luke xxi. 26.—ἐξελθοῦσα, see critical note. διεξ. supported by Meyer and Alford, as if the serpent glided out *through* the sticks.—θερμῆς: only in Luke in N.T., but in classics and in LXX, Job vi. 17, Ps. xviii. (xix.) 6, Eccl. iv. 11, Ecclus. xxxviii. 28; often used in medical writers instead of θερμότης (Hobart), but the latter is also used in Hipp.—καθῆψε: only here in N.T., but frequent in classical Greek, and usually in middle, although not found in LXX, cf. however Symm., καθάπτειν, Cant. i. 6, cf. Epict., *Diss.*, iii., 20, 10, i.e., τοῦ τραχήλου: (Grimm): Blass, Page, Felten render "bit," *momor-dit*. So Nösgen and Zöckler, who think that this is evidently meant from the context, although not necessarily contained in the verb itself; Dioscorides used it of poisonous matter introduced into the body (Hobart, p. 288). Blass thus expresses the force of the aorist, "momento temporis hoc factum est, priusquam P. manum retraxisset".

Ver. 4. τὸ θηρίον: "the beast," R.V. Although this is the meaning of the Greek word, it is to be noted that St. Luke uses it here exactly as the medical writers, who applied it to venomous serpents—in particular, to the viper, ἐχίδνα (so Aristotle), and an antidote made chiefly from the flesh of vipers went by the name ἡ θηριακή (Hobart, Zahn, Knabenbauer), and those bitten by a viper were called θηριόδηκτοι.—κρεμ. ἐκ: "hanging from," R.V., it clung by its mouth to the hand of Paul, construction as in classical Greek, cf.

2 Macc. vi. 10.—πάντως: only in Luke and Paul, expressing strong affirmation, cf. xxi. 22, and Luke iv. 23; cf. Tob. xiv. 8, 2 Macc. iii. 13.—φονεὺς, a murderer, and therefore justice demands his life, death for death; they saw that he was a prisoner perhaps from his chains (Bengel); at all events the soldiers would have guarded him, as we may infer from xxvii. 42.—ἡ Δίκη: "justice," R.V., cf. Hesiod, *Theog.*, 902; so in Soph., *Ant.*, 544; *Œd. Col.*, 1384; for the personification cf. Wisdom i. 8, xi. 20, and several instances in 4 Macc., see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v*. The Maltese may have heard the name from the Greeks or Romans, or they may have honoured a goddess of their own, whose name Luke here represents by ἡ Δ., "debile lumen naturæ . . . nec quis sit ὁ Δίκαιος *Iustus Ultor* norunt," Bengel.—διασωθέντα, see on xxvii. 43.—οὐκ εἶσεν: "hath not suffered," they thought of him as already dead, as if the deadly bite had already done its work; not *sinit*, as Vulgate, but *sinit*.

Ver. 5. ἀποτ.: only in Luke, Luke ix. 5, in parallel in Matt. and Mark, ἐκτ., cf. Lam. ii. 7, and in classical Greek, Eur., *Bacch.*, 253.—ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν κακόν, cf. Mark xvi. 18, Luke x. 19.

Ver. 6. οἱ δὲ . . . : Paul shook off the viper—the natives looked for a fatal result. They knew the deadly nature of the bite, and their subsequent conduct shows that they regarded it as nothing short of miraculous that Paul escaped. So St. Luke evidently wishes to describe the action, see on μὲν οὖν, ver. 5, and δέ, Rendall, *Acts*, p. 161, Appendix.—προσεδόκων, see below.—πίμπρασθαι, from the form πίμπρημι, present infinitive passive, see critical note, and Winer-Schmiedel, p. 122; cf. in LXX, Numb. v. 21, 22, 27, πρήθειν, H. and R., of parts of the body becoming swollen. In classical Greek πίμπρασθαι means "to take



γινόμενον,<sup>1</sup> μεταβαλλόμενοι ἔλεγον θεὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. 7. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον ὑπῆρχε χωρία τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου, ὀνόματι Ποπλίῳ, ὃς ἀναδεξάμενος ἡμᾶς τρεῖς ἡμέρας<sup>2</sup> φιλοφρόνως ἐξένισεν.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of μεταβαλλ. (NHL, so Tisch., Hilg.) ABP have the aorist μεταβαλ., so W.H., Weiss, Blass, Wendt.

<sup>2</sup> After ἡμέρας τρεῖς Hilg. adds ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, but not Blass.

fire," and πρήθειν "to cause to swell," and those two ideas are combined, as in the word πρηστήρ, "a venomous snake, the bite of which caused both inflammation and swelling" (Page, *in loco*), cf. Lucan, ix., 790. In the N.T. the verb is peculiar to St. Luke, and it is the usual medical word for inflammation (Hobart, Zahn) in Hipp., Aret., Galen.—καταπίπτειν: only in Luke in N.T., cf. Luke viii. 6, Acts xxvi. 14, it was used by medical writers of persons falling down suddenly from wounds, or in epileptic fits; Hipp., Galen (Hobart, Zahn), cf. the asp-bitten Charmian in *Ant. and Cleo.* (Shakespeare), Act v., Scene 2.—ἄφνω: only in Acts ii. 2, xvi. 26.—προσδ. . . ἄτοπον: the two words are described by Hobart as exactly those which a medical man would use (so too Zahn), and he gives two instances of the latter word from Galen, in speaking of the bite of a rabid dog, or of poison, p. 289. The word is used elsewhere in N.T. of something morally amiss; cf. Luke xxiii. 41, Acts xxv. 5, 2 Thess. iii. 2, but here evidently of something amiss physically. In R.V. it is rendered in each passage "amiss". The word in N.T. is confined to Luke and Paul, but it is found several times in LXX in an ethical sense (as in N.T., except *in loco*), cf. Job iv. 8, xi. 11, xxvii. 6, xxxiv. 12, xxxv. 13, Prov. xxiv. 55 (xxx. 20), cf. 2 Macc. xiv. 23; so too in Thucydides, Josephus, Plutarch, etc.; but it is used of any harm happening to a person as here, cf. Jos., *Ant.*, viii., 14, 4; xi., 5, 2; Herodian, iv., 11. προσδοκά, peculiar to St. Luke in N.T.; cf. Luke xxi. 26, Acts xii. 11, and προσδοκάω, in Luke six times, in Acts five, was, no doubt, frequently used in medical language (Hobart, Zahn) for the expectation of the result of a disease or paroxysm "when they were long in expectation," R.V.), but in Jos., *Ant.*, viii., 14, 4, we have καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἀτόπων προσδοκᾶν, and in Herodian, iv., 11, μηδὲν ἄτοπον προσδοκούντες· εἰς αὐτὸν γιν., cf. Luke iv. 23 (Klostermann, Weiss).—μεταβαλλόμενοι, so frequently in classics without τὴν γνῶμην, cf. Jos., *B. J.*, v., 9, 3.

—θεὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι: it is perhaps fanciful to suppose with Grotius and Wetstein that they compared him to the infant Hercules, or to Æsculapius represented with the serpent, but the latter is undoubtedly right in adding, "elegantem autem hic describitur vulgi inconstantia"; we naturally compare with Chrysostom the startling change in the people of Lystra, xiv., 11, 19, "Aut latro inquit aut deus . . . datur tertium: homo Dei" (Bengel).

Ver. 7. χωρία: "lands," R.V. Vulgate, *prædia*. In this passage τόπος and χωρίον occur together, but whilst the former is used of place indefinitely, the latter is used of a definite portion of space enclosed or complete in itself; cf. John iv. 5; Grimm-Thayer's Syn., *sub v.*, τόπος.—τῷ πρώτῳ: an official title technically correct in Malta, Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 343, *honoraria appellatio*, so too Schmiedel, *Encycl. Bibl.*, i., 47, 1899; as his father was alive, he would not have been called from his estates (see, however, O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 106), but the inscriptional authorities confirm the first view, a Greek inscription giving πρώτος Μελιταίων καὶ Πάτρων, applied to a Roman Knight, Prudens by name, Ἰππεὺς 'P., so that Publius may well have been of the same rank, and in a Latin inscription we have *municipii Melitensium primus omnium*, see Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 422; Blass, *in loco*; Zöckler, Holtzmann, Knabenbauer, also Alford, Lewin, Hackett, Renan; possibly the conjecture may be correct that the Greek and Latin inscriptions give a translation of a title which the Romans already found in vogue in the island. Publius would be naturally the chief authority in the island under the Roman prætor of Sicily, Cic., *Verr.*, iv., 18.—Ποπλίῳ: Greek form for the *prænomen* Publius, "nomen a *populus* derivatum," Blass; Ramsay, p. 343, thinks that Poplius may = the Greek rendering of the *nomen Popilius*, but that the peasantry may have spoken of him familiarly by his *prænomen* Publius. Tradition makes him bishop of Malta (Felten, Knaben-

8. ἐγένετο δὲ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ποπλίου πυρετοῖς καὶ<sup>1</sup> δυσεντερία συνεχόμενον κατακεῖσθαι· πρὸς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος εἰσελθὼν καὶ προσευξάμενος, ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ, ἴασατο αὐτόν. 9. τούτου οὖν γενομένου, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας ἐν τῇ νήσῃ προσήρχοντο καὶ

<sup>1</sup> For δυσεντερίῃ δι, Chrys. have the older fem. form, -ις, Winer-Schmiedel, p. 85.

bauer).—ἀναδεξ. : only here of hospitable reception = ὑποδέχεσθαι, xvii. 7; φιλοφ., 2 Macc. iii. 9, 4 Macc. viii. 5; in the former passage φιλοφ. ἀποδεχθεῖς, so in Jos., *Ant.*, xiv., 8, 5, φιλοφ. ὑποδέχεσθαι, and instances in Wetstein, see above on ver. 2.—ἡμᾶς : some take the word as referring to Paul and his companions, Luke and Aristarchus (as it seems to lead on to what follows), perhaps including Julius, whilst others point out that he may have entertained the whole crew for the short space of time mentioned, as the ἡμέρας τρεῖς indicates that the entertainment was only provisional; probably he had a large number of slaves (Nösgen, Weiss). Publius may well have been officially responsible for the needs of the Roman soldiers and their prisoners, but φιλοφ. indicates that the duty was performed with generous courtesy.—ἐξένισεν : entertained (as his guests), cf. x. 6, 23, etc., Heb. xiii. 2. The traditional site was at Civita Vecchia, the old capital of the island, where St. Paul spent the three months, and another tradition places it on the way from St. Paul's Bay to the capital.

Ver. 8. πυρετοῖς : the use of the plural for a fever is peculiar to St. Luke in N.T., and quite medical, Hobart, J. Smith, Zahn (cf. Luke iv. 38, 39); although the plural is found in Dem., Lucian in the sense of "intermittent attacks of fever," but Hobart shows that the term was very common in Hipp., and he also quotes from Aretæus and Galen. Each of the other Evangelists uses πυρετός, but in the singular, never in the plural. The disease was common in Malta (J. Smith and C. and H.).—δυσεντερία, see critical note, "dysentery," R.V.; "Lucas medicus morbos accuratius describere solet," Wetstein; another medical term, peculiar to St. Luke in N.T., often joined with πυρετός by Hippocrates (Hobart, Zahn).—συνεχ., cf. Luke iv. 38, συνεχομένη πυρετῷ μεγάλῳ, where St. Luke not only speaks of πυρ. μέγας, where Matthew and Mark (viii. 14 and i. 30) have simply πυρετός, but also introduces the term συνεχ. where they have πυρετός.

σουσα; ἔχεσθαι and συνέχ. are both used by the medical writers as in these passages, although no doubt συνέχεσθαι is sometimes found with a word like νοσήματι in classical Greek (cf. Grotius, *in loco*, Hobart, Zahn, Weiss), so in Hippocrates, ὑπὸ δυσεντερίας ἐχομένη, and τοῖσιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡρακλείης νόσου συνεχομένοισιν; nine times in St. Luke, elsewhere only three times in N.T., and once in St. Matt. iv. 24, in a way similar to St. Luke, but joined there not only with νόσοις, but with a word (βασάνοις) which the medical writers (so St. Luke) never employ of bodily disease.—ἴασατο αὐτόν, cf. Mark xvi. 18, the word is more frequently used by the medical writers for "healing" than any other (Hobart), and it occurs in St. Luke's writings fourteen times and once figuratively, in St. Matthew four times and once figuratively, once in St. Mark, three times in St. John, once figuratively, and in the rest of the N.T. three times, but in each case figuratively. In answer to the attempts to regard the miraculous element as an addition to the narrative here, as in the previous chapter, it may be sufficient to quote the remarks of Weizsäcker: "The stormy voyage and shipwreck form the central point of the narrative: to this is appended the residence at Malta. In the former, Paul reveals himself as a prophet; in the latter, as the possessor of miraculous power. We should make a vast mistake, however, if we were to infer from this that the simple travel-record had here been revised by a writer intent upon artificially glorifying the Apostle as a worker of miracles. The narrative is an indivisible whole; it is impossible to disentangle the mere history of travel from it, or to strip away the miraculous additions," *Apostolic Age*, ii., p. 126, E.T.

Ver. 9. ἰεραπεύοντο : "were cured," R.V. Lekebusch, pp. 382, 393, and Holtzmann, *in loco*, think that the medical skill of St. Luke may also have been instrumental in effecting these cures, and this is urged on the ground that ἡμᾶς, ver. 10, intimates that not only St. Paul received honour in return for the cures



ἐθεραπεύοντο· 10. οἱ καὶ πολλαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἀναγο-  
μένους ἐπέθεντο τὰ πρὸς <sup>1</sup> τὴν χρεῖαν.

11. Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας ἀνήχθημεν ἐν πλοίῳ παρακεχειμακότη ἐν  
τῇ νήσῳ, Ἀλεξανδρινῷ,<sup>2</sup> παρασήμῳ Διοσκούροις· 12. καὶ καταχθέντες

<sup>1</sup> For the sing. *την χρ.* NABI 13, 40, 137 have the plural, so Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg.

<sup>2</sup> Blass reads *φ ἡν παρασημον Διοσκουρων* (Vulg., Syr. P., Gig.).

effected. But such a conjecture must remain quite uncertain, although it is no doubt quite possible that as we have here a verb which properly denotes medical treatment (*cf.* *θεραπεία*, Luke ix. 11) for the restoration of health, the care (*cura*) of medical skill was freely added by St. Luke, and enhanced the debt which the sick owed.

Ver. 10. *πολλαῖς τιμαῖς*: "with many honours," A. and R.V., used quite generally, so in Vulgate, "multis honoribus"; even in the expression "honos habendus medico," Cic., *Ad Div.*, xvi., 9, we need not limit the word to the *honorarium*; so in 1 Tim. v. 17 *τιμῆς* is used quite generally, and in Ecclus. xxxviii. 1 it is very doubtful whether in the expression "honour a physician," *τίμα* *ἱατρὸν*, the verb refers to payment. There is therefore no need to take the word as referring to a physician's fee in money, as Wordsworth, Humphry, Plumptre, although the word may have been so used by a physician; but it was scarcely likely that St. Paul would have received such a reward for his services, to say nothing of the fact that it was contrary to Christ's commands, Matt. x. 8.—*καὶ ἀναγ. ἐπέθεντο*: "and when we sailed they put on board," R.V., so Ramsay, *ἀναγ.*, technical term, xxvii. 2, 3.—*τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρ.*, see critical note, frequently in Luke and Paul, both in singular and plural, and often in LXX, *cf.* Acts xx. 34, Rom. xii. 13, used here quite generally; it may have included money, but no doubt things needful, *post naufragium*, Bengel.

Ver. 11. *τρεῖς μῆνας*: no account is given of St. Paul's doings in Malta, or of his preaching or founding a Church, but the writer's interest is centred on the Apostle's journey to Rome, and what immediately concerns it.—*ἀνήχ.*, see above on xiii. 13; in the earlier part of February, as the shipwreck took place probably before the middle of November (Ramsay), but Blass thinks March, as he places the shipwreck about the commencement of December, but with a

favourable wind the ship would risk the voyage, even before the regular sailing season commenced (so Wendt and Ramsay).—*Ἀλεξ.*: very likely a corn ship, driven for refuge by the same gale; on the accent here and in xxvii. 6 see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 73.—*παρακεχειμακότη*: only in Luke and Paul in N.T., *cf.* xxvii. 12, 1 Cor. xvi. 6, Tit. iii. 12, and in classical Greek.—*παρασήμῳ Διοσκ.*: "whose sign was the Twin Brothers," R.V., *i.e.*, Castor and Pollux; or perhaps in a ship "marked with the image or figure of the Dioscuri," or the latter word in the dative may be a dedicatory inscription—marked "To the Dioscuri," *i.e.*, in honour of them, so Wendt, Holtzmann, Grimm-Thayer. Others take *παρασ.* as a noun, so Alford, Page, quoting from an inscription found near Lutro and given by J. Smith, in which reference is made to a Dionysius of Alexandria as *gubernator navis parasemo Isopharia*. Phryn. prefers the form *Διόσκοροι*. Blass has *φ ἡν παράσημον Διοσκούρων*, see critical note and Blass, *in loco*; *cf.* for the word 3 Macc. ii. 29. Castor and Pollux were best known as the tutelary gods of sailors, and probably at this date they were both the *insigne* and the *tutela* of the ship. St. Cyril of Alexandria tells us that it was always the Alexandrian method to ornament each side of the prow with the figures of deities, probably in this case Castor and Pollux, one on each side of the vessel; and we may further note that the twin brothers were specially honoured in the district of Cyrenaica, not far from Alexandria (*Schol.*, Pind., *Pyth.*, v., 6). For other classical notices *cf.* Hor., *Od.*, i., 3, 2; iii., 29, 64; *Catull.*, iv., 27; lxviii., 65; Eur., *Helen.*, 1663, and "Castor and Pollux," B.D.<sup>3</sup>, and "Dioscuri," Hastings' B.D. The mention of the ship's sign shows the minuteness of the information of an eyewitness, and the fact that an Alexandrian ship thus wintered in the island is a strong piece of incidental evidence in favour of the identification of the island with Malta; the latter would be a natural

εἰς Συρακούσας, ἐπεμείνανεμ ἡμέρας τρεῖς· 13. ὅθεν<sup>1</sup> περιελθόντες  
κατηγήσαμεν εἰς Ῥήγιον, καὶ μετὰ μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπιγενομένου νότου

<sup>1</sup> For περιελθ. R.V. marg. has περιελοντες with  $\aleph^* B$  (Gig. *tulimus*), and so W.H., but Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. follow T.R.; Weiss maintains with Wendt that περιελοντες is simply a mistake, Θ having fallen out before Ο, but see below. J. Smith, p. 156, follows T.R. Blass in β has καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ἀραντες.

harbour for a ship of Alexandria on the way to Italy, but Meleda would be altogether out of the course (see J. Smith, p. 278, fourth edit.).

Ver. 12. καταχ.: "touching at," R.V., Ramsay, cf. xxvii. 3. We are not told that St. Paul landed, but the local tradition makes him the founder of the Sicilian Church, C. and H., p. 663, small edit.—Συρ.: (*Siragosa*) about 100 miles distant from Malta, the capital of Sicily, and a Roman colony; in a mercantile city St. Paul would find countrymen and Jewish proselytes; it was moreover a city of great historical interest, and a usual stopping-place for Alexandrian ships on their voyage to Italy; see C. and H., p. 662, u. s., and notices in Strabo, vi., p. 270 (but see also Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, Συρ.); Cicero, *Verr.*, iv., 53; Pliny, *N.H.*, iii., 8, and B.D., *sub v.* For accentuation cf. also Grimm-Thayer.—τρεῖς ἡμέρας: probably to wait for a favouring breeze from the south.—ἐπεμείνανεμ: with accusative of time, cf. x. 48, xxi. 4, 10, ver. 14 below, 1 Cor. xvi. 7.

Ver. 13. περιελθόντες: so A. and R.V., but latter in margin περιελόντες, see critical note. Ramsay also following T.R. points out that the latter reading could hardly signify more than "cast off" ("cast loose," margin, R.V.), unnecessary here although important information in xxvii. 40, where τὰς ἀγκ. is added, and the meaning is evidently different. Ramsay renders "by tacking" (the verb referring to the frequent alteration of the ship's course); they worked up to Rhegium by good seamanship as they could not go straight across, J. Smith, C. and H., p. 663, small edit. Mr. Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., p. 736, takes a different view, and thinks that they were obliged to stand out to sea to fill their sails, and so to come to Rhegium by a circuitous sweep. R.V. renders simply "made a circuit," so Grimm-Thayer. W.H., ii., p. 226, explain their rendering "weighed anchor" by the use of the verb in xxvii. 40 (but see Blass above), the elliptic employment of transitive verbs being common in Greek nautical language as in English, and by the opinion that the run

from Syracuse to Rhegium could not be described as circuitous, unless the ship was thrown out by contrary winds (but see above); Mr. Rendall supports W.H., Mr. Page the opposite, following T.R., so Smith, p. 156, fourth edit., and see critical note above, and Wendt (1899), p. 418. A.V. "fetched a compass," so Tyndale, which formerly meant that they made a circuit, but the phrase is now obsolete, cf. 2 Sam. v. 23, 2 Kings iii. 9, same Greek verb in LXX.—Ῥήγιον: *Reggio*, Titus put in here on his way from Judæa to Puteoli bound for Rome, Suet., *Tit.*, 5; and we learn from Jos., *Ant.*, xix., 2, 5, that Caligula began to construct a harbour for the corn-ships of Egypt, although he never finished it. The place was situated at the southern entrance to the Straits of Messina, here little more than a few miles in breadth between it and the city Messina (on its name from ῤήγνυμι, because Sicily was at this point rent away from Italy, see Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*, and Wetstein). St. Paul was said to have visited Messina, and to have given the Christians a bishop, *Acta Petri*, *Acta Pauli*, Lipsius, p. ix. (Zöckler). The coins show us that here too the Dioscuri were the patron deities.—κατην. only in Luke and Paul, see xvi. 1, cf. 2 Macc. iv. 44.—ἐπιγ.: "a south wind sprang up," R.V., here only in N.T., cf. Thuc., iii., 74, iv., 30; Xen., *Hell.*, iii., 2, 17, *oborto Austro*, Blass, or it may mean coming after or in succession to, ἐπί, the previous adverse wind.—δευτεραῖοι, cf. πεμπαῖοι, xx. 6, Blass in β, John xi. 39, Phil. iii. 5, so in classical Greek. The distance is about 180 miles, and J. Smith, p. 217, 4th edit., points out that if we suppose the ship to sail at seven knots an hour the voyage would take about twenty-six hours, and St. Luke's account is shown to be very accurate; see also Ramsay and Hackett for examples of the ancient rate of sailing quite in accordance with the facts before us.—Ποτιόλους (*Potusoli*), in earlier days Dicaearchia; its new name was Latin, probably from the mineral springs in the neighbourhood a puteis, or perhaps a putendo (C. and H.). It was



δευτεραῖοι ἤλθομεν εἰς Ποτιόλους. 14. οὐ εὐρόντες ἀδελφούς,  
παρεκλήθημεν<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεῖναι ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ· καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> For ἐπ' ἸΑΒΙ Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Wendt have παρ', Hilg. retains ἐπ'. Instead of ἐπιμεῖναι H 3, 33, 68, 95\*, 137, Syr. H., Gig., Theoph. have ἐπιμειναντες, so Blass, Hilg., Ramsay (Wendt admits as possible), and the meaning will then be "we were comforted among them (xx. 12) while we remained among them for seven days".

not only a great landing-place for travellers from the East, but the great harbour for Alexandrian corn-ships, as also for the trade from Syria and Spain (Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 558). Seneca, *Epist.*, 77, gives us a vivid description of the interest taken in the arrival of the corn-ships, since the people of Rome depended so much upon this cargo for food. The importance gained by the place is shown by the fact that it gave its name to the bay, once the Bay of Cumæ, now the Bay of Naples, but in St. Paul's day *Sinus Puteolanus*. Here St. Ignatius desired to land that he might follow the footsteps of St. Paul to Rome (*Martyr.*, v.), see further Jos., *Ant.*, xvii., 12, i, xviii., 7, 2; Strabo, xvii., i, 7, and Wetstein's references. For modern writers cf. also Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 218, and Farrar, ii., 386; their description shows how the Apostle's eyes now rested upon "one of the loveliest of earthly scenes".

Ver. 14. ἀδελφούς, see on i. 15, they may have been from Alexandria, as the commerce between it and Puteoli was so considerable; the absence of the article indicates that the writer knew nothing of their presence previously, but at all events Blass is right when he says, "non magis mirum est Puteolis Christianos ante Paulum fuisse quam Romæ". Probably after Rome itself Puteoli was the most ancient Jewish community in Italy. Jews were there as early as B.C. 4, after the death of Herod the Great, Jos., *Ant.*, xvii., 12, i; B. 7., ii., 7, i, and Schürer accepts the notice of the existence of a Christian Church as in the text, *Jewish People*, div. ii., vol. ii., p. 241, E.T., so too O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, p. 108; see also Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 26. Rhegium and Puteoli are the only two Italian towns mentioned in the N.T. (except, of course, Rome itself), and when we consider that Puteoli was the most important port, not only for ships from Alexandria, but also from Syria, there is nothing surprising in the fact that Christianity found an early and an easy entrance; at Pompeii, not

far from Puteoli, Christianity had made its way, and before 79 A.D. it was discussed by the gossiping loungers in the street (Ramsay).—παρεκ.: "we were entreated to tarry," R.V. Ramsay (so Blass), rendering "we were consoled among them, remaining seven days" (see critical note), thinks that R.V., although strongly supported, is irreconcilable with St. Paul's situation as a prisoner. Julius was a Roman officer, and discipline was natural to him, however friendly he was towards Paul. Blass compares xx. 12, and Zöckler also prefers the inferior reading on account of this more usual meaning of παρακαλεῖν. Probably the seven days' delay was needful for Julius to report his arrival at Rome, and to receive further orders from the capital, perhaps with regard to the disposal of the prisoners, but St. Paul must have been rejoiced at the opportunity of celebrating a Sunday with the little Christian Church at Puteoli, cf. xx. 6, xxi. 4.—καὶ οὕτως: "and so we came to Rome," about 140 miles, cf. xxvii. 25, "destinatum itineris terminum," Blass, cf. the article before 'P.', Blass, *Gram.*, p. 149, so Bengel (but see Page's note). Others take οὕτως as simply = after the stay of seven days, a notice which leads on to ver. 15, and makes us to understand how the brethren came to meet us, since news would easily have reached Rome, and a deputation of the brethren have arrived at Appii Forum. On the former view the writer marks the conclusion and the aim of the long journey (cf. εἰς τὴν 'P. before the verb; in vv. 12, 13, names of places follow the verb without any article, Weiss), and there is a kind of triumph in the words: like an emperor who has fought a naval battle and overcome, Paul entered into that most imperial city; he was nearer now to his crown; Rome received him bound, and saw him crowned and proclaimed conqueror: cf. Chrys. Others take ἤλθ. as = ἐπορεύεμεθα, the actual end of the journey following in ver. 16 (see on the other hand Wendt, *in loco*, 1888). But ver. 15 may possibly be taken as adding an episode which com-

ῥώμην ἤλθομεν. 15. κάκειθεν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀκούσαντες τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, ἐξῆλθον<sup>1</sup> εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἡμῖν ἄχρις Ἀππίου φόρου καὶ Τριῶν Ταβερνῶν οὓς ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος, εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Θεῷ, ἔλαβε θάρσος.

<sup>1</sup> For ἐξῆλθον (so Hilg.) A 17, 40, 61, R.V. have ἦλθον; ΞΒΙ so Tisch., W.H. Blass, Wendt have ἦλθαν.

mences, as it were, a new section of the Apostle's work in the meeting with the brethren from Rome, the journey itself being regarded as completed in ver. 14 (Nösgen). If we read εἰσῆλθομεν in ver. 16, see critical note, the word emphasises apparently the actual entry into the city, "and when we entered into," R.V., or it may simply take up the conclusion of ver. 14 (so Wendt, who sees no difficulty in the words). Ramsay, however, draws another distinction between vv. 14 and 16 (to which Wendt (1899) refers, without endorsing it), and thinks that the double expression of arrival is due to the double meaning which the name of a city-state bears in Greek (St. Paul, pp. 111, 347, and *Expositor*, Jan., 1899); thus Rome might be restricted to the walls and buildings, or it might include the whole *ager Romanus*, and so in ver. 14, "we reached the State Rome," we passed through two points in the *ager Romanus*, ver. 15, and in ver. 16, "we entered the (walls of) Rome".

Ver. 15. κάκειθεν, see on xiv. 26. —τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν: phrase only in Luke and Paul, see above on p. 481. The natural supposition is that there were two companies; one met them in advance at Appii Forum, and the other nearer Rome at the Tres Tabernæ.—εἰς ἀπάντησιν, cf. 1 Thess. iv. 17, Matt. xxv. 6, xxvii. 32 (W.H. margin), frequent in LXX, cf. Polyb., v., 26, 8. See Plumptre's note on the meeting of Cicero on this same road on his return from exile, Senate and people going out to meet him; for St. Paul's friends in Rome see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, Introd., and p. 171 ff.; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, xviii., xxvii., xxxiv., xl., etc., Godet, *L'Épître aux Romains*, ii., 599 ff. Aquila and Priscilla would be amongst them.—Ἀππίου φόρου: situated on the great Appian Way, near the modern *Treponti*, 43 miles from Rome, Cic., *Ad Att.*, ii., 10; Hor., *Sat.*, i., 5, 3, and for the distance, *Itin. Ant.*, p. 107, *Itin. Hier.*, p. 611 (see however on this point *Encycl. Bibl.*, p. 267, 1899). Probably its name was due to Appius Claudius as the constructor of this part of the road, Livy, ix., 29, and even in the time of St. Paul it

seems to have been connected in some way with the Appian family. It was situated at the northern end of a canal which ran thither from a few miles apparently above Terracina through the district of the Pomptine Marshes. The boatmen of whom Horace speaks in his lively description, *u. s.*, were employed in conveying passengers in boats towed by mules along this canal. The Appian Way itself was parallel with the canal, so that the centurion and the Apostle might have travelled by either, and this uncertainty as to the route no doubt made the Roman Christians wait at Appii Forum. Night travellers apparently preferred the boat. The R.V. renders "The Market of Appius" (really the Greek is a transliteration of the Latin Appii forum, as the words stood in 1611, "forum" (not Forum), Hastings' B.D.). The word apparently implied what we should call a borough or assize town, cf. Forum Julium, etc. The picturedrawn by Horace suggests a sharp contrast between the holy joy of the Christian meeting and the coarse vice and rude revelry which so often filled the wretched little town (Plumptre, C. and H.).—Τριῶν Ταβ.: *Tres Tabernæ*, frequent halting-place, *deversorium*, about 33 miles from Rome on the Via Appia, probably at the point where the road from Antium crosses it, near the modern *Cisterna*. At this time it was a place of some importance, cf. Cic., *Ad Att.*, ii., 12. The Latin *tabernæ* = a shop of any kind, and would require an adjective like *deversoria* (*sc. taberna*) to be equivalent to a tavern in the modern sense, Lewin, *Saint Paul*, ii., 224.—εὐχ. τῷ Θεῷ ἔλαβε θάρσος, cf. Job xvii. 9, whether Ramsay is correct in connecting this encouragement with the chronic disorder of the Apostle, which would often occasion fits of depression, it is evident that St. Paul, who was so full of sympathy, "the heart of the world," and craved for sympathy from others, may well have felt that he was still a prisoner, and the recent perilous voyage may also have left its mark upon him. Anyhow, the meeting with Christian friends, and the thought that these Christians were not ashamed



16. ὍΤΕ δὲ<sup>1</sup> ἦλθομεν εἰς<sup>2</sup> Ῥώμην, ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ· τῷ δὲ Παύλῳ ἐπετράπη μένειν καθ' αὐτόν, σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ.<sup>3</sup> 17. Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς συγκαλέσασθαι τὸν Παῦλον τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρῶτους· συνελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτούς, Ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί, ἐγὼ οὐδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσας τῷ λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσι τοῖς πατρώοις, δέσμιος ἐξ Ἱεροσολύμων παρεδόθην εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν Ῥωμαίων·

<sup>1</sup> For ἦλθ. (so Hilg.) **Σ**BI, Tisch., R.V., Blass, Weiss have εἰσηλθομεν; A so W.H. εἰσηλθαμεν. Before **Ρ**. **Σ**\*L, Tisch., Hilg. read τῇν.

<sup>2</sup> After **Ρ**. T.R. adds ο ἑκατονταρχος παρεδωκε τους δεσμους τῷ στρατοπεδαρχῃ. R.V. om. in text, not marg. The words are supported by HLP 137, Syr. H. c\*, Gig., Par. Prov., Blass in β, Hilg., Zöckler. They are om. by **Σ**ABI 13, 40, 61, Vulg., Syr. P., Syr. H. text, Boh., Arm., Chrys., Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt (read simply ἐπετράπη τῷ Π., if words are omitted); see further below.

<sup>3</sup> Before σὺν τῷ φυλάσσ. κ.τ.λ. 137 Gig., Par., Proton read ἐξω της παρεμβολης; Blass in β, Hilg. (see Wendt's note, p. 420, 1899).

either of the Gospel of Christ, or of Paul the prisoner, even in Rome, may well have endured his soul with much strength. Bishop Lightfoot, *Phil.*, pp. 16, 17 (so too Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 113), thinks that the words may intimate that it was a relief to St. Paul to find that some members at least of the Roman Church were favourably disposed towards him; but, as Zöckler points out, there is certainly no proof here, at least, that the Church was composed preponderatingly of Jewish Christians, or that Paul was glad that he received a welcome in a Church so composed, and we have no direct evidence of the existence of an anti-Pauline Jewish party among the Roman Christians; but in the presence of the brethren St. Paul would see a proof that this love was not merely in word or in letter, but in deed and in truth: "videbat Christum etiam Romæ esse," Bengel.

Ver. 16.—ἦλθομεν, see critical note. They would enter by the Porta Capena. On the words which follow see critical note. They are retained by Blass and Ramsay, although these writers differ as to their interpretation, while Lightfoot, *Phil.*, pp. 7, 8, admitting that the balance of existing authorities is against them, inclines to see in the words a genuine tradition, even if no part of the original text. For Ramsay's view see above on xxvii. 1. Blass takes the expression τῷ στρατ. to refer to Afranius Burrus (and to this identification Lightfoot attaches much probability). It is striking that both before and after Burrus there were two "prefects," Tac., *Ann.*, xii., 42, xiv.,

51, whereas Luke writes τῷ στρατ., "the captain of the guard"; but on the other hand we can scarcely draw any decisive argument from this, because the writer may refer merely to the "prefect" in charge of this particular case, whether he had a colleague or not.—καθ' αὐτόν, see critical note for addition in β text. Not only the goodwill of the centurion, and the services which St. Paul had rendered, but also the terms in which Festus had reported the case in the *elogium*, would combine to secure this favour. The words do not imply that Paul was kept in prison in the camp apart from the other prisoners, but, as in vv. 23, 30, that he was allowed to have a house or lodging in the city (Ramsay); he could scarcely have summoned the Jews to the camp, ver. 17 (Bethge), see also Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 103.—τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατ.: *custodia militaris*, he was still bound to a soldier by a light chain, so that he could not go in and out as he pleased, but the form which his custody took has been well compared to that which Herod Agrippa underwent, who was confined at one time in Rome, Jos., *Ant.*, xviii., 6, 5, at first in the camp, and afterwards on the accession of Gaius in a house of his own, although still under military custody, cf. xxiv. 27.

Ver. 17. The whole section vv. 17-28 is referred by Hilgenfeld to the "author to Theophilus". In ver. 20 the Paul bound for the hope of Israel belongs only to the "author to Theophilus," cf. xxiii. 6, xxvi. 6; it is only the same author who still supposes him to bear

18. οἷτινες ἀνακρίναντές με ἐβούλοντο ἀπολύσαι, διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐμοί. 19. ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων,<sup>1</sup> ἡναγκάσθη ἐπικαλέσασθαι Καίσαρα, οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ἔθνους μου ἔχων τι

<sup>1</sup> After Ἰουδαίων 137, Syr. H. c\*, add καὶ επικραζόντων· αἶρε τον εχθρον ημων (cf. xxi. 36, xxii. 22, xxv. 24), so Blass in β, Hilg., Zöckler; and after κατηγορεῖν (ΣΑΒ) the same authorities with Gig., Par., Prov. add ἀλλ' ἵνα λυτρωσμαι τ. ψυχην μου εκ θανατου.

the chain, xxvi. 29, which according to xxii. 29, 30, had been long removed. A reference to the passages in question is sufficient to show the unreasonableness of this criticism. In this same section Clemen can only see his two redactors, Judaicus and Antijudaicus, at work again, the latter in vv. 25-28, and the former in vv. 16-24. But it will be noticed that Wendt (1899) still allows that an historical kernel lies at the foundation of the narrative, and although he does not speak so unhesitatingly as in 1888, he still allows that it is not inconceivable that Paul soon after his arrival in Rome should seek to enter into relations with the Jews there, to convince them if possible of his innocence, and to prevent any unfavourable influences on their part upon his trial.—μετὰ ἡμερὰς τρεῖς: an intimation of Paul's continuous energy; the previous days may well have been employed in receiving his own friends, and in making his summons known.—τῶν Ἰου.: the edict of Claudius, cf. xviii. 2, had evidently been very transient in its effects, and the Jews soon returned; possibly they may only have emigrated to the neighbourhood, e.g., to Aricia (Schürer).—πρώτους, cf. xiii. 50, xxv. 2, Luke xix. 47, here including the ἀρχισυνάγωγοι, the γερονσιάρχαι, the ἄρχοντες and others, Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. xxiii., or the word may perhaps be used of social distinction, including the officers named. The Jews in Rome were divided into no less than seven synagogues. It does not of course follow that all came in answer to the Apostle's characteristic summons, as he always turned to his countrymen first. Rendall renders "those that were of the Jews first," as if Paul invited first the members of the synagogues who were Jews, intending to reserve the devout Gentiles for the second place; see R.V. renderings *in loco*.—συνελθ.: it was natural that Paul should thus assemble them, and that he should then endeavour to show that although a prisoner he was guiltless of any offence against the Jewish nation; otherwise he could not

expect the representatives of his people to listen to his message; so far it would be difficult to find an intimation of anything unhistorical (see Blass, *in loco*).—ἐγὼ: the word probably occurring first, W.H., R.V. Weiss, seems to indicate from its emphatic position that the Apostle's chief concern on this occasion was to vindicate himself.—ἐλεγε: imperfect, "quia expectatur responsum," Blass, see note on iii. 3.—ἀδελφοί . . . λαῶ . . . πατρώσις: all indicate the same conciliatory spirit: "mira certe Pauli mansuetudo" (Calvin).—ποιήσας: "though I had done," R.V., i.e., at the time he was taken prisoner there had been nothing done by him to merit such treatment.—τῷ λαῷ, cf. xxi. 28. The man who could write Rom. ix. 1 ff. and 1 Cor. vii. 18 (cf. ix. 21) might justly use such words.—παρεδόθην, cf. xxi. 11. The words ascribe primarily to the Jews a share in the imprisonment of which they appear as only the indirect cause, cf. xxi. 33, but Paul summarises the chief points and does not enter into minute details; moreover his words were strictly true, for he would have been freed by the Romans in Jerusalem had not the outcry of the Jews stamped him as a malefactor. For similar instances of a main summary cf. ii. 23, xiii. 29, xxi. 11, xxiii. 27.

Ver. 18. ἀνακ., cf. xxiv. 8, xxv. 6, 26, referring here to the judicial inquiries of Felix and Festus.

Ver. 19. ἀντιλ.: the word is a mild one to describe the bitter enmity of the Jews ("clementer dicit," Bengel); they are not actually represented as speaking against Paul's acquittal, although they are evidently presupposed as doing so by the proposal of Festus, xxv. 9, and by the belief that sooner or later he would fall a victim to their plots the Apostle was no doubt compelled (ἡναγκάσθη) to appeal. Holtzmann seems to forget the part played by the Jews, and their bitter enmity, when he says that in reality Paul was compelled to appeal not by the Jews, but by Festus; see also critical note.—τοῦ ἔθνους μου: they were still his nation,



κατηγορήσαι. 20. διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν παρεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς ἰδεῖν καὶ προσλαλήσαι<sup>1</sup>. ἔνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν ἄλυσιν ταύτην περίκειται. 21. οἱ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶπον, Ἡμεῖς οὐτε γράμματα περὶ σοῦ ἔδεξάμεθα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας, οὐτε παραγενόμενός τις<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπήγγειλεν ἢ ἐλάλησέ τι περὶ σοῦ πονηρόν. 22. ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ παρὰ σοῦ ἀκοῦσαι ἃ φρονεῖς. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰρέσεως

<sup>1</sup> ἐνεκεν the Ionic form is supported by B\* A, W.H., Weiss, Blass.

<sup>2</sup> After τις Blass in β, so Hilg. add ἀπο ἱεροσολύμων with Gig., Syr. Pesh.

and he was not ashamed to call them so, as a true patriot, when he stood before a foreign tribunal; *cf.* xxiv. 17, xxvi. 4, "see what friendliness of expression, he does not hold them in odium," Chrysostom.

Ver. 20. διὰ ταύτην . . . προσλαλήσαι: "for this cause therefore did I intreat you to see and to speak with *me*," R.V. text; in margin a comma is placed after ὑμᾶς, "call for you, to see and to speak with *you*": but the former seems the more likely, for as a prisoner St. Paul would hardly go out into the synagogue. —ἐνεκεν, see critical note; if ἐνεκεν, the word is only used by St. Luke amongst the Evangelists; *cf.* Luke iv. 18 (quotation), xviii. 29, and elsewhere only by St. Paul, 2 Cor. iii. 10; Ionic form (see Winer-Schmiedel, p. 50). —τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰ., *cf.* xxvi. 6. —περίκειται: for construction, Winer-Moulton, xxxii., 5; *cf.* 4 Macc. xii. 3; Clem. Rom., 2 Cor., i., 6 (*bis*). Nothing could be more pathetic than this reference to the chain, *cf.* Ephes. iii. 1, iv. 1, vi. 20; the words might well serve as an introduction to what was to follow, the Christian prisoner and the Jewish leaders all had "one hope of their calling," and in that hope they and he were one.

Ver. 21. πρὸς αὐτόν: the emphatic position of the words may indicate, as Weiss suggests, that as Paul had spoken to them up to this point of a personal matter, so they in reply spoke with a like reference. —οὐτε γράμματα, *i.e.*, no official letters from the Sanhedrim—this was practically impossible, for it is not likely that any ship had left Cæsarea before Paul's departure with such intelligence (so Weiss, Blass, Hackett). —τῶν ἀδελ., *i.e.*, of the Jewish nation, *cf.* ver. 17. The Jews do not assert that they know nothing of Paul, but only that with reference to the statement which he had just made they had received no report (ἀπήγ., *cf.* R.V., so iv. 23), or had any of his country-

men spoken evil of him. The aorists point to this limitation of the assertion (Page's note, and Nösgen, *in loco*), and this view prevents us from seeing any contradiction between vv. 21 and 22, for if the statement in the former verse be taken quite generally of Paul's work, the Jews contradicted themselves in ver. 22, where they evidently include Paul in this sect (ταύτης), of which they knew that it was everywhere spoken against. —πονηρόν: the stress need not be laid on this word, as if the sentence meant that they had heard something about Paul, but nothing evil; it may well have been chosen with reference to the Apostle's own expression, οὐδὲν ἐναντίον.

Ver. 22. ἀξιοῦμεν δὲ: "but we think good," *cf.* xv. 38. They acknowledge that no report had reached them to invalidate the statements which Paul had just made as to the causes of his imprisonment, but (δὲ) they would hear not from others, but from himself (παρὰ σοῦ). —ἃ φρονεῖς: evidently no reference to any special view of Christianity as characterising St. Paul's own teaching, but a reference to his claim to be imprisoned for the hope of Israel. —αἵρ. . Christianity was for them only a sect, and therefore they could not understand the Apostle's identification of it with the Jewish national hope. See note on ver. 17. —γνωστόν . . . ἡμῖν: if the view is correct that the edict of Claudius, see chap. xviii. 2, was occasioned by the early preaching of Christianity in Rome, it is possible that the dislocation of the Jewish community then caused may help at all events to explain why the Christian Church in Rome did not grow out of the Jewish synagogue in the capital to the same context as elsewhere, see Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, pp. xxi, xxii. It may no doubt be urged that the Christian Church in Rome was not entirely a heathen-Christian Church, and that, as the names in Rom. xvi. indicate, it contained a Jewish element. But it is quite con-

ταύτης γνωστόν ἔστιν ἡμῖν ὅτι πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται.<sup>1</sup> 23. Ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν,<sup>2</sup> ἦκον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες· οἷς ἐξετίθετο διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, πείθων τε αὐτοὺς τὰ<sup>3</sup> περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ νόμου Μωσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, ἀπὸ πρῶτ' ἕως ἑσπέρας. 24. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις,

<sup>1</sup> At the end Blass in β with Gig., Par. adds *εν ὅλη τη οικουμενη*.

<sup>2</sup> For ἦκον ζΑΒ (A ἦλθαν so W.H.) have ἦλθον.

<sup>3</sup> τα before *περι* om. ζΑΒΗ Vulg., Boh., Syr. P. and H., Tisch., W.H., R.V. Weiss, Blass, Hilg.

ceivable that in the capital, with its two million inhabitants, the Jews, who had only recently returned to the city, should know nothing beyond what is here indicated in such general terms of a poor and obscure sect who dwell no longer in the Jewish quarter. It is also worthy of consideration that the Jews of Rome, whilst not guilty of any untruth in what they had just said as to their knowledge of the Christian sect, may have expressed themselves in this guarded manner from political reasons. If St. Paul's statement in ver. 18 as to the favourable bearing of the Roman authorities towards him was true, it was but natural that the Jews should wish to refrain from hasty or hostile action towards a prisoner who was evidently treated with consideration in his bonds; they would rather act thus than revive an old quarrel which might again lead to their own political insecurity, see especially Lightfoot, *Philippians*, pp. 15, 16; Felten, *in loco*; and, further, Rendall, p. 352. Nothing said by the Jews contradicts the existence of a Christian community in Rome, nor is it said that they wished to learn the Christian tenets from Paul, as if they knew nothing of them from their own knowledge, or as if they knew nothing of the causes of the opposition to the Christian faith; motives of curiosity and of policy might well have prompted a desire to hear Paul speak for himself, and with such motives there was apparently mingled a tone of contempt for a sect of which they might fairly say, from the experience of their countrymen, and from their own experience in Rome, *πανταχοῦ ἀντιλέγεται*: *ἀντιλ.* Lucan-Pauline; only once elsewhere; *cf.* John xix. 12. See β text above.

Ver. 23. *ταξάμενοι*: *cf.* Matt. xxviii. 16, and Polyb., xviii., 36, 1, for a similar phrase; a mutual arrangement between the two parties; only here in the middle voice in Acts.—*τὴν ξενίαν*: may = τὸ μίσθωμα, ver. 30 (Weiss, Holtzmann),

or it may refer to entertainment in the house of a friend, *cf.* xxi. 16, and Philem., ver. 22. Lewin urges that although we can well understand that Paul's friends would wish to entertain him, we have no evidence that the strictness of the military guard was thus far relaxed, and he also presses the fact that Suidas and Hesychius explain *ξενία* = *κατάλυμα, καταγώγιον*, as if it meant a place of sojourn for hire; see especially for the whole question Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 238; but see on the other hand Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 9, who lays stress on N.T. passages quoted above, and Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.*—*πλείονες*: more than at the first time; Blass takes it as = *plurimi*, *cf.* ii. 40, xiii. 31.—*ἐξετίθετο*, *cf.* xi. 4, xviii. 26, and in vii. 21 in a different sense, nowhere else in N.T. J. Weiss and Vogel both lay stress upon the recurrence of the word in the medical writer Dioscorides; for other references, Grimm-Thayer, *sub v.* It is possible that the middle here, as in xi. 4, gives it a reflexive force, the Apostle vindicates his own conduct (Rendall).—*Μωσέως*: from the law of Moses, whose enemy he was represented to be, no less than from the Prophets.—*πείθων suavissime*, Bengel; on the conative present participle see Burton, p. 59, but here the word is used not simply *de conatu*; it refers here to the persuasive power of St. Paul's words, although it does not say that his words resulted in conviction.—*ἀπὸ πρῶτ' ἕως ἑσπέρας*, *cf.* for similar expressions Exod. xviii. 13, 14 A, Job iv. 20 AS, and other passages where *πρωθεν* is similarly used (H. and R.).

Ver. 24. οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ . . ., *cf.* xiv. 4, xvii. 32, whether the verb means simply listened to what was said (Rendall), or simply denotes an attitude of receptivity (Nösgen), the fact that Paul addresses to both classes his final words indicates that the degree of belief to



οὐ δὲ ἠπίσταντο. 25.<sup>1</sup> ἀσύμφωνοι δὲ ὄντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπελύοντο, εἰπόντος τοῦ Παύλου ῥῆμα ἔν, Ὅτι καλῶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐλάλησε διὰ Ἡσαίου τοῦ προφήτου πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας<sup>2</sup> ἡμῶν, λέγον, 26. "Πορεύθητι πρὸς τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον καὶ εἰπέ, Ἀκοῇ ἀκούσετε, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> After ασυμ. B\*, Vulg., Syr. Pesh. read τε, so Tisch., but Lach., W.H., Weiss, Blass, Hilg. follow T.R. (Wendt doubtful).

<sup>2</sup> For ἡμῶν SAB Syr. Pesh., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass in β, Hilg., Weiss, Wendt read υμῶν. Instead of λέγον (so Blass, Hilg.) BBLP, Tisch., W.H., Weiss, Wendt have λέγων.

which they attained was not sufficient to convince even the well-disposed Jews to throw in their lot with Paul. Perhaps it is best to remember that the tenses are in the imperfect: "some were being persuaded of the things, etc.," and this also keeps up the reference to the previous πείθων, *persuadere studens* (Blass, Plumptre).—οὐ δὲ ἠπίστω: "and some disbelieved," R.V., or "continued in their disbelief." The verb only here in Acts, but cf. Luke xxiv. 11, 41, Mark xvi. 11, 16, 1 Pet. ii. 7, Wisd. x. 7, xii. 17, xviii. 13 (see H. and R.), etc.

Ver. 25. ἀσύμφωνοι, cf. Wisd. xviii. 19 and Dan., LXX, Bel., ver. 15; cf. for the phrase Diod. Sic., iv., 1, the word is found in Josephus, but also in classical Greek.—δέ: the best attested reading marks sharply and emphatically the turn of affairs; there may have been Pharisees among the well-disposed Jews, and to these Paul may have made an appeal when the hope of Israel, now as formerly, was in question, cf. xxiii. 6; but if so, they would not decide to rank themselves amongst "the Pharisees that believed" however imperfectly, and of them as well of the unbelievers the writer can only say ἀπελύοντο, cf. for middle Exod. xxxiii. 11, and so Polyb., iii., 34, 12.—εἰπόντος τοῦ Π.: the words do not mean that they departed because Paul so spoke, but almost = ἀπολυομένων εἶπεν (so Blass, Nösgen). It may be that Paul's words of censure were partly directed against the spirit which prompted the Jews to depart all together; in other words to suppress the differences which had evidently arisen amongst them, for the sake of an outward show of fellowship, lest they should again be charged as *tumultuantes* (Nösgen); but beyond all this, in their absence of brotherly love for one who still claimed them as his ἀδελφοί, in the unbelief of some, in the want of the courage of their convictions in others, St. Paul saw a fulfilment of that hardness and dulness

of heart of which the prophet had spoken.—ῥῆμα ἔν: "one word," emphatically drawing attention to the prophetic utterance which followed; it was evening, the night was drawing on, and (ver. 23) so too for the disbelieving nation: the day was far spent, the night was at hand (Bethge).—καλῶς, cf. Matt. xv. 7, Mark vii. 6, 9 (as in these two passages placed first with strong indignation, Page), xii. 28, Luke xx. 39, the word often occurs in St. Paul's Epistles. It is remarkable that the same prophetic quotation with which the Christ had opened His teaching by parables, which is cited in all four of the Evangelists, should thus form the solemn close of the historical books of the N.T. See above on Matt. xiii. 14, Mark iv. 12, Luke viii. 10, and John xii. 40, where the same words are quoted by St. John to explain the rejection of Christ's own teaching, just as here by St. Paul to explain the rejection of the teaching about Christ. "Est hoc extremum dictum Pauli in Actis, neque fortuito esse videtur; totius enim fere libri summam continet ad gentis evangelium a Judæis jam translatum esse, quippe spretum ab eis" (Blass), cf. the course of events in Antioch, Corinth, Ephesus, xiii. 42, xviii. 6, xix. 9.—τὸ Π. τὸ Ἅ.: the solemnity of the words is intensified by thus introducing the Holy Ghost, rather than merely the human agent, as Himself speaking (see also critical note); and not only so, but by thus intimating that they were resisting not man but God, cf. vii. 51.—ἡμῶν: if we read ὑμῶν the word indicates that St. Paul would not identify himself with the unbelieving Jews, cf. vii. 52, the indignant words of St. Stephen, which the speaker had himself heard.

Ver. 26. πορεύθητι . . . εἰπέ: the quotation is accurately taken from the LXX, Isai. vi. 9, 10, and the first line is additional to the words otherwise given in full by St. Matthew; as the speaker is the messenger to the Jews who condemns

οὐ μὴ συνῆτε· καὶ βλέποντες βλέψετε, καὶ οὐ μὴ ἴδῃτε. 27. ἐπα-  
χύνθη γὰρ ἡ καρδία τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, καὶ τοῖς ὡσὶ βαρέως ἤκουσαν,  
καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν ἐκάμμυσαν· μήποτε ἴδωσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς,  
καὶ τοῖς ὡσὶν ἀκούσωσι, καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσι καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσι, καὶ  
ἰάσωμαι<sup>1</sup> αὐτούς.” 28. γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν  
ἀπεστάλη<sup>2</sup> τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ, αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται.<sup>3</sup> 29. καὶ  
ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος, ἀπῆλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, πολλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν  
ἑαυτοῖς συζήτησιν.

<sup>1</sup> For ἰάσωμαι (so Lach.) **ABHLP**, Sev. Theophl., so Tisch., Weiss, W.H., Wendt, Blass, Hilg. read ἰασομαι.

<sup>2</sup> After ἀπεσταλή **AB** Vulg., Syr. P. and H., Aethpp., Tisch., W.H., R.V., Blass, Weiss, Wendt, Hilg. read τουτο.

<sup>3</sup> The whole of the verse is wanting in **ABE** 13, 40, 61, 68, so in W.H., Weiss, but retained by Blass in **β**, Hilg., with HLP, Syr. H. c\*, Vulg. Clem., Gig., Par. Wendt describes it as an interpolation, cf. ver. 25, see also Lightfoot *On a Fresh Revision*, etc., p. 29; Blass, *Phil. of the Gospels*, p. 92.

this hardness of heart, he applies to himself the word πορ.

Ver. 27. ἰάσωμαι, see critical note; the indicative future as in R.V. adds to the force and vigour of the passage; after μὴ it represents the action of the verb as more vividly realised as possible and probable than is the case when the subjunctive is used (Page), see also Winer-Moulton, lvi., 2a; Bethge, p. 331; cf. Luke xii. 58, Acts xxi. 24 (Blass). It is significant that Luke the physician should thus cite as almost the last words of his record a prophecy ending with ἰάσωμαι (Plummer, *St. Luke*, Introd., p. lxvi.).

Ver. 28. γνωστὸν οὖν: for the word similarly used cf. ii. 14, iv. 10; xiii. 38.—τοῦτο τὸ σωτ., see critical note; cf. LXX, Ps. lxvi. 2, xcvi. 2, 3. σωτ., adjective, neuter of σωτήριος, used substantively (as in classical Greek), so often in LXX of the Messianic salvation; cf. Luke ii. 30, iii. 6, Ephes. vi. 17, and Clem. Rom., *Cor.*, xxxv., 12, xxxvi., 1. The word is used only by St. Luke and St. Paul, see Plummer, note on Luke iii. 6. For the whole expression here cf. xiii. 26, where words very similar are used by Paul, and with very similar results, ver. 46. τοῦτο, emphatic this, the very message of God's salvation, this is what I am declaring to you.—αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται: “they will also hear,” R.V. The words thus rendered may not convey so plainly a reproach to the Jews as in A.V., but at the same time they express something more than the mere fact that Gentiles as well as Jews will now hear the message; that message will not

only be sent (ἀπεστάλη), but also heard; the καὶ may well indicate that whilst the Jews will hear with the ear only as distinct from the understanding, the Gentiles will not only hear, but really (καὶ) listen (see Rendall and Weiss, *in loco*). At the same time we must remember that as a background to what the Apostle here says we have his words in Rom. ix.-xi., and the thought which he had expressed to the Roman Church that God had not really cast away His people, but whilst through their unbelief the Gentiles had been called, yet that inclusion of the heathen in the Messianic kingdom would rouse the Jews to jealousy, and that thus all Israel would be saved, Rom. xi. 11; cf. x. 19; Sanday and Headlam, *Romans*, p. 341 ff. We can scarcely doubt that the words are uttered not merely to condemn, but to lead to repentance; at all events it would not be possible to find stronger words against his own countrymen than those written by St. Paul in his earliest Epistle, 1 Thess. ii. 15, 16; and yet we know how St. Paul, for those same countrymen, could wish himself accused; so Bethge, as against Overbeck, who can only see that in Acts the belief of the Gentiles results not in a noble jealousy, but in the bitter envy of the Jews. But there blends with the tone of sadness a note of triumph in the words αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται, the future of his message is assured, and we may borrow two words as an inscription for these closing pages of St. Luke's second treatise—the last word of the Apostle, and the last of the historian



30.<sup>1</sup> Ἐμεινε δὲ ὁ Παῦλος διετίαν ὄλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι, καὶ ἀπεδέχετο πάντας τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους <sup>2</sup> πρὸς αὐτόν, 31. κηρύσσων

<sup>1</sup> For εμεινε (Lach., Blass, Hilg.) N\* B 13, 61, Tisch., W.H., R.V., Wendt, Weiss have ενεμεινε; Blass in β has μενων with Par. ο Π. om. W.H., R.V., Weiss (not Blass, Hilg.), cf. αυτον for τον Π. in ver. 17, R.V., W.H.

<sup>2</sup> After προς αυτον 137 Syr. H. c\*, Gig., Par. add ιουδαιους τε και Ελληνας explanatory of παντας, so Blass in β text, Hilg.; Blass also adds και διελεγετο προς before the inserted words just mentioned, with Gig., Par. Χριστου om. by Tisch., Hilg., with N\* Syr. H.

—ἀκούσονται . . . ἀκωλύτως—the word of God was heard and welcomed, and that word was not bound, see the suggestive remarks of Bethge, p. 335, and Zöckler on ver. 31.

Ver. 29. See critical note.—συζήτησιν, *rixa*, Blass; possibly this may have helped to delay the Apostle's trial, as apparently some of the Jews would not have moved in the matter.

Ver. 30. ἔμεινε δὲ: Blass (so also Hackett, Lekebusch) makes the important remark that the aorist shows that Paul's condition was changed after the two years, cf. ἐκάθισε, xviii. 11 (see also Burton, pp. 19, 20). When, therefore, Luke wrote his history, the inference is that the Apostle had been liberated either from prison or by death. Blass indicates another change, *viz.*, that he may have been removed into the prætorium, and that his trial was just coming on.—ἰδίῳ μισθ., see above on ver. 23. That the Apostle should have been able to hire a house at his own expense receives confirmation from the coincidence with Phil. iv. 10, 14, 18; others have suggested (Wendt, 1899, Knabenbauer) that he may have gained the means of hiring it by his own work. See in this connection Rendel Harris, *Four Lectures*, etc., pp. 50, 51, and the extract from the Armenian Version of Ephrem's Commentary on the Acts. It would seem that Ephrem imagined that the rent of the lodging was paid by the proceeds of the cloak and books (2 Tim. iv. 13). Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 9, holds that ἰδίῳ certainly distinguishes the μισθωμα here from the ξενία above, see his note, and Grimm-Thayer, *in loco*. It is quite true that μισθωμα is not used in this sense of a hired house elsewhere (indeed it is used especially of the wages of hire in a bad sense, Deut. xxiii. 18, Mic. i. 7, Ezek. xvi. 31), but Lightfoot admits that it may be used here exceptionally as a translation of the Latin *conductum*, meaning here a suite of apartments only, not the whole house (Lewin), the Latin

*meritoria* (*sc. loca*) seems to be used very much in this same double sense of μισθωμα.—διετίαν ὄλην, cf. xxiv. 27, only in Luke, not in classical Greek, but in Philo (see also Grimm-Thayer, and Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, p. 86), so too τριετίαν only in Luke; see on xx. 31. The two years were spent not only in preaching, but in writing, as we may fairly believe, Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians.—ἀπεδέχετο, see above, xv. 4, xxi. 7, apparently greater freedom than in Cæsarea, xxiv. 23; if it was not for the notice in Phil. i. 13, 17, we might almost suppose that the Apostle was liberated on security or on bail; cf. the account of the imprisonment of Agrippa I. in Rome; see p. 486.—πάντας: all, both Jews and Gentiles; not only the latter, as Bengel thought: "neminem excludere Dei exemplo," Grotius.—εἰσπορ., see on ix. 28, most frequent in Luke, Friedrich, p. 7; see critical note.

Ver. 31. τὰ περὶ: on the phrase see p. 481.—τοῦ Κ. Ἰ. Χ., see critical note, and cf. xi. 17, xv. 26, the full phrase corresponds with the solemn conclusion of the book.—μετὰ π. παρρ.: the phrase with or without πάσης four times in Acts, and nowhere else in N.T., see on p. 128. In Jerusalem by the Twelve, iv. 29, and in Rome no less than in Jerusalem by St. Paul, the witness was given "with all boldness," cf. Phil. i. 14; and so the promise in the vision vouchsafed to the Apostle of the Gentiles was verified, xxiii. 11, and the aim of the Gentile historian fulfilled when the Gospel was thus preached boldly and openly, ἕως ἔσχ. τῆς γῆς, see note on i. 8.—ἀκωλύτως: "eadem plane dicuntur in ep. ad Phil. Roma data, i. 12 sqq.," Blass, and the word of God had free course and was glorified. The adverb is found in Plato, Epict., Herodian, and also in Josephus. In LXX the adjective is found in Wisd. vii. 22, and the adverb is used by Symm., Job xxxiv. 31. There is a note of triumph in the word, Bengel, Zöckler,

τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ,<sup>1</sup> καὶ διδάσκων τὰ περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας ἀκωλύτως.

<sup>1</sup> Blass with Syr. H., demid. tol., Par., Wern., Prov. reconstructs β text after του Θεου: δισχυριζομενος και λεγων ακωλυτως, οτι ουτος εστιν ο Χ. ο υιος του Θεου, δι' ου μελλει πας ο κοσμος κρινεσθαι, and cf. Hilg. with variations in former part, but identical after ακωλ.

and we may note with Wordsworth and Page the cadence of these concluding words, μετὰ π. π. ἀκωλ. But all this does not forbid the view that the writer intended to give a third book to complete his work. This latter view is strongly insisted upon by Prof. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 23 ff., while Bishop Lightfoot, B.D.<sup>2</sup>, i., 27, can see no conceivable plea for any third treatise, if the purpose of the narrative is completed by Paul coming to Rome and there delivering his message, so, although less strongly, Harnack, *Chron.*, i., p. 248, see note on i. 8. But Prof. Ramsay has received the strong support not only of Zöckler, and curiously enough of Spitta, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 318, but still more recently amongst English writers of Rendall, and in Germany of Dr. Zahn. Just as in St. Luke's Gospel xxiv. 44 forms not merely a starting-point for, but an anticipation of, the succeeding history, or just as xxiv. 44-53 contain in a summary what is afterwards related in greater detail, Acts i. and ii., so in vv. 30, 31 of Acts xxviii. we have, as it were, a brief sketch of what succeeded the events hitherto recorded, and an anticipation of what followed upon them. This probability remains quite apart from the additional force which is given to it if Ramsay is right in regarding πρῶτος, Acts i. 1, as signifying not simply πρότερος, but the first of a series, a view strongly supported by Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii., p. 371. Certainly the aorist, ver. 30 (see above), and the expression διετίαν δλην seem to show that some fact was known to the writer which followed the close of the two years, and we can therefore hardly say that he wrote no more because he knew no more, unless we also suppose that he wrote his history at the conclusion and not during the course of the two years. This he may have done while the result of St. Paul's first trial was still unknown, although Phil. i. 25-27, ii. 24, Philem. ver. 22, show us plainly with what confidence the Apostle awaited the issue. At all events almost any conjecture seems more probable than that the writer should have concluded so

abruptly if he had nothing more to chronicle than the immediate and tragic death of his hero! Zöckler, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 162, Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*, I., 15, 16. To say with Jülicher, *Einleitung*, p. 27, that he refrained from doing this because in such an event he would chronicle not the triumph but the defeat of the Gospel is certainly a strange argument, and no one has given a better answer to it than Harnack by asking, Since when did the early Christians regard martyrdom as a defeat? Is the death of Christ, or of Stephen, in the mind of the author of Acts a defeat? Is it not rather a triumph? *Chron.*, i., 247. The elaborate discussion of the abrupt conclusion in Acts by Wendt, 1899, pp. 31, 32, is entirely based upon the assumption that Luke was not the author of Acts, and that therefore this author, whoever he was, wrote no more because his information failed him, and he knew no more. This could not have been so in the case of Luke, who was with the Apostle at Rome, as we have from undoubted testimony quite apart from Acts. See further Introd. For the release of St. Paul, his subsequent journeys to Spain and to the East, and his second imprisonment, see in support, Zahn, *Einleitung*, i., p. 435 ff., Harnack, *Chron.*, i., 239, Spitta, u. s., Salmon, *Introd.*, p. 403 ff., *Die zweite römische Gefangenschaft des Apostels Paulus*, Steinmeyer (1897), and *Critical Review* (July), 1898. There were many possible reasons why the hearing of St. Paul's appeal was so long delayed. The record of the previous proceedings forwarded by Festus may have been lost in the wreck, and it was therefore necessary to wait for fresh official information, as the prisoner's accusers had not arrived. And when they arrived, it is very possible that they may have been glad to interpose fresh obstacles, and that they would be content to keep Paul bound as before; as evidence was probably wanted, not only from Jerusalem, but from various parts of the empire, the interposition of these fresh delays was easy. St. Paul had



himself suggested that the Jews in Asia ought to be summoned, or to be present, xxiv. 19. That such delays would not be unusual we may learn from Tacitus, *e.g.*, *Ann.*, xiii., 43; *cf.* Suet., *Nero*, 15. When we remember how long a delay occurred in the case of the Jewish priests, the friends of Josephus, *Vita*,

3, who were sent to Rome by Felix to plead their cause, it ceases to be surprising that St. Paul was detained so long without a trial; see on the whole question Lewin, *St. Paul*, ii., 277 ff.; Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 4; Knabebauer, *Actus Apostolorum*, pp. 453, 454, 1899.

**ST. PAUL'S EPISTLE**  
**TO THE**  
**ROMANS**



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## INTRODUCTION.

### CHAPTER I.

#### ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH AT ROME.

OF the beginnings of Christianity in Rome nothing whatever is known on direct evidence. The tradition which assigns the founding of the Church there to Peter cannot possibly be maintained. In one form it assumes that Peter, on the occasion referred to in Acts xii. 17, travelled to Rome, and there propagated the Church from the synagogue as a centre. As this departure of Peter from Jerusalem took place, on the usual reckoning, about 42 A.D., there would be time for his twenty-five years' episcopate of Rome, which was once the accepted Romish idea, though now given up even by Romish scholars. But it is clear from the book of Acts (chap. xv.) that Peter was in Jerusalem ten years after this, and it is equally clear from the Epistle to the Romans that he had not been in Rome when this letter was written, seven years later still. In face of a passage like chap. xv. 20 it is impossible to suppose that the Church of Rome had already been the scene of another Apostle's labours. Three years later, when Paul at length arrived in Rome, it had still been unvisited by Peter, to judge from what we read in Acts xxviii.; and even when he wrote the Epistle to the Philippians, towards the close of his first imprisonment, there is no indication that his brother Apostle had yet seen the capital. The earliest tradition represents Peter and Paul as in Rome together, and, indeed, as suffering together, in the Neronian persecution. All the evidence for this will be found in Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, II., xxv. What the worth of it is, it is not easy to say. It is not incredible that Peter may have been in Rome about the date in question, especially if Babylon in 1 Peter v. 13 means Rome, as it does in the Apocalypse. But in any case Peter can have had no direct part in founding the Church. In Iren., iii., 1, 2, Peter and Paul are spoken of as "preaching the Gospel in Rome, and founding the Church," at the time that Matthew published his gospel.



That Christianity was there long before this time is indubitable, but the Roman Christians, it has been suggested (see Harvey's note on Iren. *ad loc.*), "appear neither to have had an ecclesiastical polity nor to have been under the regular regimen of the Church. . . . Several expressions in the epistle seem to indicate a crude, unsettled state of things there. . . . They are spoken of as depending rather upon mutual exhortation and instruction than upon any more authoritative communication of evangelical truth (xv. 14) . . . and the Apostle expresses his intention to visit them, according to a purpose entertained ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐτῶν [ικανῶν is the true reading] with the hope that he might come ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίας (τοῦ εὐαγγελίου) τοῦ Χριστοῦ, *i.e.*, in the collation of spiritual gifts which as yet they had not, and in the establishment of that Apostolical order and government among them which should complete their incorporation with the Body Catholic of Christ's Church." It is quite true that the epistle reveals nothing of the organisation of the Church at Rome, but it reveals just as little of any intention on Paul's part to bestow on the Church the supposed benefits of "Apostolical order and government". The assumption underlying this expression is quite unhistorical. There was no uniform legal organisation of the Church in the apostolic age; and the Christians in Rome not only depended upon mutual exhortation and instruction, but, as Paul acknowledges, were well able to do so. They had χαρίσματα differing according to the grace given to them, and if they had no legal organisation, they had a vital and spiritual differentiation of organs and functions, for which the other is but a makeshift (chap. xii. 3-8). Sanday and Headlam think that though the Church did not, in the strict sense, owe its origin to Peter and Paul, it may well have owed to them its first existence as an organised whole (Commentary, p. xxxv.). This may be, for it was Paul's habit to appoint elders in all the churches he planted (Acts xiv. 23, Tit. i. 5); but, as the gospel was known at Rome, and believers were baptised there, and no doubt observed the Lord's Supper, it is clear that no particular organisation was wanted either to ensure or to perfect their standing as Christians.

Where tradition fails, we can only fall back on conjecture—conjecture to be verified by its coherence with what the epistle itself reveals. In this connection it has long been customary to refer to Acts ii. 10 (οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι). There were Roman Jews in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, and even if they were domiciled there and did not return to Rome, there must have been many visitors who did. The Jews in Rome were numbered by thousands; they occupied a large ward of the city, beyond the

Tiber, by themselves, and they had ceaseless communications with Jerusalem. Hence many have supposed that Christianity came to Rome by some such channel as this. If it did, we should expect it to have originated in the synagogues, the existence of nine of which is definitely attested (Sanday and Headlam, p. xxiv.). The epistle itself gives no direct evidence of any such connection: if the Church originated in the synagogue at Rome, the connection had been completely severed by the time Paul wrote. It has been supposed that the well-known sentence in Suetonius, *Claud.*, 25 ("Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit": see also Acts xviii. 2) refers to conflicts which arose in the synagogues over the alleged Messiahship of Jesus, and that the separation of the Church and the synagogue, and even a change in the prevailing complexion of the Church, which from Jewish-Christian became mainly Gentile-Christian, date from this event; but no stress can be laid on this. It is clear from Acts xxviii. 17-22 that when Paul came to Rome the leaders of the synagogue either knew nothing or affected to know nothing about the new sect which was growing up beside them. This makes it at least improbable, whatever its actual origin, that the Christian Church at Rome can have had strongly Jewish sympathies. Besides, even if the Church had originated in the synagogue, it is practically certain, from the analogy of other places whose history is known, that the mass of the members would not be Jews by birth, but of the class of proselytes (εὐσεβεῖς, φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν), whose attachment to Judaism was less rigid, and whose spiritual receptivity was as a rule greater.

Many scholars, impressed by these considerations, have sought rather a Gentile-Christian origin for the Church. Communication, they point out, was constant, not only between Rome and Jerusalem, but between Rome and all the East, and especially all the great towns. There was constant coming and going between Rome and such cities as Antioch, Corinth and Ephesus, not to mention others which had been the scene of Paul's labours. Early Christianity, too, was largely self-propagating. "They that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word" (Acts viii. 4). Hort (*Romans and Ephesians*, p. 9) speaks of "a process of quiet and as it were fortuitous filtration"; and it was probably by such a process, initiated, suspended, and renewed on different occasions, that the new religion was introduced to Rome. To conceive the matter in this way is no doubt to conceive it very indefinitely, but it is hardly possible to go further. Attempts have been made to do so. Assuming, for instance, that chap. xvi. is in its right place, and really formed part of



the Epistle to the Romans, it has been argued that the large number of friends and acquaintances Paul had in the Church, and especially the conspicuous place given to his old associates Prisca and Aquila, prove that the Christianity of the Romans was essentially of the Pauline type, and that the Church therefore owed its origin and its character, indirectly no doubt, to him. The epistle certainly does not bear this on its face ; Paul never says a word which implies that the Romans owed anything, even remotely, to him ; there is rather an impression of regret that they did not. Besides, it is a mistake to assume that all Paul's friends were necessarily "Paulinists"—an expression which neither he nor they could have understood. Among those at Rome, and among the most important, as we should judge by the honourable terms in which they are mentioned (xvi. 7), were some who had been Christians longer than he ; and "the quiet and as it were fortuitous filtration" was that of Christianity, undoubtedly of some universal type, but not distinctively of Paulinism.

## CHAPTER II.

### CHARACTER OF THE CHURCH AT ROME.

HARDLY any question in New Testament criticism has been more elaborately discussed than this. The traditional opinion was that the Church consisted of Gentile Christians. The idea that it consisted of Jewish Christians, first broached apparently by Koppe in 1824, gained currency through Baur, and for a generation after his essay (1836) commanded wide assent among critics. A strong protest in favour of the old opinion was kept up all the time, but it was not till 1876 that Weizsäcker produced a decisive reaction in its favour. The great mass of the Church, he argued, must have been Gentile-Christian, though there was no doubt a Jewish-Christian minority. An attempt to construct a theory answering more closely to the facts presented by the epistle is that of Beyschlag. He supposes that the Church consisted mainly of proselytes—that is, of persons who were Gentiles by birth, but had passed through the Jews' religion. This would explain the great difficulty of the epistle, that Paul addresses his readers as if they were Gentiles, but argues with them as if they were Jews. Schürer, again, conceives of the Church as non-Jewish, and at the same time non-Pauline; the Hellenistic Jews of the *diaspora* would make Christians comparatively free in their relations to the ceremonial law, but with no adequate comprehension of the Pauline freedom, in principle, from law in every sense; it is an audience like this Paul is trying to elevate to his own standpoint. That such an audience could be found is not to be denied; whether it is to be found here we can only ascertain by comparing this theory with the facts of the epistle. Finally, Holtzmann gives up the attempt to realise the character of the Church. St. Paul had never been in Rome, did not really know the situation there, and has no distinct idea of his audience. When he finds it necessary to explain why he writes to them at all he thinks of them as Gentiles; when their previous culture and spiritual history, their sympathies, antipathies, and mode of reacting toward the Gospel generally, are in question, they are Jews. All this



shows that the problem is a complex one; and there is no means of doing anything to solve it but to examine the facts once more. They are all contained in the epistle itself, and it will be convenient to adduce the evidence (1) for the Gentile-Christian character of the readers; (2) for the Jewish-Christian character; and then to ask what conception covers and combines all the facts.

1. Evidence for the Gentile-Christian character of the Church.

(a) Chap. i. 5 f. Paul writes: "We received grace and Apostleship, with a view to obedience of faith ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν . . . ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς". Paul's conception of himself as Apostle of the Gentiles (Gal. ii. 8), and his appeal to this vocation in the salutation of his letter, put it beyond doubt that ἔθνη here means Gentiles, as opposed to Israel, and not nations generally. He is exercising his calling as Apostle to the Gentiles in writing to the Romans; for they, too, are in that class. Those who take the Jewish-Christian view argue that Paul would have had no need to tell a Church consisting of Romans by birth that they were included within the scope of his calling as Apostle to the Gentiles. But surely the Apostle's expression is perfectly natural; whereas if ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν means "among all the nations," it becomes perfectly meaningless.

(b) Chap. i. 13. "I purposed often to come to you, . . . ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν." This case is quite unambiguous. The Roman Christians are put on a level with the rest of the ἔθνη, and it agrees with this that the distinction of classes in ver. 14 (Greek and barbarian, wise and unintelligent) belongs to the pagan world.

Of course it is not meant here that Paul was Apostle of the Gentiles in such a sense that he would not have preached the Gospel to the Jews; but as far as he has a special vocation—and it is on a special vocation, and not on the duty of preaching the Gospel to every creature, that he bases his right to address the Romans—it is to the Gentile world. The Roman Church, therefore, belonged to that world.

(c) Chap. xi. 13. ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Here the whole Church is addressed in its character as Gentile. To this it has been replied that the whole Church is not addressed here; with ὑμῖν δὲ Paul expressly turns aside to address only a part of the Church. If the words stood alone, this might be maintained, but the context is decisive in favour of the former meaning. In the continuation of the passage (see especially xi. 25-28) the Church as a whole is warned against contempt for the Jews; it is addressed in the second person (xi. 25, 28, 30 f.), without any suggestion of distinctions in it, whereas the

Jews are spoken of throughout in the third. Further, when Paul speaks of the Jews in chaps. ix.-xi., it is as "*my brethren*," "*my kinsmen according to the flesh*," not *ours* nor *yours*, as would have been the case had the bulk of the Church been of Jewish origin.

(d) Chap. xv. 15 f. *τολμηροτέρως δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.* Here Paul justifies himself, in closing, for writing as he has done—especially, perhaps, for writing so decidedly in chap. xiv.-xv. 13—to the Romans. The reason he gives is unmistakable. He is a minister of Jesus Christ, a priest in the service of the Gospel; the offering he has to lay on the altar is the Gentiles, and he writes to the Romans because they are Gentiles, to further them in their faith, that when they are presented to God it may be an acceptable offering, sanctified in the Holy Spirit. There is no evading this argument; to say that in vers. 17-20 Paul's justification of this presentation of himself as minister of Jesus Christ *εἰς τὰ ἔθνη* is directed against Jewish-Christian suspicions and insinuations (*cf.* 2 Cor. x. 12-18, xii. 11, 12) may or may not be true, but is quite irrelevant; even if there were such suspicions, and even if they had begun to find acceptance in Rome, the Gentile character of the Church at Rome as a whole is here put beyond question.

(e) Less stress can be laid on passages like vi. 17 f. (*ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας*), though they have undoubtedly something which recalls the *ἐξ ἐθνῶν ἁμαρτωλοὶ* of Gal. ii. 15. By the time he has reached chap. vi. Paul is quite entitled to assume that his readers were once slaves of sin, without suggesting anything about their nationality. Neither do the suggestions of particular sins (*e.g.*, in vi. 12-14) throw any real light on the question. All kinds of bad things are done both by Gentiles and Jews. But discounting weak and uncertain arguments, there is a plain and solid case for maintaining that the great bulk of the Church at Rome was of Gentile origin.

## 2. Evidence for the Jewish-Christian character of the Church.

(a) There are passages in which Paul includes himself and his readers in the first person plural; now no one, it is to be observed, is included with him in the superscription, so that "*we*" must mean "*you and I*". Thus iii. 9 *προεχόμεθα*; are we (Jews) surpassed? But it is very natural to suppose that Paul here, as is his rule, allows his opponents (real or imaginary) to state their own objections in their own person, the "*we*" neither including himself nor his readers; or if he speaks in his own person, it is the *national* consciousness of the Jew, which Paul of course shared, and not the *joint* consciousness of Paul and his readers, which is conveyed by the plural. Another passage of the same kind is iv. 1: *Ἀβραάμ τὸν*



προπάτορα ἡμῶν κατὰ σάρκα. Here also the explanation is the same. Paul says "our" forefather because he has no choice. He could speak of his fellow-countrymen as "*my* kinsmen according to the flesh"; but it would have been obviously absurd for him to speak of Abraham as "*my*" forefather. It is only through his relation to the nation that he can claim a connection with Abraham, and hence the "our" in iv. 1 is national, not individual, and has nothing to do with the Romans. Cf. the precisely similar case in ix. 10 (Isaac *our* father). The same use of the first person plural is found in 1 Cor. x. 1 (All *our* fathers were under the cloud), which no one doubts was written to a thoroughly Gentile Church. As far therefore as passages like these are concerned, they do not invalidate in the least the evidence adduced for the Gentile character of the Church at Rome.

(b) Not so simple are those passages which speak either in the first or second person plural of the relation of the readers, or of Paul and his readers alike, to the law. The most important of these is chap. vii. 1-6. Paul here speaks to his readers as persons γινώσκουσι νόμον, knowing what law is. Even if we admit—which is not necessary, nor I believe right—that the reference is to the Mosaic law, it does not follow that the readers were Jews. Indeed the explicit recalling of the law to mind, while he assumes it to be known, might plausibly be alleged as an argument against a Jewish origin. But to pass that by, does not vii. 4, it is argued—So then, my brethren, *ye also were made dead to the law* by the body of Christ—imply that the persons addressed had lived under the law as well as the writer?—in other words, that they were Jews? And is this not confirmed, when we read in ver. 5 f., "When we were in the flesh, the sinful passions, which were *through the law*, wrought in our members to bring forth fruit unto death. But now *we have been discharged from the law*"? Have we not here, in relation to the law, an experience common to Paul and those whom he addressed, and does not this imply that antecedent to their conversion they and he had lived under the law—that is, were Jews by birth? It is natural, at first sight, to think so, but it is certainly wrong. There is an experience common to Paul and to all Christians, whatever their birth; if it were not so, they would not be Christians. It is possible also for him to describe that experience in relation to the law; once *all* Christians were under it, now they are so no more. *All* Christians were under it, for all were under sin, and to the Apostle sin and law are correlative terms. The law, indeed, did not take precisely the same form for Jew and Gentile; the one had an objective revelation, the other had a substitute. if not an equiva-

lent for this, written on his heart; but in both it wrought to the same issues. There is nothing in the world less Jewish, there is nothing more human, than Rom. vii. 7-24; but that is Paul's description of life under the law, and of the working of the law in that life. We understand it only too well, though we are not Jews; and so, no doubt, did those to whom it was first addressed. Hence Paul could quite well say to a Gentile Church: Ye were made dead to the law through the body of Christ; and could associate himself with them to say, We were discharged from the law by dying to that in which we were held. A perfectly clear case of this is to be found in Gal. iii. 13-iv. 9. No one imagines that the Galatians were Jews, yet Paul vindicates for them the very thing which he says of the Romans here. God sent forth His Son, he writes, made of a woman, made under law, *to redeem those that are under law*, that *we* might receive the adoption of sons. And because *ye* are sons, God sent forth the spirit of His Son into *our* hearts, etc. The alternation of the first and second persons here shows how Paul could conceive of Jew and Gentile alike as under law in their pre-Christian days, and how in their emancipation from this in Jesus Christ one experience was common to them all. In truth, "sin," "the law," "the curse of the law," "death," are names for something which belongs not to the Jewish but to the human conscience; and it is only because this is so that the Gospel of Paul is also a Gospel for us. Before Christ came and redeemed the world, all men were at bottom on the same footing: Pharisaism, legalism, moralism, or whatever it is called, it is in the last resort the attempt to be good without God, to achieve a righteousness of our own without an initial all-inclusive immeasurable debt to Him; in other words, without submitting, as sinful men must submit, to be justified by faith apart from works of our own, and to find in that justification, and in that only, the spring and impulse of all good. It was because Paul's Jewish experience was digested into a purely and perfectly human experience that he was able to transcend his Judaism, and to preach a universal gospel; and the use of such expressions as we have in vii. 1-6 is no proof that those to whom they applied were Jews too. They apply to us.

(c) The character of the argumentation in the epistle has been adduced in support of the Jewish origin of the readers. It is quite true that in the dialectical development of his gospel in Romans Paul often states and answers such objections as would naturally occur to one representing the historical and legal standpoint of the Jews' religion. Cf. iii. 1 (What advantage then hath the Jew?), vi. 1 (Are we to continue in sin that grace may abound?), vi. 15



(Are we to sin, because we are not under law, but under grace?) vii. 7 (What shall we say then? Is the law sin?), xi. 1 (I say then, Hath God cast off His people?). There are two obvious reasons why Paul should have developed his gospel by this dialectical process apart from the assumption that he is meeting the anticipated objections of his readers. One is, that he was a Jew himself, and justified his gospel instinctively, as he went along, against the *prima facie* objections to it which arose in his own mind. Here, again, however we must remember that though Paul was a Jew he was a man; and it does not strike one as rigorously historical, but as somewhat absurd, to characterise as Jewish or as Jewish-Christian the criticism of grace which comes natural to every human being. The other reason is, that Paul had heard already in other places most of the objections to his gospel which he answers in this epistle. There is only one express reference to this, in iii. 8 (As we are slandered, and as some affirm that we say, Let us do evil that good may come: for *τινες* here, cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1, Gal. ii. 12); but that Paul's gospel was assiduously and energetically counterworked we know quite well, and he may have heard (through some of his friends in the city) that his adversaries were forestalling him at Rome. These reasons fully explain the nature of his arguments; and in view of the direct evidence for the Gentile character of the Church they prove nothing on the other side.

(d) Great stress was laid by Baur on chaps. ix.-xi. in this connection. These, it was argued, were the real kernel of the epistle—the part for the sake of which it was really written, and by relation to which the rest has to be explained; and these, moreover, have no interest, or none worth speaking of, for a Gentile Church. It was only to a Jewish-Christian consciousness that this vindication of God's wonderful ways in the history of redemption required to be or could be addressed. Plausible as this may sound, the facts are against it. For whatever reason, it is precisely and unambiguously to the Gentiles that all this section is addressed. In ix. 1 f., x. 1 f. Paul speaks of the Jews in the third person (my prayer to God for *them*, etc.). He calls them *my* kinsmen, not *yours* or *ours*. He quotes himself, but not his readers (xi. 1), as proof that God has not cast off His people, which he would hardly have done had they also been Christian Jews (but see note on this verse). He uses the fate of the Jews, the natural branches, to warn his readers, grafted into the tree of life contrary to nature, against contempt, pride, and unbelief. Whatever the motive of these chapters may have been, it cannot have been that the bulk of the Romish Church was Jewish in

origin, or strongly Jewish in sympathy. The apostle's own application of their teaching in xi. 17-24 proves exactly the reverse.

(e) Still less can anything be made of an appeal to xiii. 1-7. The Jews were certainly a rebellious and turbulent race, and inherited theocratic ideas which might make them doubt the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar (Deut. xvii. 15, Mark xii. 13-17); but Christianity too in all its forms is an idealism which necessarily raises the question of the relation of God's Kingdom to the kingdoms of this world, and so gives occasion to such explanations as those of Paul in chap. xiii. 1-7. It has been pointed out, too, that echoes of this passage occur in the public prayer of the Roman Church in Clem., *ad. Cor.*, I., lxi., at a period when the Gentile character of the Church is not questioned.

(f) As for the use of the Old Testament in this epistle, it has no bearing whatever on the nationality of the readers. To all the New Testament writers the Old Testament was revelation, and in a sense Christian revelation; and they used it in the same way no matter to whom they wrote.

None of these passages is sufficient to prove that the Church as a whole was Jewish-Christian, or even that it was strongly influenced by Jewish ideas. On the other hand, the passages quoted under 1 prove conclusively that the bulk of the Church was Gentile, so that one writing to it as a body thought of it as a Gentile Church. This, of course, would not preclude the existence in it of a minority of Jewish origin. We can hardly conceive, in the lifetime of the Apostles, a Church without such an element. The Apostles themselves were all Jews, and it was their rule—it was even Paul's rule—to preach to the Jew first. But apart from this general presumption, we have a distinct indication in the epistle itself that there was in the Roman Church a Jewish-Christian element. In chap. xiv. Paul speaks of dissensions between "the strong" and "the weak," and though it would be wrong simply to identify these with Gentile and Jewish Christians, it is a safe inference from xv. 7-13, taken in connection with what precedes, that the difference between "strong" and "weak" was not unrelated to that between Gentile and Jew (see notes *ad loc.*). Hence the prevailing tendency of scholars is to recognise that the Church was Gentile as a whole, but had a minority of Jewish origin. To what extent the Gentile mass was influenced by Jewish ideas—how far the Gentile members of the Church had been originally proselytes, and were therefore appreciative of the Jewish-Christian consciousness or in sympathy with it—is another question. As we have seen above, under 2, *b*, *c*, no special assumption of this kind is needed to explain the manner in which Paul vindicates his gospel to them.



### CHAPTER III.

#### CHARACTER OF THE EPISTLE—ITS OCCASION AND PURPOSE.

THE character of the epistle has been a subject of as much discussion as the character of the readers, and the discussion is less likely ever to be closed. A writing of such vitality, which is always being in part lost, and always rediscovered in new power—a writing of such comprehensive scope and such infinite variety of application—a writing at once so personal and historical, and so universal and eternal, is not easily reduced to a formula which leaves nothing to be desired. The definitions of its purpose which have been given by scholars strike one rather as all right than as all wrong. But before entering on an examination of these it will be proper to investigate the occasion of the letter, as it may have some bearing on its purpose.

Paul's intention to visit Rome is first mentioned in Acts xix. 21, and, as Hort remarks, it is expressed with curious emphasis. "After these things were ended, Paul *purposed in the spirit* (ἔθετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι), when he had passed through Macedonia, and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome." He passed through Macedonia and Achaia, as he proposed, and it was during his stay in Corinth (which, according to the usual chronology, was in the winter of 58-59), and towards the close of it, that he wrote this letter. This is a point on which all scholars are agreed. When he wrote, he was on the point of starting, or perhaps had started, on his journey to Jerusalem, with the collection for the poor saints there which had been made in the Churches of Galatia, Macedonia and Achaia (chap. xv. 25 ff., 1 Cor. xvi. 1-4, 2 Cor. viii. ix.). He had with him Timothy and Sosipater, or Sopater (chap. xvi. 21), whom we know otherwise to have been in his company (Acts xx. 4), when he started on that journey. Gaius, his host at the moment (xvi. 23), is probably the same as the Gaius whom he had himself baptised at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14). The time and place, therefore, at which the Epistle to the Romans was written are beyond question. But we ought to notice these not only formally, as points of geography and chronology, but in their significance in Paul's life. The time was one at which he felt that his work in the

East was done. From Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum he had fully preached the gospel of Christ. He had no more place in these parts (xv. 19, 23). His eye was turned westward, and rested inevitably on Rome. He had wished to visit it for a good many years (xv. 23), perhaps ever since he had first met Prisca and Aquila in Corinth (Acts xviii. 2), and he had often formed the purpose, though it had been as often disappointed (i. 13). But now it had a definiteness which it had never had before. He did not indeed look on Rome as the goal of his journey; he meant only to stay there till he had been somewhat satisfied with the Church's fellowship, and then to be convoyed by them toward Spain (xv. 24). But he was a Roman citizen, and must have been conscious, as an expression in i. 8 shows ("Your faith is proclaimed in all the world"), of the supreme importance of the Church which had its seat in the capital of the empire. He would not only wish a point of support there for his further operations in the West; he must have been more than commonly anxious that Christianity there should appear as what it truly was, and that the Romans should be firmly established in it. If Paul was going to write to the Romans at all, no matter from what immediate impulse—though it should only have been to announce his approaching visit—it would be natural that his communication, in proportion as he realized the place and coming importance of the Church at Rome, should assume a catholic and comprehensive character. We can hardly imagine the man who was conscious of his own vocation as Apostle of the Gentiles, and conscious at the same time of the central significance of this Church, writing anything of a merely formal character to such a community. When *he* introduced himself to *them*, it was a great occasion, and the epistle is the best evidence that he was sensible of its greatness.

There are other considerations which would tell on Paul's mind in the same direction. When he wrote, he was setting out on a journey the issue of which was doubtful and perilous. At the very outset he had to change his course, because of a plot formed against him by the Jews (Acts xx. 3). He dreaded what these same relentless enemies might do in Judæa; he was not sure that even the Christians in Jerusalem would receive graciously the offering which his love and zeal had raised among the Gentiles on their behalf (chap. xv. 31). He was setting out in readiness not only to be bound, but to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts xxi. 13). In a sense, therefore, this epistle might be called his testament (Weiss). He puts into it, not merely what is suggested to him by special circumstances of which he is aware in the Church at Rome—*e.g.*, the discussion of the relations between "the strong" and "the weak"—but all that his



own situation and that of the Church, looking at both in the largest aspect, determine to be of interest. He has achieved a great work in the East. By carrying the charity of the Gentile Christians to Jerusalem, and fraternising once more with the primitive Church, he hopes to secure and perfect that work, and to effect a more cordial union between the two great branches of Christendom, which so imperfectly understood each other. He has passed through great conflicts, but his mind has only been made clearer by them, and established in firmer possession of the fundamental principles of the Christian life; he can define it without misgiving in relation to all previous modes of human experience and all earlier stages of religion, whether in Greek or Jew. His heart is set on further labours, but he is profoundly conscious of the uncertainties of the future. Such are the outward and the spiritual conditions under which Paul writes. Is it not manifest that when we give them all the historical definiteness of which they are capable, there is something in them which rises above the casualness of time and place, something which might easily give the epistle not an accidental or occasional character, but the character of an exposition of principles? Be the immediate motive what it may, it is not incredible that the epistle should have something in it which is rather eternal than historical, and that it should require for its interpretation, not a minute acquaintance with opinion in the apostolic age, but some sense of God and man.

The various opinions as to the purpose of the letter have been classified by almost all writers on Introduction under similar heads: it is only necessary to premise that such opinions do not in fact (whatever their authors may think) necessarily exclude one another.

1. The purpose of the letter, according to some, is *dogmatic*. It is a systematic and formal exposition of the Gospel according to Paul. It is a doctrinal treatise, to which only accident gave the form of a letter; in other circumstances it might have been a book. This was the opinion which ruled at the time of the Reformation. Luther calls the epistle *absolutissima epitome evangelii*. Melancthon calls it *doctrinæ Christianæ compendium*. No one can say that these descriptions are inept. Luther did find the Gospel in Romans, and found it in a power which made him the greatest conductor of spiritual force since Paul, which directly regenerated one half of Christendom, and indirectly did much to reform the other half. Melancthon made the epistle the basis of his *Loci*. He was delighted to find a theology which did not philosophise about the mysteries of the Trinity, or the modes of incarnation, or active and passive creation; but through sin and law and grace gave the know-

ledge of Christ and His benefits. The dogmatic conception of the epistle has held its ground even in modern times, and among writers who pride themselves in giving the historical its due. Thus Hausrath describes it as "the essential content of what he otherwise preached by word of mouth". Hilgenfeld calls it "a complete presentation of the Gospel which Paul preaches among the Gentiles". Pfeiderer, more dogmatically still, speaks of it as "an objective development of the truth of the Gospel, drawn from the nature of the Gospel itself". And certainly, whatever the writer's motive may have been, the letter *has* a systematic character. There is no analogy in any other of his epistles to the connected train of thought which runs from i. 16 to viii. 39 or even to xi. 36. There is indeed a break between chaps. viii. and ix., but there is no unbridgeable gulf. Holtzmann gives, as specimens of the way in which they can be connected, the opinions of Mangold (in i.-viii. Paul justifies his doctrine of salvation, in ix.-xi. his action as a missionary), of Holsten (in i.-viii. he justifies the content, in ix.-xi. the result, of his preaching), and of Pfeiderer (in i.-viii. there is the dogmatic, in ix.-xi. the historical aspect of his gospel). This last agrees pretty much with Godet, who makes the subject of the whole eleven chapters salvation by faith, chaps. i.-viii. treating this in relation to the individual, and chaps. ix.-xi. in relation to its development in history. The systematic character of this part, therefore, is beyond doubt. Those who insist upon it are not of course blind to the parts of the epistle (chaps. xiv. and xv.) in which incidental matters affecting the Church at Rome are touched upon; but it is not in these, they would say, but in the formal presentation of the truth in chaps. i.-xi. that the purpose of the letter is revealed. Granting this, however, the question arises whether the systematic character of the epistle is equivalent to a dogmatic character. In other words, is Paul simply expounding, in a neutral, unprejudiced, objective fashion, the whole scope and contents of his gospel, or is he expounding it in relation to something present to his mind, and to the mind of his readers, which gives the exposition a peculiar character?

2. The latter alternative is affirmed by those who hold that the purpose of the epistle is *controversial*. It is an exposition of Paul's gospel indeed, but not a purely dogmatic one, which in an epistle would be gratuitous and out of place. The exposition is throughout conducted with reference to an attack such as would be made on Pauline Christianity from the point of view of Judaism, or even of Jewish Christianity. It is not so much an exposition as a defence and a vindication. Practically this idea governs many interpretations. *e.g.*, that of Lipsius. That there is



an element of truth in it is not to be denied. Paul does not write *in vacuo*, in no concrete relations at all. In iii. 8 there is a hint of actual adversaries and their criticisms on the Pauline gospel ; in xvi. 17-20 there is another hint of at least possible ones. It may be, as has been noticed above (p. 566), that Jews or Jewish Christians were attempting to create prejudice against the Apostle in Rome ; but we cannot, on the ground that this is a letter, and must therefore have its character explained by the circumstances of the readers, conclude for certain (with Weizsäcker), that this was the case. In expounding his gospel systematically to the Romans, Paul defines it, not necessarily against enemies who were forestalling him in Rome, but against the criticism which had followed him all through his missionary work. And we must remember, as has also been referred to already, that part of that criticism was not so much Jewish as human. It is not the Jewish or Jewish-Christian consciousness in particular—it is the consciousness of the natural man at a certain stage of moral development—which thinks that forgiveness is an immoral doctrine, and is shocked at the idea of a God “who justifies the ungodly,” or on the other hand, indulges the idea that pardon procures licence to sin. Though the opposition Paul encountered everywhere was headed by Jews or by Christians of Jewish birth, what it represented was by no means exclusively Jewish ; and in an epistle of this unique character, standing where it stands in the Apostle’s life, and making so little express reference to actual Jewish adversaries (contrast it in this respect with Galatians or 2 Cor. x.-xiii.), we must not limit too narrowly the kind of opposition he has in view. He is stating the case of gospel against law—against all that is pre-Christian, infra-Christian, and anti-Christian ; and his polemic has not a temporary but a permanent significance. It is addressed not to Jews of the first century, but to men, and to Christians, of all time. Nothing so conclusively proves its necessity as the fact that it so soon ceased to be understood. It is not easy to live at the spiritual height at which Paul lived. It is not easy to realise that religion begins absolutely on God’s side ; that it begins with a demonstration of God’s love to the sinful, which man has done nothing and can do nothing to merit ; and that the assurance of God’s love is not the goal to be reached by our own efforts, but the only point from which any human effort can start. It is not easy to realise that justification, in the sense of an initial assurance of God’s love, extending over all our life, is the indispensable pre-supposition of everything which can be called Christianity. It is not easy to realise that in the atoning death of Christ and the gift of the Holy Ghost there are the only and the adequate securities

for Christian morality ; that the only good man is the forgiven man, and that he is good, not because he is under law, but because he is not under law but under grace. There must have been many men who were practically Christian, and that, too, in the broad sense, which gave no advantage to the Jew over the Gentile, but who were far from realising their Christianity in principle like Paul. In his heroic sense, indeed, Christianity hardly survived him ; it was recovered in something like its native power, attested even by a recrudescence of its original perils, at the time of the Reformation ; and it always requires to be rediscovered again. But this is only another way of saying that the polemic of the Epistle to the Romans is not narrowly anti-Jewish ; it is anti-legal ; and, whenever legalism establishes itself in the Church anew, whether as mere custom, or as a dogmatic tradition, or as a clerical order claiming to be essential to the constitution of the Church, the Christian conscience will find in this polemic the sword of the spirit to strike it down. We admit, therefore, that the epistle has a controversial aspect ; but probably the controversy is not so much with definite adversaries at work in Rome as with those principles and instincts in human nature which long experience as a preacher had made familiar to St. Paul.

3. A third view of the epistle defines its purpose as *conciliatory*. This, again, by no means excludes either of the views already commented on. Even controversy may be conducted in a conciliatory tone, and with a conciliatory purpose. When Paul wrote, he was extremely anxious about the unity of Jew and Gentile in the Church. His journey to Jerusalem had mainly that in view. In the epistle, while there is much that is trenchant in argument, there is nothing that is personal in feeling. There is no contemptuous irony, such as we have in 2 Cor. x.-xiii. ; no uncontrolled passion such as flashes out here and there in Galatians. Although the law works wrath and stimulates sin, he describes it as holy, spiritual, and ordained unto life. He speaks with passionate affection of the Jews (ix. 1 ff.), always recognises their historical prerogatives (iii. 1 ff., ix. 1 ff.), warns the Gentiles against self-exaltation over them, and anticipates the salvation of Israel as a whole. In chaps. xiv.-xv. also his generosity to "the weak," though his judgment is unequivocally with the strong, may be regarded in the same light ; the weak are certainly connected with the Jews, and his aim in the whole passage is the peace and unity of the Church. All this confirms us in thinking that the controversial aspect of the epistle should not be urged with special severity against Jewish Christians, or their modes of thought : Paul has no desire to exasperate any one, but in the position in which he stands, "the greatest moving power in the enlargement



and building up of the universal Church" (Hort), about to visit Jerusalem at once, and Rome, if he can, immediately afterwards, his desire is to win and to unite all.

From this point of view it is possible to form a conception of the purpose of the epistle which will do something like justice to it as a whole. It is an epistle, not a book. Paul wrote to Rome, not simply to clear up his own mind, not as a modern writer might do, addressing the world at large; he wrote to this particular community, and under a particular impulse. He knew something about the Church, as chaps. xiv. and xv. show; and while he might have acquired such information from members of it whom he met in Corinth, Ephesus, or elsewhere, it is quite probable, from chap. xvi., that he had friends and correspondents at Rome itself. He wrote to the Roman Christians because it was in his mind to visit them; but the nature of his letter is determined, not simply by consideration of their necessities, but by consideration of his own position. The letter is "occasional," in the sense that it had a historical motive—to intimate and prepare for the coming visit; but it is not occasional in the sense in which the first Epistle to the Corinthians is so. It is not a series of answers to questions which the Romans had propounded; it is not a discussion, relevant to them only, of points either in doctrine or practice which had incidentally come to be of critical importance in Rome. Its character, in relation to St. Paul's mind, is far more central and absolute than this would imply. It is in a real sense a systematic exposition of what he distinctively calls "my gospel" (ii. 16), such an exposition as makes him thoroughly known to a community which he foresaw would have a decisive importance in the history of Christianity. It is not an impromptu note, nor a series of unconnected remarks, each with a motive of its own; it is the manifesto of his gospel, by means of which the Apostle of the Gentiles, at a great crisis and turning point in his life, establishes relations with the Christian community in the capital of the Gentile world. It can be dated, of course, but no writing in the New Testament is less casual; none more catholic and eternal. It is quite true that in expounding his gospel Paul proceeds by a certain dialectical process; he advances step by step, and at every step defines the Christian truth as against some false or defective, some anti-Christian or infra-Christian view; in this sense it is controversial. But we have seen already the limitations under which alone a controversial character can be ascribed to it; Paul is not so much controverting anybody in particular as vindicating the truth he expounds against the assaults and misconstructions to which he had found it give rise. There is no animosity against the

Jews in it ; no sentence such as 1 Thess. ii. 15 f. or Gal. v. 12. It is an establishment of principles he aims at ; except in iii. 8, xvi. 17-20 there is no reference to persons. Even in chaps. ix.-xi. (see the introduction at chap. ix.) the whole tone is conciliatory ; the one thing which tries our faith in them is Paul's assurance of the future of his own people. But as an interpretation of the actual working out in human history of that method of salvation which he has expounded in the first eight chapters—as an exhibition of the process through which the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles alike contribute eventually to the universality of the Gospel—these chapters are an essential part of the epistle. They are mainly but not exclusively apologetic : they belong to that whole conception of the Gospel, and of the mode in which it becomes the inheritance of the world, which was of one substance with the mind of St. Paul. No one who read the first eleven chapters of the epistle could meet the Apostle as a stranger on anything essential in Christianity as he understood it. No doubt, as Grafe has remarked, it does not contain an eschatology like 1 Cor. xv. or 2 Cor. v., nor a Christology like Col. i. But it establishes that which is fundamental beyond the possibility of misconception. It vindicates once for all the central facts, truths and experiences, without which Christianity cannot exist. It vindicates them at once in their relation to the whole past of mankind, and in their absolute newness, originality and self-sufficiency. It is an utter misapprehension to say that “just the most fundamental doctrines—the Divine Lordship of Christ, the value of His death, the nature of the Sacraments—are assumed rather than stated or proved” (Sanday and Headlam, p. xli.). There can be only one fundamental doctrine, and that doctrine for Paul is the doctrine of justification by faith. That is not part of his gospel, it is the whole of it : there Luther is his true interpreter. If legalists or moralists object, Paul's answer is that justification regenerates, and that nothing else does. By its consistency with this fundamental doctrine, we test everything else that is put forward as Christian. It is only as we hold this, on principle, with the clearness with which Paul held it, that we can know what Christian liberty is in the sense of the New Testament—that liberty in which the will of God is done from the heart, and in which no commandments or ordinances of men, no definitions or traditions, no customs or “orders,” have any legal authority for the conscience. And in the only legitimate sense of the word this liberty does not make void, but establishes the law. That is the paradox in the true religion which perpetually baffles those who would reduce it to an institution or a code.



## CHAPTER IV.

### INTEGRITY OF THE EPISTLE.

THE integrity of the Epistle to the Romans has been called in question mainly in connection with chaps. xv. and xvi. Partly on the ground of textual phenomena, partly on internal grounds, the authenticity of these chapters has been denied, in whole or in part; and even among those who recognise chap. xvi. as Pauline, many are unable to recognise Rome as the place to which it was addressed. It will be convenient to consider (1) the questions raised by the position of the doxology, and the various endings; (2) questions raised by the internal character of chap. xv.; and (3) questions connected with the character and destination of chap. xvi.

1. The position of the doxology, and the various endings. The facts in regard to the doxology are as follows:—

(a) It is given at xvi. 25-27, and there only, by **NBCDE**, Vulgate, Syriac, Memphitic, Aethiopic and Latin Fathers. This is by far the best attested position for it, and that which, owing to the respect of Erasmus for the Vulgate, it occupies in the received text.

(b) At xiv. 23, and there only, it is found in **L**, most cursives, Greek lectionaries, and Greek commentators except Origen. Possibly the lectionaries explain its appearance at this point. The matter in chaps. xv. and xvi. being of a more personal or temporary interest was not likely to be chosen for reading in church. But in order that the great doxology, which was too short for a lesson by itself, might not be lost in public worship, it was appended to the last lesson before chap. xv.

(c) It is found both after xiv. 23 and at xvi. 25-27 in **AP 17 arm**.

(d) It is omitted in both places in **FG**, but **F** has space left after xvi. 24, in which **f** (the Latin of this bi-lingual MS.) has the doxology, while **G** has space left between chaps. xiv. and xv.

Besides this variety of MS. attestation, there are certain other facts to take into consideration. (a) There is the evidence of Origen (in his translator Rufinus) to the text in his time. It runs as follows (ed. Lommatzsch, vii., p. 453): *Caput hoc Marcion, a quo*

*Scripturæ evangelicæ et apostolicæ interpolatæ sunt, de hac epistola penitus abstulit; et non solum hoc sed et ab eo loco, ubi scriptum est: omne autem quod non est ex fide peccatum est: usque ad finem cuncta dissecuit. In aliis vero exemplaribus, id est, in his quæ non sunt a Marcione temerata, hoc ipsum caput diverse positum invenimus; in nonnullis etenim codicibus post eum locum quem supra diximus hoc est: omne autem quod non est ex fide peccatum est: statim cohærens habetur: ei autem qui potens est vos confirmare. Alii vero codices in fine id, ut nunc est positum, continent.* This remark is made at xvi. 25, and *caput hoc* means, of course, this passage, i.e., the doxology. Marcion wholly omitted it there. But what do the following words mean? What strikes one at first is that he not only omitted it there, but omitted everything standing after "whatsoever is not of faith is sin"—in other words, not only the doxology, but the whole of chaps. xv. and xvi. But Dr. Hort (*vide* Appendix, p. 112), who reads (with what he says seems to be the best MS.) *in eo loco* instead of *ab eo loco*, and changes *hoc* into *hic*, only finds the statement that Marcion cut off the whole of the doxology at xiv. 23, as well as at xvi. 25. But *usque ad finem cuncta dissecuit* is a very misleading way to express this to readers whose copies of the epistle would all contain chaps. xv. and xvi., and it is hardly open to doubt that the first impression of the meaning is the correct one, and that Marcion ended his Epistle to the Romans at xiv. 23. Thus, as Gifford puts it, "we have evidence of a *diversity of position* before Origen's time, and regarded by him as independent of Marcion's mutilated copies. But we have no evidence of *omission* before Marcion, who was at Rome propagating his views about A.D. 138-140."

(b) There is the evidence of the "capitulations," or division of the epistle into sections, in some MSS. of the Latin Bible, especially the two best codices of the Vulgate, Codex Amiatinus and Codex Fuldensis, both sixth century MSS. In Codex Amiatinus there are fifty-one sections. The fiftieth, entitled *De periculo contristante fratrem suum esca sua, et quod non sit regnum Dei esca et potus sed iustitia et pax et gaudium in Spiritu Sancto*, evidently answers to chap. xiv. 15-23; the fifty-first, which is entitled *De mysterio Domini ante passionem in silentio habito, post passionem vero ipsius revelato*, as plainly corresponds to the doxology. The capitulations therefore were drawn up for a Latin MS. which omitted chaps. xv. and xvi. In another way the capitulations in Codex Fuldensis point to the same conclusion.

(c) There is the appearance, at least, of different endings. 1. When the doxology stands at xiv. 23, it indicates an ending at that



point, though otherwise it is a very unnatural one, as the subject and sense of chap. xiv. run on unbroken to xv. 13. 2. There is at xv. 33 what has sometimes been taken as another ending: "The God of peace be with you all. Amen." 3. There is the benediction at xvi. 20: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you". This is genuine, and is an ordinary Pauline formula at the close of a letter. 4. There is the benediction at xvi. 24: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen." Most editors regard this as spurious; it has been transferred in Western texts from verse 20 to this place, and finally established itself in both. Gifford, however, regards it as genuine in both places. 5. There is the doxology at xvi. 25-27.

(d) In G all mention of Rome is wanting: see critical note on i. 7, 15.

This complicated combination of facts has not yet been clearly explained, and perhaps never will be. Renan's theory was that Romans is really a circular letter, and that it was sent in various directions, with different endings, which were afterwards combined. Lightfoot thought the facts adduced amounted to irresistible evidence that in early times shorter copies of the epistle existed, containing only chaps. i.-xiv., with or without the doxology; and the theory by which he explained these facts was this, that "St. Paul, at a later period of his life, reissued the epistle in a shorter form with a view to general circulation, omitting the last two chapters, obliterating the mention of Romans in the first chapter, and adding the doxology, which was no part of the original epistle". This tempting theory was expounded in the *Journal of Philology*, 1871, in a review of M. Renan; and this review, along with a minute criticism of Dr. Hort, and a reply by Lightfoot, can be studied in Lightfoot's *Biblical Essays*, pp. 285-374. An acute statement of the objections to it is also given by Gifford in the introduction to his commentary (p. 23 f.); yet when all is said, it remains the most satisfying hypothesis that has yet been suggested for the colligation of the facts. Sanday and Headlam think that Paul could not possibly have made the break at xiv. 23—he must have been too conscious that the sense ran on unbroken to xv. 13; it was probably to Marcion, therefore, to whom the references to the Jews and the Old Testament in xv. 1-13 were objectionable, that the imperfect copies of the epistle owed their existence. This is hardly convincing. If there is not a break at xiv. 23, there is at least a pause in the thought, and Paul may as easily have made a division there as the author of our present division into chapters. Besides, as Gifford points out (see above,

p. 577), there is evidence that the doxology stood in different positions (at xiv. 23 for one) before Origen's time, and independently of Marcion's mutilated copies. Hence some one must have felt that xiv. 23 was not an impossible place to stop at, and that for other than Marcion's reasons; and if some one, why not Paul himself? But in the absence of any direct evidence as to how the textual phenomena originated, it is very improbable that any certainty on the subject will ever be attained.

## 2. Questions raised by the internal character of chap. xv.

The Tübingen school, or at least some of its more vigorous adherents, followed Baur in finding chap. xv. too moderate in tone for Paul. Baur regarded the last two chapters as the work of some one "writing in the spirit of the Acts of the Apostles, seeking to soothe the Judaists and to promote the cause of unity, and therefore tempering the keen anti-Judaism of Paul with a milder and more conciliatory conclusion to the epistle". An argument like this rests on a general impression of what it was possible for Paul to write, and can only be met by another general impression of a different sort. It is sufficient to say that later scholars are practically at one in finding that there is nothing in the chapter inconsistent with Pauline authorship. The Paul by whom Baur measured all things in the epistles is really not the Paul of history, but of a more or less arbitrary theory; and his picture has to be corrected by taking into account precisely such revelations of his true attitude to the questions of his time as are found in this chapter. Lipsius, who thinks the fifteenth chapter as a whole genuine, nevertheless holds that it has been interpolated. He omits the latter part of verse 19—ὥστε με ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωμέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ—as inconsistent with Gal. i. 18-24, and unsupported by any accredited historical evidence. But he admits that it is supported by Acts ix. 28 f.; and if we compare i. 8, Col. i. 23, and remember that what we have before us is not sworn evidence but a broad rhetorical description of the Apostle's missionary labours, we shall probably think the expression characteristically Pauline rather than the reverse. In verse 20 Lipsius omits οὐχ ὅπου ὠνομάσθη Χριστός, ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον οἰκοδομῶ, ἀλλά. The words, he argues, are suggested by 2 Cor. x. 15; but the purpose expressed in them, of not preaching the Gospel in Rome, because Rome is a mission-field belonging to others (who have introduced Christianity there already), is incompatible with i. 5, 13-15, xii. 3, xv. 15. It is enough to answer that the purpose of not preaching the Gospel at Rome is not expressed here at all. Paul tells the principle on which he has always acted—the principle



of breaking new ground. It is the principle on which he will act still, for he takes Rome only *en route* for Spain; but that is not inconsistent with anything he purposes to do at Rome in the way of Christian work, nor with anything he does in this epistle. On the same principle Lipsius omits also verses 23 and 24; but with equal groundlessness. The very facts to which he refers, that the plan of travel announced in these verses is nowhere else referred to either in Acts or in the Epistles, and that it was (as he thinks) never carried out, are conclusive evidence of the genuineness of the passage. What motive could a late interpolator have for putting into Paul's mind a projected voyage, of which there was no purpose on record, and which was never actually made? The unanimous testimony of all sources guarantees the integrity of the text; and there is no reason whatever to doubt that it is Paul's.

3. Questions connected with the character and destination of chap. xvi.

When we come to this chapter the situation is changed. It is not its genuineness, but its destination, that is called in question. Since 1829, when David Schulz suggested that it was a fragment of an epistle to the Ephesians, this opinion has been widely received. The exact extent of the fragment, indeed, is disputed. Schulz made it consist of verses 1-20; Weizsäcker says verses 1-23; others, verses 3-20, or 1-15, or 1-16 and 21-23, or 3-16 only. Whatever its limits, the arguments on behalf of it can only be estimated by going over the chapter, and considering them as they emerge.

(a) The suggestion is made that Phoebe, sailing from Cenchreæ, would naturally have Ephesus rather than Rome as her goal. But there is no reason to believe that she was sailing from Cenchreæ, though she lived there. Paul may have met her in Corinth on her way to Rome.

(b) At first sight there may seem more reason to believe that Aquila and Priscilla point to Ephesus. They had gone thither with Paul at an earlier date (Acts xviii. 19), and they had a church in their house there, which joined them in a greeting to Corinth, when Paul wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 19); and they were there also some years later (2 Tim. iv. 19). The question is whether these facts, in the circumstances, outweigh the fact that the greeting is found here in a letter addressed to Rome. If we look at the whole situation, this is at least doubtful. As fellow-workers of Paul, it is plain that they shared to a large extent his wandering life, and we know that they had originally a connection with Rome (Acts xviii. 2). There is nothing in the least improbable

in the idea that though they were in Ephesus, say in 54 and 57 A.D., and again say in 66, they should have been in Rome in 58. Paul must have had his information about the Church in Rome from some one; and nothing is so likely as that he had it from his old and intimate associates, Aquila and Priscilla, who had themselves a connection of old standing with the capital.

(c) There remains the case of Epænetus, who is described as the first fruits of Asia unto Christ. The received text has Achaia, but that is an error. One fails to see, however, why this Epænetus, though the first Christian convert in the province of Asia, should be bound to remain there always. There is no difficulty in supposing that he was at Rome, and that Paul, who knew him, was aware of the fact, and introduced his name to multiply for himself points of contact with the Roman Church.

These are the only definite matters of fact on which the theory of an Ephesian destination of the chapter has been based. They do not amount to anything against the weight of all the external evidence which makes them part of a letter to Rome. Nor is their weight increased by pointing out in the verses which follow the large number of persons with whom Paul had been in personal relations — persons whom he calls “my beloved,” “my fellow-labourers,” “my fellow-captives”; “who bestowed much labour on us”; “his mother and mine” Paul’s life as a missionary brought him into contact with persons in all the great towns of the East, and though he had not yet visited Rome, it cannot be doubted that many of those with whom in the course of his twenty years’ ministry he had established such relations as are referred to here, had for one cause or other found their way to the great city. Paul would naturally, in preparing for his own visit, make all that he could of such points of attachment with the Roman Church as he had. It is, as Gifford points out, a very strong, indeed a conclusive argument for the Roman destination of the letter, that of the twenty-two persons named in verses 6-15, not one can be shown to have been at Ephesus; while (1) Urbanus, Rufus, Ampliatus, Julia and Junia are specifically Roman names, and (2) besides the first four of these names, “ten others, Stachys, Apelles, Tryphaena, Tryphosa, Hermes, Hermas, Patrobas (or Patrobius), Philologus, Julia, Nereus are found in the sepulchral inscriptions on the Appian Way as the names of persons connected with ‘Cæsar’s household’ (Phil. iv. 22), and contemporary with St. Paul”. Hence, in spite of the difficulty of Paul’s knowing so many people in a Church he had never visited, and the equally great



difficulty that none of all these people are mentioned in the letters the Apostle afterwards wrote from Rome (see Col. iv. 10 f.), scholars like Lightfoot, Gifford and Sanday find no reason to give up the historical tradition which makes this chapter an integral part of the epistle addressed to Rome. There is really more reason to question verses 17-20 than any other part of the chapter. Words like those in verse 19—ἐφ' ὑμῶν οὖν χαίρω, θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ.—certainly strike one as in better keeping if addressed to a Church with which Paul had had such previous relations as entitled him to take a personal tone than if addressed to strangers. But we cannot tell *a priori* how the consciousness of an Apostle towards a Christian community he had never yet seen was determined; it may, with all the disclaiming of titles to interfere, have involved precisely that authoritativeness and sense of responsibility to and for the Church which is expressed in this passage.

As for the doxology, it stands by itself. Lightfoot thought it no part of the original epistle. Neither did Alford. "Probably," says the latter, "on reperusing his work either at the time, or, as the altered style seems to import, in after years at Rome, he subjoins the fervid and characteristic doxology with which it closes." Opinions on the genuineness of the doxology vary in part (but not exclusively) as opinions vary on the genuineness of the pastoral epistles. In spite of the vindication of the style word by word, the impression it leaves on the mind is hardly Pauline. It seems artificial rather than inspired. It is defended by Gifford, Hort, and Sanday and Headlam; by Weiss (who thinks Paul may have added it with his own hand), Godet, and many others: rejected by Delitzsch, Pfleiderer, Schultz and Lipsius. In substance it recapitulates the main ideas of the epistle.

#### TEXT.

The text printed in this commentary is the *Textus Receptus*, but that which is commented upon is practically that of Westcott and Hort. Various readings, of any importance, have been carefully noted in the *apparatus criticus*, with such an indication of the authorities for them as will be sufficient for those who do not aspire to be experts in this department: care has been taken to give the evidence for those readings in which critical editors depart from the received text. It is impossible here to do more than note the MSS. and other authorities which have been cited; information as to their characteristics and value must be sought from such sources as the *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graecum*,

or Scrivener's *Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, or Westcott and Hort's *Introduction*, vol. ii. An easier book to begin with is Hammond's *Textual Criticism applied to the New Testament*. In Sanday and Headlam's *Commentary* (pp. lxiii.-lxxiv.), there is a lucid account of the chief sources of evidence for the text of Romans, and of their relations to one another; while B. Weiss, in his great work, *Das Neue Testament: Textkritische Untersuchungen und Textherstellung*, gives weight to considerations of a kind that more purely "diplomatic" constructors of texts are apt to overlook.

The principal MSS. of Romans are those which also contain the gospels, viz.,  $\aleph$ ABC.  $\aleph$  and B belong to the fourth century, A and C to the fifth. The MSS. next in importance, DEFG, are different from those which are called by the same names in the gospels: they are all Graeco-Latin MSS. D is the Codex Claromontanus which Tischendorf assigns to the sixth century. It wants Romans i. 1-7, 27-30. Tregelles describes it as "one of the most valuable MSS. extant". E is the Codex Sangermanensis, now at St. Petersburg. It is probably not older than the ninth or tenth century, and is described by Sanday and Headlam as "nothing more than a faulty copy of D". F is the Codex Augiensis, now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is of the ninth century, and wants Romans i. 1-iii. 19 ἐν τῷ νό[μῳ]. G is the Codex Boernerianus, now in Dresden, and is a little later than F. It wants Romans i. 1 ἀφωρισμένος . . . i. 5 πίστεως, and ii. 16 τὰ κρυπτὰ . . . ii. 25 νόμου ἡς. These four all belong to the type of text which Westcott and Hort call Western. Other uncials of less importance are K, Codex Mosquensis; L, Codex Angelicus; and P, Codex Porphyrianus, all of about the same age, i.e., the ninth century. Of cursive MSS. those quoted in this work are 17 (the same as 33 in the Gospels, and 13 in Acts), "the queen of cursives"; 47, of the eleventh or twelfth century, now in the Bodleian Library; and 67, of the eleventh century, now at Vienna. The marginal corrector of this MS., quoted as 67\*\*, gives many peculiar and ancient readings. The versions referred to are the Latin Vulgate, especially as given in Codex Amiatinus circa 514 A.D. and Codex Fuldensis, also of sixth century; the old Latin contained in DEFG (see above); the Syriac versions, one of which (the Peshitto) was "certainly current much in its present form early in the fourth century" (Sanday and Headlam), while the other dates from the sixth: an occasional reference is also made to the Egyptian versions, and to the Armenian: the last was made in the fifth century.



To estimate the value of any reading it is necessary to consider the relations to each other of the authorities which support it. In the Epistle to the Romans, as elsewhere in the New Testament, these authorities tend to fall into groups. Thus **NB** form one; **DEFG** a second; and **NACLP** a third. **NB** form what Westcott and Hort describe as "neutral" authorities; **DEFG** are "Western"; **NACLP** include what they call "Alexandrian," but are not identical with it. Sanday and Headlam, after giving an account of the authorities for the text, define the "specific characteristics of the textual apparatus of Romans" as these: (i.) the general inferiority in boldness and originality of the Western text; (ii.) the fact that there is a distinct Western element in B, which therefore when it is combined with authorities of the Western type is diminished in value; (iii.) the consequent rise in importance of the group **NAC**; (iv.) the existence of a few scattered readings either of B alone or of B in combination with one or two other authorities which have considerable intrinsic probability, and may be right. By a little practice on the readings for which the authority is given in the *apparatus criticus*, the student can familiarise himself with the facts, and exercise his own judgment on them.

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In the notes, Winer means Moulton's edition of Winer's Grammar; W. and H. stands for Westcott and Hort; S. and H. for Sanday and Headlam's Commentary on Romans.

## ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ

Η ΠΡΟΣ

ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ.

Ι. Ι. ΠΑΥΛΟΣ δούλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,\* κλητὸς ἀπόστολος, ἀφωρισμένος α ἰ Cor. 1  
εἰς εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ, 2. (ὁ προσηγγεῖλατο διὰ τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ <sup>1, 2</sup>

CHAPTER I.—Vn. 1-7. The usual salutation of the Apostle is expanded, as is natural in writing to persons whom he has not seen, into a description both of himself and of his Gospel. Both, so to speak, need a fuller introduction than if he had been writing to a Church he had himself founded. The central idea of the passage is that of the whole epistle, that the Gospel, as preached by Paul to the Gentiles, was not inconsistent with, but the fulfilment of, God's promises to Israel.

Ver. 1. Paul's description of himself. δούλος Ἰ. Χ. The use of the same expression in James, Jude, 2 Pet., shows how universal in the Church was the sense of being under an obligation to Christ which could never be discharged. It is this sense of obligation which makes the δουλεία, here referred to, perfect freedom. κλητὸς ἀπόστολος is an Apostle by vocation. No one can take this honour to himself, any more than that of a saint (ver. 7), unless he is called by God. In the N.T. it is always God who calls. It is as an Apostle—i.e., with the sense of his vocation as giving him a title to do so—that Paul writes to the Romans. ἀπόστολος is here used in the narrower sense, which includes only Paul and the twelve, see on xvi. 7. ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ: for καλεῖν and ἀφορίζειν similarly combined, see Gal. i. 15. The separation is here regarded (as in Gal.) as God's act, though, as far as it had reference to the Gentile mission, it was carried out by an act of the Church at Antioch (Acts xiii. 2, ἀφορίσατε δὴ

μοι κ.τ.λ.). What it means is "this one thing I do". εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ is the Gospel which comes from God, the glad tidings of which He is the source and author. As a name for the Christian religion, or the proclamation of it, it had a great fascination for an evangelist like Paul, who uses it out of all proportion oftener than any other N.T. writer.

Ver. 2. ὁ προσηγγεῖλατο. The Gospel is not in principle a new thing, a subversion of the true religion as it has hitherto been known to the people of God. On the contrary, God promised it before, through his prophets in the Holy Scriptures. It is the fulfilment of hopes which God Himself inspired. διὰ τῶν προφητῶν does not restrict the reference to the prophets in the strict sense of the word. The O.T., as a whole, is prophetic of the New, and it is in the law (Abraham) and the Psalms (David), as much as in the prophets (Isaiah, Hosea), that Paul finds anticipations and promises of the Gospel: see chap. iv. The omission of the article with ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγλαῖς (cf. xvi. 26) is probably significant, for as against these two passages there are over forty in which αἱ γραφαὶ or ἡ γραφή occurs: it emphasises the Divine character of these as opposed to other writings. That is ἅγιον which belongs to God, or is connected with Him: ἅγιοι γραφαὶ is the O.T. as God's book.

Ver. 3 f. περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ: the subject of the Gospel of God is His Son. For the same conception, see 2 Cor. i. 19: ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ γὰρ υἱὸς Χ. Ἰ. ὁ ἐν ὑμῖν δι' ἡμῶν κηρυχθεῖς. Taken



ἐν γραφαῖς ἀγίαις,) 3. περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, (τοῦ γενομένου ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ <sup>b</sup>σάρκα, 4. τοῦ ὀρισθέντος υἱοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει <sup>c</sup>Acts i. 25; κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν.) Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ <sup>1</sup>Cor. ix. 2; <sup>2</sup>Gal. ii. 8. Κυρίου ἡμῶν, 5. (δι' οὗ ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν \* εἰς ὑπακοήν

by itself, "the Son of God" is, in the first instance, a title rather than a name. It goes back to Ps. ii. 7; the person to whom it is applied is conceived as the chosen object of the Divine love, God's instrument for accomplishing the salvation of His people. (Weiss.) The description which follows does not enable us to answer all the questions it raises, yet it is sufficiently clear. "The Son of God" was born of the seed of David according to the flesh. For *γενομένου*, cf. Gal. iv. 4; for David, 2 Tim. ii. 8, where, as here, the Davidic descent is an essential part of the Pauline Gospel. That it was generally preached and recognised in the primitive Church is proved by these passages, as well as by Heb. vii. 14 and the genealogies in Matthew and Luke; yet it seems a fair inference from our Lord's question in Mk. xii. 35 ff. that for Him it had no real importance. Those who did not directly see in Jesus one transcendently greater than David would not recognise in Him the Saviour by being convinced of His Davidic descent. This person, of royal lineage, was "declared Son of God, with power, according to the spirit of holiness, in virtue of resurrection from the dead". The word *ὀρισθέντος* is ambiguous; in Acts x. 42, xvii. 31, it is used to describe the appointment of Christ to judge the living and the dead, and is rendered in A.V. "ordained". If to be Son of God were merely an office or a dignity, like that of judge of the world, this meaning might be defended here. There is an approximation to such an idea in Acts xiii. 33, where also Paul is the speaker. "God," he says, "has fulfilled His promise by raising up Jesus; as it is written also in the second Psalm, Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee." Here the resurrection day, strictly speaking, is the birthday of the Son of God; sonship is a dignity to which He is exalted after death. But in view of passages like Gal. iv. 4, 2 Cor. viii. 9, Phil. ii. 5 f., it is impossible to suppose that Paul limited his use of Son of God in this way; even while Jesus lived on earth there was that in Him which no connection with David could explain, but which rested on a relation

to God; the resurrection only declared Him to be what He truly was—just as in the Psalm, for that matter, the bold words, This day have I begotten Thee, may be said to refer, not to the right and title, but to the coronation of the King. In virtue of His resurrection, which is here conceived, not as *from* the dead (ἐκ νεκρῶν), but of the dead (ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν—a resurrection exemplifying, and so guaranteeing, that of others), Christ is established in that dignity which is His, and which answers to His nature. The expression *κατὰ πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης* characterises Christ ethically, as *κατὰ σάρκα* does physically. Not that it makes the sonship in question "ethical" as opposed to "metaphysical": no such distinctions were in the Apostle's thought. But the sonship, which was declared by the resurrection, answered to (*κατὰ*) the spirit of holiness which was the inmost and deepest reality in the Person and life of Jesus. The sense that there is that in Christ which is explained by his connection with mankind, and that also which can only be explained by some peculiar relation to God, is no doubt conveyed in this description, and is the basis of the orthodox doctrine of the two natures in the one Person of the Lord; but it is a mistake to say that that doctrine is formulated here. The connection of the words *ἐν δυνάμει* is doubtful. They have been joined to *ὀρισθέντος* (cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 4: *ζῆ ἐκ δυνάμεως θεοῦ*): declared to be Son of God "by a miracle," a mighty work wrought by God; and also with *υἱοῦ θεοῦ* = Son of God, not in humiliation, but "in power," a power demonstrated by the gift of the Spirit and its operations in the Church. "Jesus, Messiah, Our Lord," summarises all this. "Our Lord" is the most compendious expression of the Christian consciousness. (A. B. Bruce, *Apologetics*, 398 ff.) "The whole Gospel of Paul is comprehended in this historical Jesus, who has appeared in flesh, but who, on the ground of the *πνεῦμα ἀγιωσύνης*, which constitutes His essence, has been exalted as Christ and Lord." (Lipsius.)

Ver. 5. Through Christ Paul received χάριν κ. ἀποστολήν. The plural, ἐλάβομεν, may mean no more than the

πίστεως πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος \* αὐτοῦ, 6. ἐν οἷς d Ch. xvi.  
 ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, κλητοὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.) 7. πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, 26; Acts  
 ἀγαπητοῖς Θεοῦ,<sup>1</sup> κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ<sup>e</sup> Acts v. 41,  
 πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. ix. 16, xv.  
 26.

8. Πρῶτον μὲν εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ<sup>2</sup>  
 πάντων ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.<sup>f</sup> 1 Thess. i. 8.

<sup>1</sup> For πασιν τοις ουσιν εν Ρωμῇ ἀγαπητοῖς θεοῦ G reads πασι τοις ουσιν εν ἀγαπῇ θεοῦ. The same MS. also omits τοις εν Ρωμῇ in ver. 17. This is part of the evidence on which Lightfoot relied to show that Paul had issued chaps. i.-xiv. of this Epistle as a circular letter with all local allusions (such as these, and the many in chaps. xv. and xvi.) omitted. See Introduction, p. 578.

<sup>2</sup> For ὑπερ read περὶ with  $\aleph$ BACD<sup>1</sup>, etc.

singular, or may proceed from the latent consciousness that the writer is not the only person entitled to say this; it is not expressly meant to include others. χάρις, grace, is common to all Christians; ἀποστολή rests upon a specialised χάρις and implies competence as well as vocation. But in the N.T. these are hardly distinguished; it is a man's χάρισμα which constitutes his "call" to any particular service in the Church. εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως: the object of the apostleship received through Christ is obedience of faith, i.e., the obedience which consists in faith (but cf. Acts vi. 7) among all the Gentiles. Cf. chap. x. 16, 2 Thess. i. 8. The meaning of ἔθνεσιν (Gentiles, not nations) is fixed by ver. 13 and by Paul's conception of his own vocation, Gal. i. 16, ii. 8, Eph. iii. 1 ff. ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ: the final purpose of his vocation is that Christ's name may be above every name.

Ver. 6. The Romans, as well as others, are included among the Gentiles, and described as Jesus Christ's called. They belong to Him, because they have heard and obeyed the Gospel. "Calling" in Paul always includes obedience as well as hearing. It is effectual calling, the κλητοὶ being those who have accepted the Divine invitation.

Ver. 7. The salutation proper. It is addressed to all who are in Rome, etc., to include Christians of Jewish as well as Gentile origin. They are ἀγαπητοὶ Θεοῦ, God's beloved, because they have had experience of His redeeming love in Jesus Christ; and they are κλητοὶ ἅγιοι, saints, in virtue of His calling. See on κλητὸς ἀπόστολος above. The word ἅγιος did not originally describe character, but only a certain relation to God; the ἅγιοι are God's people. What this means depends of course on what God

is; it is assumed in scripture that the character of God's people will answer to their relation to Him. It is worth mentioning that, as a synonym for Christian, it is never applied in the N.T. to an individual: no person is called ἅγιος. Phil. iv. 21 (ἀσπάζασθε πάντα ἅγιον εν Χ. ἰ.) is not an exception. The ideal of God's people cannot be adequately realised in, and ought not to be presumptuously claimed by, any single person. (Hort's *Christian Ecclesia*, 56.) Paul wishes the Romans grace and peace (the source and the sum of all Christian blessings) from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ. The greeting is followed by a thanksgiving, which passes over insensibly into an introduction of a more personal character, in which Paul explains his desire to visit the Romans and to work among them (vers. 8-15).

Ver. 8. πρῶτον μὲν. Nothing can take precedence of thanksgiving, when Paul thinks of the Romans, or indeed of any Christian Church in normal health. πρῶτον μὲν suggests that something is to follow, but what it is we are not told; Paul's mind unconsciously leaves the track on which it started, at least so far as the linguistic following out of it is concerned. Perhaps the next thing was to be the prayer referred to in ver. 10. (Weiss.) διὰ ἰ. Χ. Jesus Christ must be conceived here as the mediator through whom all our approaches to God are made (Eph. ii. 18), not as He through whom the blessings come for which Paul gives thanks. περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν: the "all" may have a certain emphasis when we remember the divisions to which reference is made in chap. xiv. ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν is "the fact that you are Christians". The very existence of a Church at Rome was



κ Phil. iii. 3. 9. **μάρτυς γάρ μου ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, ὃς λατρεύω ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνεῖαν ὑμῶν ποιούμεναι,**  
 h Eph. i. 16; πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν <sup>h</sup> προσευχῶν μου δεόμενος, 10. εἴ πως ἤδη ποτὲ  
 i Thess. i. 2. εὐδοωθήσομαι ἐν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. 11.  
 i i Thess. ii. 8. ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα τι <sup>1</sup> μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν <sup>κ</sup> πνευματικόν,  
 κ i Cor. xii. 1, 4. εἰς τὸ στηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶς, 12. τοῦτο δέ ἐστι, συμπαρακληθῆναι ἐν ὑμῖν  
 δια τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις πίστεως ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐμοῦ. 13. οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς  
 i εἰς τὸν ἄγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι πολλάκις προεθέμην ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, (καὶ  
 m Phil. i. 22. ἐκωλύθη ἄχρι τοῦ <sup>2</sup> δεῦρο,) ἵνα <sup>3</sup> καρπὸν τινα σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν, καθὼς

something to be thankful for. ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ is, of course, hyperbole, but a Church in Rome was like "a city set on a hill".

Ver. 9 f. **μάρτυς γάρ μου ἐστὶν ὁ θεός** (Phil. i. 8): at a distance the Apostle cannot directly prove his love, but he appeals to God, who hears his ceaseless prayers for the Romans, as a witness of it. **λατρεύω** in the LXX is always used of religious service—worship, whether of the true God or of idols. **ἐν τῷ πνεύματί μου**: Paul's ministry is spiritual and rendered with his spirit—not like that of the ministers in the ἅγιον κοσμηκὸν at Jerusalem. **ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ**: in preaching the glad tidings of His Son. **ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως**: the **ὡς** may either be "how" or "that": looking to 1 Thess. ii. 10, "how" seems more probable. **μνεῖαν ὑμῶν ποιούμεναι**: I remember you. Cf. Job xiv. 13 (O that Thou wouldst appoint me χρόνον ἐν ᾧ μνεῖαν μου ποιήσῃ). **ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου**: at my prayers. (Winer, p. 470.) For εἴ πως, see Acts xxvii. 12 and Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 276. ἤδη is "now at length," "now, after all this waiting". (S. and H.) The ποτὲ, which can hardly be conveyed in English, marks the indefiniteness which even yet attaches in the writer's mind to the fulfilment of this hope. **εὐδοωθήσομαι**: the R.V. gives "I may be prospered"; the A.V. "I might have a prosperous journey". The latter brings in the idea of the ὁδός, which was no doubt present to consciousness when the word εὐδοοῦσθαι was first used; but it is questionable whether any feeling for the etymology remained in the current employment of the word. The other N.T. examples (1 Cor. xvi. 2, 3 John ver. 2), as well as the LXX, suggest the contrary. Hence the R.V. is probably right. **ἐν τῷ θελήματι τοῦ θεοῦ**: his long cherished and often disappointed hope had taught Paul to say, "if the Lord will" (Jas iv. 15).

Ver. 11. **ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα πνευματικόν**. The χαρ. πν. may be understood by reference to 1 Cor. chaps. xii.-xiv. or Rom. chap. xii. No doubt, in substance, Paul imparts his spiritual gift through this epistle: what he wished to do for the Romans was to further their comprehension of the purpose of God in Jesus Christ—a purpose the breadth and bearings of which were yet but imperfectly understood.

Ver. 12. **τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν**: an explanatory correction. Paul disclaims being in a position in which all the giving must be on his side. When he is among them (ἐν ὑμῖν) his desire is that he may be cheered and strengthened with them (the subject of **συνπαρακληθῆναι** must be ἐμὲ in the first instance, though widening, as the sentence goes on, into ἡμᾶς) by the faith which both they and he possess (ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐμοῦ), and which each recognises in the other (ἐν ἀλλήλοις). The ἐν here is to be taken as in 2 Tim. i. 5.

Ver. 13. **οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἄγνοεῖν**: a phrase of constant recurrence in Paul, and always with ἀδελφοί (1 Thess. iv. 13, 1 Cor. x. 1, xii. 1, 2 Cor. i. 8). Some emphasis is laid by it on the idea that his desire or purpose to visit them was no passing whim. It was grounded in his vocation as Apostle of the Gentiles, and though it had been often frustrated he had never given it up. **ἐκωλύθη ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο**: probably the main obstacle was evangelistic work which had to be done elsewhere. Cf. chap. xv. 22 f. The purpose of his visit is expressed in **ἵνα τινα καρπὸν σχῶ**: that I may obtain some fruit among you also. **καρπὸς** denotes the result of labour: it might either mean new converts or the furtherance of the Christians in their new life. **καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν**: nothing could indicate more clearly that the Church at Rome, as a whole, was Gentile.

καὶ ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν. 14. Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, σοφοῖς  
 τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις ὀφειλέτης εἰμί· 15. <sup>n</sup> οὕτω τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ <sup>n</sup> Rev. iii. 16  
 ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ <sup>1</sup> εὐαγγελίσασθαι. 16. Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ  
 εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ <sup>2</sup>. <sup>o</sup> δύναμις γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν παντὶ <sup>o</sup> 1 Cor. i.  
 18, 24.

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ om. G ; see on ver. 7.

<sup>2</sup> του Χριστου om.  $\Sigma$ ABCD, etc.  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$  is omitted here in BG g and Tert. It is inserted in  $\Sigma$ ACDKL. The combination of B with "Western" authorities lessens its weight in Paul's epp., where B itself has an infusion of Western readings to which this omission may belong ; possibly it may be due to Marcion, who is known to have omitted both  $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\nu$  and the quotation in ver. 17. Weiss retains it ; W. and H. bracket.

Ver. 14 f. These verses are naturally taken as an expansion of the thought contained in the preceding. Paul's desire to win fruit at Rome, as among the rest of the Gentiles, arises out of the obligation (for so he feels it) to preach the Gospel to all men without distinction of language or culture. If it depended only on him, he would be exercising his ministry at Rome. The Romans are evidently conceived as Gentiles, but Paul does not indicate where they would stand in the broad classification of ver. 14. It is gratuitous, and probably mistaken, to argue with Weiss that he meant to describe them as  $\beta\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\rho\omicron\iota$ , when we know that the early Roman Church was Greek speaking. In τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον, the simplest construction is to make τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ subject and πρόθυμον predicate, supplying ἐστὶ : all that depends on me is eager, i.e., for my part, I am all readiness. But it is possible to take τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον together, and to translate: the readiness, so far as I am concerned, (is) to preach the Gospel to you also who are in Rome. The contrast implied is that between *willing* (which Paul for his part is equal to) and *carrying out* the will (which depends on God (ver. 10)). With this Paul introduces the great subject of the epistle, and, in a sense, of the Gospel—that which he here designates δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ. The connection is peculiar. He has professed his readiness to preach the Gospel, even at Rome. Anywhere, no doubt, one might have misgivings about identifying himself with a message which had for its subject a person who had been put to death as a criminal ; anywhere, the Cross was to Jews a stumbling block and to Greeks foolishness. But at Rome, of all places, where the whole effective force of humanity seemed to be gathered up, one might be ashamed to stand forth

as the representative of an apparently impotent and ineffective thing. But this the Gospel is not ; it is the very reverse of this, and therefore the Apostle is proud to identify himself with it. "I am not ashamed of the Gospel ; for it is a power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth. It is such because there is revealed in it δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ—the very thing men need to ensure salvation ; and that in such a manner—from faith to faith—as to make it accessible to all. And this, again, only answers to what stands in the O.T.—It is written, the righteous shall live by faith."

Ver. 16 f. δύναμις γὰρ Θεοῦ ἐστὶν : for it is a power of God. It does no injustice to render "a Divine power". The conception of the Gospel as a force pervades the epistles to the Corinthians ; its proof, so to speak, is dynamical, not logical. It is demonstrated, not by argument, but by what it does ; and, looking to what it can do, Paul is proud to preach it anywhere. εἰς σωτηρίαν. σωτηρία is one of a class of words (to which  $\zeta\omega\eta$ ,  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\nu\nu\omicron\mu\iota\alpha$  belong) used by Paul to denote the last result of the acceptance of the Gospel. It is the most negative of them all, and conceives of the Gospel as a means for rescuing men from the ἀπώλεια which awaits sinners at the last judgment. In παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρώτῳ καὶ Ἑλληνι another of the main interests of the writer in this epistle is brought forward ; the Gospel is for all, the same Gospel and on the same terms, but without prejudice to the historical prerogative of the Jew. Ver. 17 shows how the Gospel is a Divine saving power. It is such because there is revealed in it δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ. Plainly, δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ is something without which a sinful man cannot be saved ; but what is it ? The expression itself is of the utmost generality, and the various definite



τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι. 17. δικαιοσύνη γὰρ  
 p 2 Cor. v. 21. p Θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἁ ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν, καθὼς γέγραπται,  
 q Ch. xvi. 25 f. "Ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ἰζησεται."  
 r Hab. ii. 4.

meanings which have been assigned to it attempt to justify themselves as relevant, or inevitable, by connecting themselves with the context as a whole. There can be no doubt that the fundamental religious problem for the Apostle—that which made a Gospel necessary, that the solution of which could alone be Gospel—was, How shall a sinful man be righteous before God? To Luther, who had instinctive experimental sympathy with the Pauline standpoint, this suggested that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ meant a righteousness valid before God, of which a man can become possessed through faith; for such a righteousness (as the condition of salvation) is the first and last need of the sinful soul. In support of this view reference has been made to ver. 18, where ἀσέβεια and ἀδικία ἀνθρώπων are represented as the actual existing conditions which the δικ. θεοῦ has to replace. No one can deny that a righteousness valid before God is essential to salvation, or that such a righteousness is revealed in the Gospel; but it is another question whether δικ. θεοῦ is a natural expression for it. The general sense of scholars seems to have decided against it; but it seems quite credible to me that Paul used δικ. θεοῦ broadly to mean "a Divine righteousness," and that the particular shade of meaning which Luther made prominent can be legitimately associated even with these words. Until lately, scholars of the most opposite schools had agreed in finding the key to the expression δικ. θεοῦ in two other Pauline passages, where it is contrasted with something else. Thus in chap. x. 3 δικ. θεοῦ is opposed to man's ἰδίᾳ δικαιοσύνη; and in Phil. iii. 9 the opposition is more precisely defined: μὴ ἔχων ἐμὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου, ἀλλὰ τὴν διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει. If this contrast were allowed to tell here, the righteousness of which Paul speaks would be one of which God is the source or author; we do not bring it to Him, He reveals it for our acceptance. And this also, of course, answers to the facts: Gospel righteousness is a gift, not an achievement. But then, it is said, there is nothing in the passage to suggest such a contrast; there is not any emphasis

whatever on θεοῦ to bring before the mind the idea of a righteousness *not* due to God, but a work of man's own. To this it may fairly be answered that the contrast did not *need* to be specially suggested; if it had not presented itself instinctively to those to whom Paul wrote, they would not only have missed the point of this expression, they would not have understood three lines anywhere. We must assume, upon the whole, in the recipients of Paul's epistles, a way of conceiving the Gospel answering broadly to his own; the invisible context, which we have to reproduce as best we can, may be more important sometimes than what we have in black and white. The broad sense of "a Divine righteousness" covers this second, which may be called the historical Protestant interpretation, as well as Luther's; and the fact seems to me an argument for that broader rendering. In view, however, of the undoubted difficulty of the phrase, new light would be welcome, and this has been sought in the O.T. use of δικαιοσύνη (דִּקְיָוּת), especially in the Psalms and in Is. xl-lxvi. See, e.g., Ps. xxxv. 24, 28, li. 14; Is. lvi. 1, lxii. 1; Ps. xcvi. 2. In the last of these passages we have a striking analogy to the one before us: ἐγνώρισε κύριος τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ, ἐναντίον τῶν ἔθνων ἀπεκάλυψε τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ; and in others we cannot but be struck with the parallelism of "righteousness" and "salvation," sometimes as things which belong to God (Ps. xcvi. 2), sometimes as things which belong to His people. On the strength of facts like these, Theod. Häring, in a stupendous programme entitled *Δικ. θεοῦ bei Paulus* (Tübingen, 1896), argues that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ means the judicial action of God in which He justifies His people and accomplishes their salvation. This fits into the context well enough. Put as Paul puts it—how shall man be just with God?—the religious problem is a judicial one, and its solution must be judicial. If the Gospel shows how God justifies (for of course it must be God, the only Judge of all, who does it), it shows everything: salvation is included in God's sentence of justification. Häring himself admits that this interpretation is

18. ἈΠΟΚΑΛΥΠΤΕΤΑΙ γὰρ ὁργὴ Θεοῦ ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν  
 ἁσέβειαν καὶ ἀδικίαν ἀνθρώπων τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ \* κατεχόν- \* 2 Thess. ii. 6, 7.

rather of philological than of religious import; this "rechtfertigendes Walten Gottes" cannot but have as its consequence "the justification of man, a righteousness which proceeds from God and is valid before God" (Δικ. θεοῦ *bei Paulus*, S. 68); that is, this meaning leads by immediate inference to the other two. But it can by no means be carried through (any more than either of the other two) in all places where the phrase occurs; in iii. 5, *e.g.*, Håring himself admits this; in iii. 25, 26, where he insists on the same sense as in i. 17, he does not so much as refer to the clause διὰ τὴν πᾶρσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ αὐτοῦ, which, it is not too much to say, necessitates a different shade of meaning for δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ there: see note. The advantage of his rendering is not so much that it simplifies the grammar, as that it revives the sense of a connection (which existed for the Apostle) between the Gospel he preached, and even the language he preached it in, and the anticipations of that Gospel in the O.T., and that it gives prominence to the saving character of God's justifying action. In substance all these three views are Biblical, Pauline and true to experience, whichever is to be vindicated on philological grounds. But the same cannot be said of another, according to which righteousness is here an attribute, or even the character, of God. That the Gospel is the supreme revelation of the character of God, and that the character of God is the source of the Gospel, no one can question. Certainly Paul would not have questioned it. But whether Paul conceived the righteousness which is an eternal attribute of God (*cf.* iii. 5) as essentially self-communicative—whether he would have said that God justifies (δικαιοῖ) the ungodly because he is himself δικαίος—is another matter. The righteousness of God, conceived as a Divine attribute, may have appeared to Paul the great difficulty in the way of the justification of sinful man. God's righteousness in this sense is the sinner's condemnation, and no one will succeed in making him find in it the ground of his hope. What is wanted (always in consistency with God's righteousness as one of His inviolable attributes—the great point elaborated in chap. iii. 24-26) is a righteousness which, as man cannot produce it, must be from

God, and which, once received, shall be valid before God; and this is what the Apostle (*on the ground of Christ's death for sin*) announces. But it introduces confusion to identify with this the conception of an eternal and necessarily self-imparting righteousness of God. The Apostle, in chap. iii. and chap. v., takes our minds along another route. See Barmby in *Expositor* for August, 1896, and S. and H. *ad loc.* ἀποκαλύπτεται intimates in a new way that the Divine righteousness spoken of is from God: man would never have known or conceived it but for the act of God in revealing it. Till this ἀποκαλύπτειν it was a μυστήριον: *cf.* xvi. 25 f. ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν. Precise definitions of this (*e.g.*, Weiss's: the revelation of the Δικ. θεοῦ presupposes faith in the sense of believing acceptance of the Gospel, *i.e.*, it is ἐκ πίστεως; and it leads to faith in the sense of saving reliance on Christ, *i.e.*, it is εἰς πίστιν) strike one as arbitrary. The broad sense seems to be that in the revelation of God's righteousness for man's salvation everything is of faith from first to last. *Cf.* 2 Cor. ii. 16, iii. 18. This N.T. doctrine the Apostle finds announced before in Hab. ii. 14. ἐκ πίστεως in the quotation is probably to be construed with ζήσεται. To take it with δικαίος (he who is righteous by faith) would imply a contrast to another mode of being righteous (*viz.*, by works) which there is nothing in the text to suggest. The righteous who trusted in Jehovah were brought by that trust safe through the impending judgment in Habakkuk's time; and as the subjective side of religion, the attitude of the soul to God, never varies, it is the same trust which is the condition of salvation still.

The Gospel of God's righteousness is necessary, because the human race has no righteousness of its own. This is proved of the whole race (i. 18-iii. 20), but in these verses (18-32) first of the heathen. The emphasis lies throughout on the fact that they have sinned against light.

Ver. 18 f. The revelation of the righteousness of God (ver. 17) is needed in view of the revelation of His wrath, from which only Δικ. θεοῦ (whether it be His justifying sentence or the righteousness which He bestows on man) can deliver. ὁργὴ in the N.T. is usually



† Neuter in τῶν. 19. διότι τὸ ἔγνωστον τοῦ Θεοῦ φανερόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς· ὁ γὰρ  
 N.T. here  
 and in Θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἐφανερώσε· 20. τὰ γὰρ ἀόρατα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως  
 Acts only  
 (11 times), κόσμου τοῖς ποιήμασι νοούμενα καθορᾶται, ἢ τε ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ δύνάμει  
 u Only here  
 and Jude καὶ ἰσχυροῦς, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους. 21. διότι γινόντες  
 vers. 6,  
 v Here only τὸν Θεόν, οὐχ ὡς Θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ εὐχαρίστησαν, ἀλλ' ἐματαιώθησαν  
 in N.T.  
 w 1 Cor. iii. ἐν τοῖς ἑξαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδιά·  
 20.  
 x 1 Cor. i. 20. 22. φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοὶ ἐμωράνθησαν, 23. καὶ ἠλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν  
 τοῦ ἀφθάρτου Θεοῦ ἐν ὁμοιωματι εἰκόνος φθαρτοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ

eschatological, but in 1 Thess. ii. 16 it refers to some historical judgment, and in John iii. 36 it is the condemnation of the sinner by God, with all that it involves, present and to come. The revelation of wrath here probably refers mainly to the final judgment: the primary character of Jesus in Paul's Gospel being ὁ ἔρχομενος ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης, 1 Thess. i. 10, Rom. v. 9; but it is not forcing it here to make it include God's condemnation uttered in conscience, and attested (ver. 24) in the judicial abandonment of the world. The revelation of the righteousness of God has to match this situation, and reverse it. ἀσέβεια is "positive and active irreligion": see Trench, *Syn.*, § lxvi. τῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατεχόντων may mean (1) who possess the truth, yet live in unrighteousness; or (2) who suppress the truth by, or in, an unrighteous life. In the N.T. ἀλήθεια is moral rather than speculative; it is truth of a sort which is held only as it is acted on: cf. the Johannine expression ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Hence the latter sense is to be preferred (see Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, II., § 203 Anm.). διότι τὸ γνωστον τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. There is no indisputable way of deciding whether γνωστον here means "known" (the usual N.T. sense) or "knowable" (the usual classic sense). Cremer (who compares Phil. iii. 8 τὸ ὑπερέχον τῆς γνώσεως, Heb. vi. 17 τὸ ἀμετάθετον τῆς βουλῆς, Rom. ii. 4 τὸ χρηστον τοῦ Θεοῦ, and makes τοῦ Θεοῦ in the passage before us also gen. poss.) favours the latter. What is meant in either case is the knowledge of God which is independent of such a special revelation as had been given to the Jews. Under this come (ver. 20) His eternal power, and in a word His (eternal) divinity, things inaccessible indeed to sense (ἀόρατα), but clear to intelligence (νοούμενα), ever since creation (ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου: for ἀπὸ thus used, see Winer, 463),

by the things that are made. God's power, and the totality of the Divine attributes constituting the Divine nature, are inevitably impressed on the mind by nature (or, to use the scripture word, by creation). There is that within man which so catches the meaning of all that is without as to issue in an instinctive knowledge of God. (See the magnificent illustration of this in Illingworth's *Divine Immanence*, chap. ii., on The religious influence of the material world.) This knowledge involves duties, and men are without excuse because, when in possession of it, they did not perform these duties; that is, did not glorify as God the God whom they thus knew.

Ver. 21 ff. εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἀναπολογήτους would naturally express purpose: to make men inexcusable is one, though not the only or the ultimate, intention of God in giving this revelation. But the διότι almost forces us to take the εἰς τὸ as expressing result: so that they are inexcusable, because, etc. (see Burton's *Moods and Tenses*, § 411). In vers. 21-23 the wrong course taken by humanity is described. Nature shows us that God is to be glorified and thanked, i.e., nature reveals Him to be great and good. But men were not content to accept the impression made on them by nature; they fell to reasoning upon it, and in their reasonings (διαλογισμοί, "perverse self-willed reasonings or speculations," S. and H.) were made vain (ἐματαιώθησαν); the result stultified the process; their instinctive perception of God became confused and uncertain; their unintelligent heart, the seat of the moral consciousness, was darkened. In asserting their wisdom they became fools, and showed it conspicuously in their idolatries. They resigned the glory of the incorruptible God (i.e., the incorruptible God, all glorious as He was, and as He was seen in nature to be), and took instead

πετεινῶν καὶ τετραπόδων καὶ ἑρπετῶν. 24. διὸ καὶ <sup>1</sup> παρέδωκεν γ' Eph. iv. 19 αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν, τοῖς ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. 25. οἵτινες μετέλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει, καὶ <sup>a</sup> ἐσεβάσθησαν καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν <sup>z</sup> Here only, cf. Acts xvii. 23; 2 Thessa. ii. 4. τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, ὃς ἐστὶν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν. 26. διὰ τοῦτο παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας. αἱ τε γὰρ θήλειαι αὐτῶν μετέλλαξαν τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν. 27. ὁμοίως τε <sup>2</sup> καὶ οἱ ἄρσενες, ἀφέντες τὴν φυσικὴν χρῆσιν τῆς θηλείας, ἐξεκαύθησαν ἐν τῇ ὀρέξει αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, ἄρσενες ἐν ἄρσεσι τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην κατεργαζόμενοι, καὶ τὴν <sup>a</sup> ἀντι- <sup>a</sup> 2 Cor. vi. 13. μισθίαν ἣν ἔδει τῆς πλάνης αὐτῶν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀπολαμβάνοντες. 28. Καὶ καθὼς οὐκ ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν Θεὸν ἔχειν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν, ποιεῖν τὰ μὴ <sup>b</sup> καθήκοντα, <sup>b</sup> Acts xxii. 22.

<sup>1</sup> διο καὶ: om. καὶ **ABC**; insert **DGKL**. **εαυτοῖς** **D<sup>8</sup>EGK**; **αυτοῖς** **ABC** 1.

<sup>2</sup> For τε which is found in **ABD<sup>8</sup>KL**, δε is read by **AD<sup>1</sup>G**; C has neither.

of Him some image of a corruptible, even of a vile creature. The expression ἔλλαξαν τὴν δόξαν κ.τ.λ. is borrowed in part from Ps. cv. 20 (LXX): ἡλλάξαντο τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν ἐν ὁμοιώματι μόσχου ἔσθοντος χόρτον. The reduplication of the same idea in ἐν ὁμοιώματι εἰκόνης shows the indignant contempt with which the Apostle looked on this empty and abject religion in which God had been lost. The birds, quadrupeds and reptiles could all be illustrated from Egypt.

With ver. 24 the Apostle turns from this sin to its punishment. Because of it (διὸ) God gave them up. To lose God is to lose everything: to lose the connection with Him involved in constantly glorifying and giving Him thanks, is to sink into an abyss of darkness, intellectual and moral. It is to become fitted for wrath at last, under the pressure of wrath all the time. Such, in idea, is the history of humanity to Paul, as interpreted by its issue in the moral condition of the pagan world when he wrote. Exceptions are allowed for (ii. 10), but this is the position as a whole. παρέδωκεν in all three places (ver. 24, εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν; ver. 26, εἰς πάθη ἀτιμίας; ver. 28, εἰς ἀδόκιμον νοῦν) expresses the judicial action of God. The sensual impurity of religions in which the incorruptible God had been resigned for the image of an animal, that could not but creep into the imagination of the worshippers and debase it, was a Divine judgment. τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς,

in accordance with the conception of a judicial act, expresses the Divine purpose—that their bodies might be dishonoured among them. For gen. of purpose, see Winer, 408 ff. (where, however, a different construction is given for this passage, τοῦ ἀτιμάζεσθαι being made to depend immediately on ἀκαθαρσίαν).

Ver. 25. οἵτινες μετέλλαξαν κ.τ.λ.: being as they were persons who exchanged the truth of God for the lie. "The truth of God" (cf. ver. 23, "the glory of God") is the same thing as God in His truth, or the true God as He had actually revealed Himself to man. τὸ ψεῦδος, abstract for concrete, is the idol or false God. The ἐν (cf. ver. 23) answers to Hebrew **בְּ**. παρὰ τὸν

κτίσαντα: to the passing by, i.e., disregard or contempt of the Creator. For this use of παρὰ, see Winer, 503 f. ὃς ἐστὶν εὐλογητός: the doxology relieves the writer's feelings as he contemplates such horrors.

Ver. 26 f. With the second παρέδωκεν the Apostle proceeds to a further stage in this judicial abandonment of men, which is at the same time a revelation of the wrath of God from heaven against them. It issues not merely like the first in sensuality, but in sensuality which perverts nature as well as disregards God. The πλάνη, error or going astray (ver. 27), is probably still the original one of idolatry; the ignoring or degrading of God is the first fatal step out of the way, which ends in this slough.



29. πεπληρωμένους πάσῃ ἀδικίᾳ, πορνείᾳ,<sup>1</sup> πονηρίᾳ, πλεονεξίᾳ, κακίᾳ · μεστούς φθόρου, φόνου, ἔριδος, δόλου, κακοηθείας · 30. ψιθυριστὰς, καταλάλους, θεοστυγεῖς, ὕβριστὰς, ὑπερηφάνους, ἀλαζόνας, ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, γονεύσιν ἀπειθεῖς, 31. ἀσυνέτους, ἀσυνθέτους, ἀστόργους, ἀσ-  
 c Ch. ii. 26; πόνδους,<sup>2</sup> ἀνελεήμονας · 32. οἵτινες τὸ ἁδικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιγινόντες,  
 Luke i. 6. ὅτι οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντες ἄξιοι θανάτου εἰσίν, οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ  
 d Acts viii. 1, xxii. 20. ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁσυνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πρᾶσσοις.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> πορνεία om. with  $\Sigma$ ABCK.

<sup>2</sup> ἀσπονδους CD<sup>3</sup>KL, vulg., Syr., is omitted by  $\Sigma^1$ ABD<sup>1</sup>G fuld.<sup>1</sup> Probably a gloss on ἀσυνθετους.

<sup>3</sup> Westcott and Hort suppose some primitive error probable here; see their *N. T.*, vol. 2, Appendix, p. 108. For ποιοῦσιν . . . ἁσυνευδοκοῦσιν B reads ποιοῦντες . . . ἁσυνευδοκούντες; and the construction is then completed by various additions, such as οὐκ ἐνοήσαν D, οὐκ ἐγνώσαν G, *non intellexerunt* Orig. int.

Ver. 28 ff. In vers. 28-30 we have the third and last *παρέδωκεν* expanded. As they did not think fit, after trial made (*ἐδοκίμασαν*), to keep God in their knowledge, God gave them up to a mind which cannot stand trial (*ἀδόκιμον*). The one thing answers to the other. Virtually, they pronounced the true God *ἀδόκιμος*, and would have none of Him; and He in turn gave them up to a *νοῦς ἀδόκιμος*, a mind which is no mind and cannot discharge the functions of one, a mind in which the Divine distinctions of right and wrong are confused and lost, so that God's condemnation cannot but fall on it at last. *νοῦς* is not only reason, but conscience; when this is perverted, as in the people of whom Paul speaks, or in the Canaanites, who did their abominations *unto their Gods*, the last deep of evil has been reached. Most of the words which follow describe sins of malignity or inhumanity rather than sensuality, but they cannot be classified. *τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα* covers all. *καθήκοντα* is the Stoic word which Cicero renders *officia*. *κακοηθεία*, the tendency to put the worst construction on everything (Arist. Rh. ii. 13), and *κακία* are examined in Trench's *Synonymys*, § xi., and *ὑβριστής*, *ὑπερηφάνος*, *ἀλάζων* in § xxix. *θεοστυγεῖς* appears to be always passive in the classics, not God hating, but God hated: *Deo odibiles*, Vulg. The characters are summed up, so to speak, in ver. 32: οἵτινες τὸ ἁδικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιγινόντες κ.τ.λ.: such persons as, though they know the sentence of God, that those who practise such things are worthy of death, not only do them, but give a whole-hearted complacent assent to those who follow the same practice.

τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ is that which God has pronounced to be the right, and has thereby established as the proper moral order of the world. *θάνατος* is death, not as a natural period to life, but as a Divine sentence executed on sin: it is not to be defined as physical, or spiritual, or eternal; by all such abstract analysis it is robbed of part of its meaning, which is as wide as that of life or the soul. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁσυνευδοκοῦσιν: to be guilty of such things oneself, under the impulse of passion, is bad; but it is a more malignant badness to give a cordial and disinterested approval to them in others.

It is a mistake to read these verses as if they were a scientific contribution to comparative religion, but equally a mistake to ignore their weight. Paul is face to face with a world in which the vices he enumerates are rampant, and it is his deliberate judgment that these vices have a real connection with the pagan religions. Who will deny that he was both a competent observer and a competent judge? Religion and morality in the great scale hang together, and morality in the long run is determined by religion. Minds which accepted the religious ideas of Phenicia, of Egypt or of Greece (as represented in the popular mythologies) could not be pure. Their morality, or rather their immorality, is conceived as a Divine judgment upon their religion; and as for their religion, nature itself, the Apostle argues, should have saved them from such ignorance of God, and such misconceptions of Him, as deformed every type of heathenism. A converted pagan (as much as Paul) would be filled with horror as he re-

II. 1. ΔΙΟ ἡ ἀναπολόγητος εἶ, ὃ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς ὁ κρίνων· ἐν ᾧ γὰρ <sup>a</sup> Ch. i. 20. κρίνεις τὸν ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν κατακρίνεις· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πράσσεις ὁ κρίνων. 2. οἶδαμεν δὲ <sup>1</sup> ὅτι τὸ κρίμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐπὶ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας. 3. Λογίζῃ δὲ τοῦτο, ὃ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κρίνων τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὰ, ὅτι σὺ ἐκφεύγῃ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ Θεοῦ; 4. ἢ τοῦ <sup>b</sup> πλούτου τῆς χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ <sup>b</sup> Ch. ix. 23. τῆς ἀνοχῆς καὶ τῆς μακροθυμίας καταφρονεῖς, ἀγνοῶν ὅτι τὸ χρηστὸν <sup>xl 33.</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς μετάνοιαν σε ἄγει; 5. κατὰ δὲ τὴν <sup>c</sup> σκληρότητά σου καὶ <sup>c</sup> Here only. ἀμετανόητον καρδίαν θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργὴν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δε ABDGKL, γαρ NC d, vulg. A full statement of the evidence in S. and H. whose verdict is: "an even balance of authorities, both sides drawing their evidence from varied quarters".

flected on the way in which he had once thought of God; he would feel in himself that he ought to have known better, and that everything in the world cried shame upon him. Now to recognise this fact is to accept the premises of the Apostle's argument, and the use to which he puts it. "Once we went after dumb idols; our very worship led us into sin, and sometimes even consecrated it; now we can only see in this our own blindness and guilt, and God's judgment upon them"—so we can fancy the converted pagan speaking. Such a world, then, as the Apostle describes in this chapter, with this terrible principle of degeneration at work in it, and no power of self-regeneration, is a world which waits for a righteousness of God.

For an interesting attempt to show Paul's indebtedness for some of the ideas and arguments of vers. 18-32 to the book of Wisdom, see S. and H., p. 51 f.

CHAPTER II.—Vers. 1-16. The Apostle has now to prove that the righteousness of God is as necessary to the Jew as to the pagan; it is the Jew who is really addressed in this chapter from the beginning, though he is not named till ver. 9. In vers. 1-10 Paul explains the principle on which God judges all men, without distinction.

Ver. 1. Διό: The Jew is ready enough to judge the Gentile. But he forgets that the same principle on which the Gentile is condemned, viz., that he does evil in spite of better knowledge (i. 32), condemns himself also. His very assent to the impeachment in chap. i. 18-32 is his own condemnation. This is the force of διό: therefore. ἐν ᾧ=in that in which. τὰ αὐτὰ πράσσεις, not, you do the identical actions, but your conduct is the same, i.e., you sin against light.

The sin of the Jews was the same, but their sins were not.

Ver. 2. κατὰ ἀλήθειαν is predicate: God's judgment squares with the facts—this is the whole rule of it. τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα πράσσοντας: those whose conduct is such as has been described. For the text, see critical note.

Ver. 3. σὺ has strong emphasis. The Jew certainly thought, in many cases, that the privilege of his birth would of itself ensure his entrance into the kingdom (Mt. iii. 8, 9): this was his practical conviction, whatever might be his proper creed. Yet the σὺ indicates that of all men the Jew, so distinguished by special revelation, should least have fallen into such an error. He is "the servant who knew his Lord's will," and whose judgment will be most rigorous if it is neglected.

Ver. 4. ἢ states the alternative. Either he thinks he will escape, or he despises, etc. χρηστότης is the kindness which disposes one to do good; ἀνοχή (in N.T. only here and in iii. 26) is the forbearance which suspends punishment; μακροθυμία is patience, which waits long before it actively interposes. τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ summarises all three in the concrete. It amounts to contempt of God's goodness if a man does not know (rather, ignores: cf. Acts xiii. 27, 1 Cor. xiv. 38, Rom. x. 3) that its end is, not to approve of his sins, but to lead him to repentance.

Ver. 5. The δε contrasts what happens with what God designs. θησαυρίζεις σεαυτῷ ὀργήν: contrast our Lord's many sayings about "treasure in heaven" (Mt. vi. 19 ff., xix. 21). ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς = in the day of wrath. The conception was quite definite: there was only one day in view, what is elsewhere called "the day of the Lord" (2 Cor. i. 14), "the



d Here only. ἀποκαλύψεως <sup>a</sup> δικαιοκρισίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, 6. ὃς ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ· 7. τοῖς μὲν καθ' ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ δόξαν καὶ  
 e 1 Cor. xv. τιμὴν καὶ ὁ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσι, ζωὴν αἰώνιον· 8. τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἑριθείας,  
 42; 2 Tim. καὶ ἀπειθοῦσι μὲν <sup>1</sup> τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, πειθομένοις δὲ τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, θυμὸς καὶ  
 f 1. 10. ὀργή, 9. θλίψις καὶ στενοχωρία, ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου τοῦ  
 f Phil. ii. 3; κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακὸν, Ἰουδαίου τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλλήνος· 10.  
 16. δόξα δὲ καὶ τιμὴ καὶ εἰρήνη παντὶ τῷ ἐργαζομένῳ τὸ ἀγαθόν,

<sup>1</sup> ἀπειθοῦσι μὲν AD<sup>3</sup> KLN<sup>2</sup>; om. μὲν N<sup>1</sup> BDG<sup>1</sup>.

day of judgment" (Mt. xi. 22), "the last day" (John vi. 39), "the day of God" (2 Pet. iii. 12), "that day" (2 Tim. i. 12), even simply "the day" (1 Cor. iii. 13, Heb. x. 25). This great day is so defined in the Apostle's imagination that the article can be dispensed with. But see Ps. cx. 5. (cix. LXX.) It is a day when God is revealed as a righteous judge, in the sense of Psalm lxi. 13 (LXX).

Ver. 6. The law enunciated in the Psalm, that God will render to every one according to his works, is valid within the sphere of redemption as well as independent of it. Paul the Christian recognises its validity as unreservedly as Saul the Pharisee would have done. The application of it may lead to very different results in the two cases, but the universal moral conscience, be it in bondage to evil, or emancipated by Christ, accepts it without demur. Paul had no feeling that it contradicted his doctrine of justification by faith, and therefore we are safe to assert that it did not contradict it. It seems a mistake to argue with Weiss that Paul is here speaking of the *Urnorm* of the Divine righteousness, i.e., of the way in which the destiny of men would be determined *if there were no Gospel*. The Gospel does not mean that God denies Himself; He acts in it according to His eternal nature; and though Paul is speaking to men as under the law, the truth which he is insisting upon is one which is equally true whether men are under the law or under grace. It is not a little piece of the leaven of a Jewish or Pharisaic conception of God, not yet purged out, that is found here; but an eternal law of God's relation to man.

Ver. 7. καθ' ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ: cf. the collective ἔργον—"life-work": S. and H.—in ver. 15: "by way of steadfastness in well-doing". δόξαν = the glory of the future life, as revealed in the Risen Saviour. τιμὴν = honour with

God. ἀφθαρσίαν "proves that the goal of effort is nothing earthly" (Lipsius). ζωὴ αἰώνιος comprehends all these three: as its counterpart, θάνατος in ver. 31, involves the loss of all. ζωὴν is governed by ἀποδώσει.

Ver. 8. τοῖς δὲ ἐξ ἑριθείας: for the use of ἐκ, cf. iii. 26, τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ; Gal. iii. 7, οἱ ἐκ πίστεως; Ch. iv. 14, οἱ ἐκ νόμου. Lightfoot suggests that it is better to supply πρᾶσσουσιν, and to construe ἐξ ἑριθείας with the participle, as in Phil. i. 17 it is construed with καταγγέλλουσιν: but it is simpler not to supply anything. By "those who are of faction" or "factiousness" (Gal. v. 20, 2 Cor. xii. 20, Phil. i. 16 f., ii. 3, Jas. iii. 14, 16) the Apostle probably means men of a self-willed temper, using all arts to assert themselves against God. The result of this temper—the temper of the party man carried into the spiritual world—is seen in disobedience to the truth and obedience to unrighteousness. See note on ἀλήθεια, i. 18. The moral import of the word is shown by its use as the counterpart of ἀδικία. Cf. the same contrast in 1 Cor. xiii. 6. To those who pursue this course there accrues indignation and wrath, etc.

Ver. 9. ὀργή is wrath within; θυμὸς wrath as it overflows. θλίψις and στενοχωρία, according to Trench, *Synonyms*, § 55, express very nearly the same thing, under different images: the former taking the image of pressure, the latter that of confinement in a narrow space. But to draw a distinction between them, based on etymology, would be very misleading. In both pairs of words the same idea is expressed, only intensified by the reduplication. Supply ἔσται for the changed construction. κατεργαζομένου τὸ κακόν: who works at evil and works it out or accomplishes it. The Jew is put first, because as possessor of an express law this is conspicuously true of him.

Ver. 10 f. εἰρήνη is probably =

Ἰουδαίῳ τε πρῶτον καὶ Ἑλληνι· 11. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι προσωποληψία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ. 12. ὅσοι γὰρ ἀνόμως ἥμαρτον, ἀνόμως καὶ ἀπολοῦνται· καὶ ὅσοι ἐν νόμῳ ἥμαρτον, διὰ νόμου κριθήσονται, 13. (οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄκροαται τοῦ νόμου<sup>1</sup> δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ, ἀλλ' οἱ ποιηταὶ τοῦ νόμου δικαιωθήσονται. 14. Ὅταν γὰρ ἔθνη τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα φύσει τὰ τοῦ νόμου ποιῇ,<sup>2</sup> οὗτοι νόμον μὴ ἔχοντες ἑαυτοῖς εἰσι νόμος· 15. οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου<sup>1</sup> γραπτὸν ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν, συμμαρτυρούσης αὐτῶν τῆς συνειδήσεως, καὶ μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων

Jas. i. 22f.  
25. iv. 11.

h Gal. ii. 15,  
iv. 8; Eph.  
ii. 3.  
1 Here only  
in N.T.

<sup>1</sup> ἀκροαται του νομου KL 17, other cursives, Marcion; om. του ἈΒΔΓ. παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἈΔ<sup>3</sup> GKL; om. τῷ BD<sup>1</sup>. W. and H. bracket τῷ. ποιηται του νομου 1<sup>3</sup> KL 17, other cursives, Marcion; om. του ἈΒΔ<sup>1</sup> G.

<sup>2</sup> For ποιῇ D<sup>3</sup> (a grammatical correction) ποιῶσιν is found in ἈΒ.

ὅλῳ, a comprehensive term, rather = salvation, than peace in any narrower sense. The Jew still comes first, but it is only order that is involved: the same principle underlies the judgment for Jew and Gentile. It would amount to προσωποληψία in God, if He made a difference in the Jew's favour because of his birth, or because he possessed the law. This is expanded in vers. 12-16: mere possession of the law does not count. Men are judged according to their works, whether they have or have not had such a special revelation of the Divine will as was given to Israel.

Ver. 12. ἀνόμως means "without law," not necessarily "without the law". In point of fact, no doubt, there was only one law given by God, the Mosaic, and Paul is arguing against those who imagined that the mere possession of it put them in a position of privilege as compared with those to whom it was not given; but he expresses himself with a generality which would meet the case of more such revelations of God's will having been made to man. As many as sin "without law" shall also perish "without law". Sin and perdition are correlative in Paul. ἀπόλεια (ix. 22, Phil. i. 28, iii. 19) answers to ζωὴ αἰώνιος: it is final exclusion from the blessedness implied in this expression; having no part in the kingdom of God. Similarly, as many as sin "in law" shall be judged "by law". The expression would cover any law, whatever it might be; really, the Mosaic law is the only one that has to be dealt with. The use of the aorist ἥμαρτον is difficult. Weiss says it is used as though the writer were looking back from the judgment day, when sin is simply past.

Burton compares iii. 23 and calls it a "collective historical aorist": in either case the English idiom requires the perfect: "all who have sinned".

Ver. 13. This is the principle of judgment, for not the hearers of law (the Mosaic or any other) are just with God, but the law doers shall be justified. ἀκροαται tends to mean "pupils," constant hearers, who are educated in the law: see ver. 10. But no degree of familiarity with the law avails if it is not done. The forensic sense of δικαιούσθαι is apparent in this verse, where it is synonymous with δίκαιοι εἶναι παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ: the latter obviously being the opposite of "to be condemned". Whether there are persons who perfectly keep the law, is a question not raised here. The futures ἀπολοῦνται, κριθήσονται, δικαιωθήσονται all refer to the day of final judgment.

Ver. 14. There is, indeed, when we look closely, no such thing as a man absolutely without the knowledge of God's will, and therefore such a judgment as the Apostle has described is legitimate. Gentiles, "such as have not law" in any special shape, when they do by nature "the things of the law"—i.e., the things required by the law given to Israel, the only one known to the Apostle—are in spite of not having law (as is the supposition here) a law to themselves. ἔθνη is not "the Gentiles," but "Gentiles as such"—persons who can be characterised as "without law". The supposition made in τὰ μὴ νόμον ἔχοντα is that of the Jews; and the Apostle's argument is designed to show that though formally, it is not substantially true.

Ver. 15. οἵτινες ἐνδείκνυνται: the relative is qualitative: "inasmuch as



τῶν λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων,) 16. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ  
 k Ch. xvi. 25; ὅτε <sup>1</sup> κρινεῖ ὁ Θεὸς τὰ κρυπτὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν <sup>2</sup> μου,  
 2 Tim. ii. 8. διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε  $\S$  DGKL, vulg., Syt. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ B (this is one of the cases in which W. and H. suppose that B unsupported has preserved the true reading, though they give a place in their margin both to ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὅτε and to ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἧ, which is found in A and the Memph. (Egyptian) version).

they shew". τὸ ἔργον τοῦ νόμου is the work which the law prescribes, collectively. "Written on their hearts," when contrasted with the law written on the tables of stone, is equal to "unwritten"; the Apostle refers to what the Greeks called ἀγραφὸς νόμος. To the Greeks, however, this was something greater and more sacred than any statute, or civil constitution; to the Apostle it was less than the great revelation of God's will, which had been made and interpreted to Israel, but nevertheless a true moral authority. There is a triple proof that Gentiles, who are regarded as not having law, are a law to themselves. (1) The appeal to their conduct: as interpreted by the Apostle, their conduct evinces, at least in some, the possession of a law written on the heart; (2) the action of conscience: it joins its testimony, though it be only an inward one, to the outward testimony borne by their conduct; and (3) their thoughts. Their thoughts bear witness to the existence of a law in them, inasmuch as in their mutual intercourse (μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων) these thoughts are busy bringing accusations, or in rarer cases (ἢ καὶ) putting forward defences, i.e., in any case, exercising moral functions which imply the recognition of a law. This seems to me the only simple and natural explanation of a rather perplexed phrase. We need not ask for what Paul does not give, the object to κατηγορούντων or ἀπολογουμένων: it may be any person, act or situation, which calls into exercise that power of moral judgment which shows that the Gentiles, though without the law of Moses, are not in a condition which makes it impossible to judge them according to their works. The construction in ix. 1 suggests that the συν views the witness of conscience, reflecting on conduct, as something added to the first instinctive consciousness of the nature of an action. συνείδησις does not occur in the Gospels except in John viii. 9; twice only in Acts, xxiii. 1, xxiv. 16, both times in speeches of St. Paul; twenty times in the Pauline epistles. It

occurs in the O.T. only in Ecc. x. 20 (curse not the King, ἐν συνειδήσει σου = ne in cogitatione quidem tua): the ordinary sense is found, for the first time in Biblical Greek, in Sap. xvii. 11. It is a quasi-philosophical word, much used by the Stoics, and belonging rather to the Greek than the Hebrew inheritance of Paul.

Ver. 16. The day meant here is the same as that in ver. 5. Westcott and Hort only put a comma after ἀπολογουμένων, but a longer pause is necessary, unless we are to suppose that only the day of judgment wakes the conscience and the thoughts of man into the moral activity described in ver. 15. This supposition may have some truth in it, but it is not what the Apostle's argument requires. The proof he gives that Gentiles are "a law to themselves" must be capable of verification now, not only at the last day. Hence ver. 16 is really to be taken with the main verbs of the whole paragraph, ἀπολοῦνται, κριθήσονται, δικαιωθήσονται: the great principle of ver. 6—ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ—will be exhibited in action on the day on which God judges the secret things of men through Christ Jesus. A final judgment belonged to Jewish theology, and perhaps, though this is open to question, one in which the Messiah acted as God's representative; but what Paul teaches here does not rest merely on the transference of a Jewish Messianic function to Jesus. If there is anything certain in the N.T. it is that this representation of Jesus as judge of the world rests on the words of our Lord Himself (Mt. vii. 22 f., xxv. 31 ff.). To assert it was an essential part of the Gospel as preached by Paul: cf. Acts xvii. 31. (Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, S. 85 f., thinks that in the circles of Jewish Pietism, in the century before Christ, the Messiah was already spoken of as the Divine judge, and as sharing the titles and attributes of Jehovah.)

In vers. 17-24 the Apostle brings to a point the argument for which he has been clearing the way in vers. 1-16.

17. Ἰδε<sup>1</sup> σὺ Ἰουδαίος ἔπονομάζη, καὶ ἐπαναπαύῃ τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ<sup>1</sup> Here only  
καυχᾶσαι ἐν θεῷ, 18. καὶ γινώσκεις τὸ θέλημα, καὶ δοκιμάζεις τὰ in N.T.  
διαφέροντα, κατηχούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου. 19. πέποιθάς τε σεαυτὸν m Phil. i. 10.  
ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν, φῶς τῶν ἐν σκότει, 20. ὁ παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων, n 1 Cor. xiv.  
διδάσκαλον νηπιῶν, ἔχοντα τὴν μόρφωσιν τῆς γνώσεως καὶ τῆς 19.  
o Heb. xii. 9.

<sup>1</sup> εἰ δε ἈΒΔ<sup>1</sup>Κ; ἰδε D<sup>3</sup>L Syr. εἰ δε has probably been changed into ἰδε (Alford) to avoid the anacoluthon. ἐπαναπαυῇ τῷ νόμῳ D<sup>3</sup>KL 17; om. τῷ ἈΒΔ<sup>1</sup>.

The Jew makes much of the possession of the law, but when we pass from possession to practice, he is not a whit better than the "lawless" Gentile. The construction is not quite regular, but the meaning is clear. The natural order would be: If thou bearest the name of Jew, and retest upon the law, and yet in thy conduct testest the law at nought, art not thou equally under condemnation with sinners of the Gentiles? But the construction is interrupted at the end of ver. 20, and what ought in logic to be part of the protasis—if in thy conduct thou testest the law at nought—is made a sort of apodosis, at least grammatically and rhetorically: dost thou, in spite of all these privileges, nevertheless set the law at nought? The real conclusion, which Paul needs for his argument, Art not thou then in the same condemnation with the Gentiles? is left for conscience to supply.

Ver. 17. Ἰουδαίος ἐπονομάζη: bearest the name of "Jew". The ἐπὶ in the compound verb does not denote addition, but direction: Ἰουδαίος is not conceived as a surname, but a name which has been imposed. Of course it is implied in the context that the name is an honourable one. It is not found in the LXX, and in other places where Paul wishes to indicate the same distinction, and the same pride in it, he says Ἰσραηλείται (ix. 4, 2 Cor. xi. 22). The terms must have had a tendency to coalesce in import, though Ἰουδαίος is national, and Ἰσραηλείτης religious; for the religion was national. ἐπαναπαύῃ νόμῳ: grammatically νόμῳ is law; really, it is the Mosaic law. The Jew said, We have a law, and the mere possession of it gave him confidence. Cf. Mic. iii. 11, ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον ἐπανεπαύοντο. καυχᾶσαι ἐν θεῷ: boastest in God, as the covenant God of the Jews, who are His peculiar people. καυχᾶσαι = καυχᾶ: the longer form is the usual one in the κοινή.

Ver. 18. τὸ θέλημα is God's will. Lipsius compares the absolute use of

ὁδός, θύρα and ὄνομα. Cf. Acts ix. 2, xix. 9, 23, xiv. 27, v. 41. Also 1 Cor. xvi. 12, where God's will is meant, not the will of Apollos. The words δοκιμάζεις τὰ διαφέροντα κατηχούμενος ἐκ τοῦ νόμου are to be taken together. In virtue of being taught out of the law (in the synagogue and the schools) the Jew possesses moral discernment: he does not sink to the νοῦς ἀδόκιμος, the mind which has lost all moral capacity (i. 28). But a certain ambiguity remains in δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα: it may mean either (1) to distinguish, by testing, between things which differ—i.e., to discriminate experimentally between good and evil; or (2) to approve, after testing, the things which are more excellent. There are no grounds on which we can decide positively for either.

Ver. 19 f. πέποιθάς τε κ.τ.λ. The τε indicates that this confidence is the immediate and natural result of what precedes: it is not right, in view of all the N.T. examples, to say that πέποιθας suggests an unjustifiable confidence, though in some cases, as in the present, it is so. Cf. 2 Cor. x. 7, Lk. xviii. 9. The blind, those in darkness, the foolish, the babes, are all names for the heathen: the Jew is confident that the Gentiles must come to school to him. παιδευτὴς has reference to moral as well as intellectual discipline: and ἀφρονες are, as in the O.T. (Ps. xiii. 1, LXX), persons without moral intelligence. For the other figures in this verse, cf. Mt. xv. 14, Is. xlix. 6, 9, xlii. 6. The confidence of the Jew is based on the fact that he possesses in the law "the outline of knowledge and truth". Lipsius puts a strong sense upon μόρφωσιν—die leibhaftige Verkörperung: as if the Jew conceived that in the Mosaic law the knowledge and the truth of God were incorporated bodily. Possibly he did, and in a sense it was so, for the Mosaic law was a true revelation of God and His will: but the only other instance of μόρφωσις in the N.T. (2 Tim. iii. 5



ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ. 21. ὁ οὖν διδάσκων ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν οὐ διδάσκεις; ὁ κηρύσσων μὴ κλέπτειν, κλέπτεις; 22. ὁ λέγων μὴ μοιχεύειν, μοιχεύεις; ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἰδωλα, ἱεροσυλεῖς; 23. ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦ νόμου τὸν Θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις; 24. “τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ δι’ ὑμᾶς βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,” καθὼς ὁ γέγραπται. 25. Περιτομὴ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ, ἐὰν νόμον πράσσης· ἐὰν δὲ παραβάτης νόμου ᾖ, ἡ περιτομὴ σου

ἔχοντες μόρφωσιν εὐσεβείας) rather suggests the same disparaging note which here belongs to *πέποιθας*. The *μόρφωσις τῆς γνώσεως* is in point of fact only a form: valuable as the outline or definition of truth was, which the Jew possessed in the law, it was in reality ineffective, so far as the practical authority of the law in the Jew's conduct was concerned.

Ver. 21. Here the grammatical apodosis begins, the οὖν resuming all that has been said in vers. 17-20. *κηρύσσων* and *λέγων* are virtually verbs of command; hence the infinitives. The rhetorical question implies that the Jew does *not* teach himself, and that he *does* break the law he would enforce on others.

Ver. 22. *βδελυσσόμενος* properly expresses physical repulsion: thou that shrinkest in horror from idols. Cf. Dan. ix. 27, Mk. xiii. 14. *ἱεροσυλεῖς*: dost thou rob temples, and so, for the sake of gain, come in contact with abominations without misgiving? This is the meaning, and not, Dost thou rob the temple, by keeping back the temple dues? as has been suggested. The crime of *ἱεροσυλία* is referred to in Acts xix. 37, and according to Josephus, *Ant.*, iv., 8, 10, it was expressly forbidden to the Jews: *μὴ συλᾶν ἱερὰ ξενικά, μηδ’ ἂν ἐπωνομασμένον ἢ τινὶ θεῷ κειμήλιον λαμβάνειν*.

Ver. 23. Here again the construction is changed, and probably the use of the relative instead of the participle suggests that the sentence is to be read, not as interrogative, but as declaratory. “Thou who makest it thy boast that thou possessest a law, by the transgressing of that law dishonourest God: that is the sum of the whole matter, and thy sole distinction in contrast with the heathen.”

Ver. 24. And this is only what Scripture bids us expect. The Scripture quoted is Is. lii. 5, LXX. The LXX interpret the Hebrew by inserting δι’ ὑμᾶς and ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Both insertions are in the line of the original

meaning. It was owing to the misery and helplessness of the people of God, in exile among the nations, that the heathen scoffed at the Divine name. “The God of Israel is not able to deliver His people: He is no God.” Paul here gives the words quite another turn. God, he says, is now blasphemed among the nations because of the inconsistency between the pretensions of the Jews and their behaviour. As if the heathen were saying: “Like God, like people; what a Divinity the patron of this odious race must be”. It is surely not right to argue (with Sanday and Headlam) that the throwing of the formula of quotation to the end shows that Paul is conscious of quoting freely: “it is almost as if it were an after-thought that the language he has just used is a quotation at all”. The quotation is as relevant as most that the Apostle uses. He never cares for the context or the original application. When he can express himself in Scripture language he feels that he has the Word of God on his side, and all through this epistle he nails his arguments so, and insists on the confirmation they thus obtain. What the closing of the sentence with *καθὼς γέγραπται* suggests is not that it occurred to Paul after he had finished that he had almost unconsciously been using Scripture: it is rather that there is a challenge in the words, as if he had said, Let him impugn this who dare contest the Word of God.

In vers. 25-29 another Jewish plea for preferential treatment in the judgment is considered. The μὲν in ver. 25 (*περιτομὴ μὲν γὰρ ὠφελεῖ*) implies that this plea has no doubt something in it, but it suggests that there are considerations on the other side which in point of fact make it inapplicable or invalid here. It is these considerations which the Apostle proceeds to explain, with a view to clenching the argument that the wrath of God revealed from heaven impends over Jew and Gentile alike.

Ver. 25. *περιτομή*: the absence of the article suggests that the argument may

ἀκροβυστία γέγονεν. 26. ἐὰν οὖν ἡ ἀκροβυστία τὰ δικαιώματα τοῦ νόμου φυλάσσει, οὐχὶ ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ εἰς περιτομὴν λογισθῆσεται; 27. καὶ κρινεῖ ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία τὸν νόμον <sup>α</sup>τελοῦσα q Jas. ii. 8. σὲ τὸν <sup>τ</sup>διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου. 28. οὐ γὰρ <sup>τ</sup> Ch. iv. 11, <sup>xiv. 20.</sup> ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ Ἰουδαῖός ἐστιν, οὐδὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἐν σαρκὶ περιτομή. 29. ἀλλ' ὁ ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ Ἰουδαῖος, καὶ περιτομή καρδίας ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ γράμματι. οὐ ὁ ἔπαινος οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐκ <sup>81</sup> Cor. iv. 5.

be extended to everything of the same character as circumcision. ὠφελεῖ: Circumcision was the seal of the covenant, and as such an assurance given to the circumcised man that he belonged to the race which was the heir of God's promises. That was undeniably a great advantage, just as it is an advantage now to be born a Christian; but if the actual inheriting of the promises has any moral conditions attached to it (as Paul proceeds to show that it has), then the advantage of circumcision lapses unless these are fulfilled. Now the persons contemplated here have not fulfilled them. ἐὰν νόμον πράσσει: the habitual practice of the law is involved in this expression: as Vaughan says, it is almost like a compound word, "*if thou be a law doer*". Similarly παραβάτης νόμου a law-transgressor. The law, of course, is the Mosaic one, but it is regarded simply in its character as law, not as being definitely this law: hence the absence of the article. γέγονε: by the very fact becomes and remains.

Ver. 26 f. Here the inference is drawn from the principle laid down in ver. 25. This being so, Paul argues, if the uncircumcision maintain the just requirements of the law, shall not his uncircumcision be accounted circumcision, *sc.*, because it has really done what circumcision pledged the Jew to do? Cf. Gal. v. 3. ἡ ἀκροβυστία at the beginning of the verse is equivalent to the Gentiles (ἔθνη of ver. 14), the abstract being put for the concrete: in ἡ ἀκροβυστία αὐτοῦ, the αὐτοῦ individualises a person who is conceived as keeping the law, though not circumcised. As he has done what circumcision bound the Jew to do, he will be treated as if in the Jew's position: his uncircumcision will be reckoned as circumcision. λογισθῆσεται may be merely a logical future, but like the other futures in vers. 12-16 it is probably more correct to refer it to what will take place at the last judgment. The order of the words in ver. 27 indicates that the question is not continued: "and

thus the uncircumcision shall judge thee," etc. κρινεῖ is emphatic by position: the Jew, in the case supposed, is so far from being able to assert a superiority to the Gentile that the Gentile himself will be his condemnation. Cf. Mt. xii. 41 f. ἡ ἐκ φύσεως ἀκροβυστία should properly convey one idea—"those who are by nature uncircumcised". But why should nature be mentioned at all in this connection? It seems arbitrary to say with Hofmann that it is referred to in order to suggest that uncircumcision is what the Gentile is born in, and therefore involves no guilt. As far as that goes, Jew and Gentile are alike. Hence in spite of the grammatical irregularity, which in any case is not too great for a nervous writer like Paul, I prefer to connect ἐκ φύσεως, as Burton does (*Moods and Tenses*, § 427), with τελοῦσα, and to render: "the uncircumcision which by nature fulfils the law": cf.

ver. 14. τὸν διὰ γράμματος καὶ περιτομῆς παραβάτην νόμου. The διὰ is that which describes the circumstances under which, or the accompaniment to which, anything is done. The Jew is a law-transgressor, in spite of the facts that he possesses a written revelation of God's will, and bears the seal of the covenant, obliging him to the performance of the law, upon his body. He has an outward standard, which does not vary with his moral condition, like the law written in the pagan's heart; he has an outward pledge that he belongs to the people of God, to encourage him when he is tempted to indolence or despair; in both these respects he has an immense advantage over the Gentile, yet both are neutralised by this—he is a law-transgressor.

Ver. 28 f. The argument of the foregoing verses assumes what is stated here, and what no one will dispute, that what constitutes the Jew in the true sense of the term, and gives the name of Jew its proper content and dignity, is not anything outward and visible, but something inward and spiritual. And



τοῦ Θεοῦ. III. 1. Τί οὖν τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου, ἢ τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς περιτομῆς; 2. πολὺ, κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ὅτι

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ om. BD<sup>1</sup>G vulg.; ins. NAD<sup>3</sup>KL Syr. It is bracketed by Westcott and Hort, omitted by Lachmann and Tregelles, inserted by Tischdf.

the same remark applies to circumcision itself. The most natural way to read the Greek seems to me to be this. "Not he who is so outwardly (*ὁ ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*) is a Jew (in the true sense), nor is that which is outward, in flesh, the true circumcision; but he who is inwardly a Jew (is the true Jew), and heart circumcision, in spirit, not in letter (is the true circumcision)." Thus in the first pair of clauses there is not anything, strictly speaking, to be supplied; the subject is in each case involved in the article. But in the second pair the predicate has in both cases to be supplied from the first—in the one case, *Ἰουδαῖος*; in the other, *περιτομή*. Heart circumcision is an idea already familiar to the O.T. From the Book of Deuteronomy (x. 16, for the meaning comp. xxx. 6) it passed to the prophetic writings: Jer. iv. 4. The contrary expression—uncircumcised in heart and in flesh—is also found: Jer. ix. 26, Ez. xlv. 7. A difficulty is created by the expression *ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι*. After ver. 28 we rather expect *ἐν πνεύματι οὐ σαρκί*: the circumcision being conceived as in one and not another part of man's nature. Practically it is in this sense most commentators take the words: thus Gifford explains them by "a circumcision which does not stop short at outward conformity to the law, but extends to the sphere of the inner life". But there is no real correspondence here, such as there is in *ἐν πνεύματι οὐ σαρκί*; and a comparison of 2 Cor. iii., a chapter pervaded by the contrast of *πνεῦμα* and *γράμμα*, suggests a different rendering. *πνεῦμα* and *γράμμα* are not the elements in which, but the powers by which, the circumcision is conceived to be effected. "Heart circumcision," without any qualifying words, expresses completely that contrast to circumcision in the flesh, which is in Paul's mind; and what he adds in the new words, *ἐν πνεύματι οὐ γράμματι* is the new idea that heart circumcision, which alone deserves the name of circumcision, is achieved by the Spirit of God, not by the written law. Whether there is such a thing as this heart circumcision, wrought by the Spirit, among the Jews, is not explicitly considered; but it is not

a refutation of this interpretation to point out that *πνεῦμα* in 2 Cor. is characteristically the gift of the New Covenant. For the very conclusion to which Paul wishes to lead is that the New Covenant is as necessary for the Jew as for the Gentile. οὐ δ' *ἐπαῖνος κ.τ.λ.* The οὐ is masculine, and refers to the ideal Jew. The name *Ἰουδαῖος* (from Judah=praise, Gen. xxix. 35) probably suggested this remark. οὐκ *ἐξ ἀνθρώπων*: the love of praise from each other, and religious vanity, are Jewish characteristics strongly commented on by our Lord (John v. 44, xii. 42 f.).

CHAPTER III.—Vers. 1-8. It might easily seem, at this point, as if the Apostle's argument had proved too much. He has shown that the mere possession of the law does not exempt the Jew from judgment, but that God requires its fulfilment; he has shown that circumcision in the flesh, seal though it be of the covenant and pledge of its promises, is only of value if it represent inward heart circumcision; he has, it may be argued, reduced the Jew to a position of entire equality with the Gentile. But the consciousness of the Jewish race must protest against such a conclusion. "Salvation is of the Jews" is a word of Christ Himself, and the Apostle is obliged to meet this instinctive protest of the ancient people of God. The whole of the difficulties it raises are more elaborately considered in chaps. ix.-xi.; here it is only discussed so far as to make plain that it does not invalidate the arguments of chap. ii., nor har the development of the Apostle's theology. The advantage of the Jew is admitted; it is admitted that his unbelief may even act as a foil to God's faithfulness, setting it in more glorious relief; but it is insisted, that if God's character as righteous judge of the world is to be maintained—as it must be—these admissions do not exempt the Jew from that liability to judgment which has just been demonstrated. The details of the interpretation, especially in ver. 7 f., are somewhat perplexed.

Ver. 1 f. τὸ περισσὸν τοῦ Ἰουδαίου is that which the Jew has "over and above" the Gentile. τίς ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς

ἐπιστεύθησαν τὰ <sup>α</sup>λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ. 3. τί γὰρ, εἰ ἡπίστησάν τινες; <sup>a Acts vii. 48; Heb. v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11.</sup> μὴ ἡ ἀπιστία αὐτῶν τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Θεοῦ καταργήσῃ; 4. μὴ γένοιτο· γινέσθω δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἀληθής, πᾶς δὲ ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης, καθὼς<sup>1</sup> γέγραπται, “Ὅπως ἂν δικαιοθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου, καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ

<sup>1</sup> For καθὼς NB read καθάπερ. νικήσῃς BGKL, etc., νικήσεις NADE. For the distribution of authorities here, see note on πρῶτον, page 589, note<sup>2</sup>. The combination of B with such later Western authorities as G here also lessens its weight; its reading is probably part of that Western element which it contains, i.e., B and G here represent practically one authority. But the other group of MSS. represents at least two groups of witnesses, the “neutral” in NA, and the Western in D, and its reading is therefore to be preferred. Weiss, however (*Textkritik der paulinischen Briefe*, S. 46), would reject the indicative both here and in 2 Cor. xii. 21. The change of εἰ and ἡ he regards as accidental; in KLP it occurs some sixty times.

περιτομῆς; = “What good does his circumcision do him?” πολὺ goes with τὸ περισσόν. κατὰ πάντα τρόπον: however you choose to view the position. πρῶτον μὲν suggests that such an enumeration of Jewish prerogatives might have been made here as is given at length in ix. 4 f. In point of fact, Paul mentions one only, in which the whole force of the Jewish objection to the arguments of chap. ii. is contained, and after disposing of it feels that he has settled the question, and passes on. The first, most weighty, and most far-reaching advantage of the Jews, is that “they were entrusted with the oracles of God”. They were made in His grace the depositaries and guardians of revelation. τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ must be regarded as the contents of revelation, having God as their author, and at the time when Paul wrote, identical with the O.T. Scriptures. In the LXX the word λόγιον occurs mainly as the equivalent of **נְבִיאָה**, which in various

passages (e.g., Ps. cxix. 38) has the sense of “promise”; in ordinary Greek it means “oracle,” the Divine word given at a shrine, and usually referring to the future; hence it would be natural in using it to think of the prophetic rather than the statutory element in the O.T., and this is what is required here. The O.T. as a whole, and as a revelation of God, has a forward look; it anticipates completion and excites hope; and it is not too much to say that this is suggested by describing it as τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ. The sum of it was that God had promised to His people “a future and a hope” (Jer. xxix. 11: see margin, R.V.), and this promise seemed threatened by the argument of the last chapter.

Ver. 3 f. τί γάρ; For how? i.e.,

Well then, how stands the case? Cf. Phil. i. 18. εἰ ἡπίστησάν τινες = if some *did* disbelieve. It is not necessary to render this, with reference to ἐπιστεύθησαν in ver. 2, “if some proved faithless to their trust”. What is in Paul’s mind is that “the oracles of God” have had their fulfilment in Christ, and that those to whom they were entrusted have in some cases (whether few or many he does not here consider) refused their faith to that fulfilment. Surely it is no proper inference that their unbelief must make God’s faithfulness of no effect. He has kept His promise, and as far as it lay with Him has maintained the original advantage of the Jews, as depositaries and first inheritors of that promise, whatever reception they may have given to its fulfilment. Away with the thought of any reflection upon Him! When the case is stated between God and man there can only be one conclusion: let God come out (γινέσθω) true, and every man a liar; let Him be just, and every man condemned. This agrees with the words of Scripture itself in Ps. li. (l.) 6, which Paul quotes exactly after the LXX: the Hebrew is distinctly different, but neither it nor the original context are regarded. ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου is a translation of Hebrew words which mean “when Thou speakest,” i.e., apparently, when Thou pronouncest sentence upon man; here the sense must be, “that Thou mayest be pronounced just in respect of what Thou hast spoken,” i.e., the λόγια, the oracles or promises entrusted to Israel. νικήσῃς: win thy case (see note on text). Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, §§ 198, 199. ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε: Probably the infinitive is passive: “when thou art judged”; not middle, “when thou submittest thy case to the



b Ch. v. 8; κρίνεσθαι σε". 5. εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀδικία ἡμῶν Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην <sup>b</sup> συνίστησι,  
<sup>2</sup> Cor. vi. τί ἐροῦμεν; μὴ ἄδικος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀργήν; κατὰ ἄνθρωπον  
<sup>4</sup>, vii. 11; λέγω. 6. μὴ γένοιτο· ἐπεὶ πῶς κρινεῖ ὁ Θεὸς τὸν κόσμον; 7. εἰ  
<sup>Gal. ii. 18.</sup> γὰρ <sup>1</sup> ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ψεύσματι ἐπερίσσευσεν εἰς τὴν  
 δόξαν αὐτοῦ, τί ἔτι καγὼ ὡς ἁμαρτωλὸς κρίνομαι; 8. καὶ μὴ καθὼς  
 c: 1 Cor. x. 30. ὁ βλασφημούμεθα, καὶ <sup>2</sup> καθὼς φασὶν τινες ἡμᾶς λέγειν, "Ὅτι ποιήσωμεν  
 τὰ κακὰ ἵνα ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀγαθὰ; ὣν τὸ κρίμα ἐνδικόν ἐστι.

<sup>1</sup> εἰ γὰρ BDEGKLP, etc.; εἰ δε BZA vulg. (some MSS., though others *si enim*). This case is to be decided by the same considerations as the last. Tischdf. and W. and H. put εἰ δε in their text; W. and H. put εἰ γὰρ in marg. On the strange but frequent exchange of δε and γὰρ see Weiss, *Textkritik*, 66 f.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ καθὼς; om. καὶ BK. W. and H. bracket.

judge". The quotation from Ps. cxvi. 12, πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης, is not important: the main thing, as the formal quotation which follows shows, is the vindication of God from the charge of breach of faith with the Jews in making Christianity the fulfilment of His promises to them.

Ver. 5 f. Here another attempt is made to invalidate the conclusion of chap. ii., that the Jew is to be judged "according to his works," exactly like the Gentile. If the argument of ver. 3 f. is correct, the unbelief of the Jews actually serves to set off the faithfulness of God: it makes it all the more conspicuous; how then can it leave them exposed to judgment? This argument is generalised in ver. 5 and answered in ver. 6. "If our unrighteousness" (in the widest sense, ἀδικία being generalised from ἀπιστία, ver. 3) demonstrates (cf. v. 8) God's righteousness (also in the widest sense, δικαιοσύνη being generalised from πίστις, ver. 3), what shall we say? *i.e.*, what inference shall we draw? Surely not that God, He who inflicts the wrath due to unrighteousness at the last day (i. 18), is Himself unrighteous, to speak as men speak. Away with the thought! If this were so, how should God judge the world? That God *does* judge the world at last is a fixed point both for Paul and those with whom he argues; hence every inference which conflicts with it must be summarily set aside. God could not judge at all if He were unjust; therefore, since He does judge, He is not unjust, not even in judging men whose unrighteousness may have served as a foil to His righteousness. It is not thus that the conclusions of chap. ii. can be evaded by the Jew. ὁ ἐπιφέρων τὴν ὀργήν: the "attributive participle equivalent to a relative clause,

may, like a relative clause, convey a subsidiary idea of cause, purpose, condition or concession" (Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 428, who renders here: is God unrighteous, who (because He) visiteth with wrath?). κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω: cf. Gal. iii. 15, Rom. vi. 19, 1 Cor. ix. 8. There is always something apologetic in the use of such expressions. Men forget the difference between God and themselves when they contemplate such a situation as that God should be unrighteous; obviously it is not to be taken seriously. Still, in human language such suppositions are made, and Paul begs that in his lips they may not be taken for more than they really mean.

Ver. 7 f. These verses are extremely difficult, and are interpreted variously according to the force assigned to the τί ἔτι καγὼ of ver. 7. Who or what supplies the contrast to this emphatic "I also"? Some commentators, Gifford, for instance, find it in God, and God's interest in the judgment. If my lie sets in relief the truth of God, and so magnifies His glory, is not that enough? Why, after God has had this satisfaction from my sin, "why further am I also on my side brought to judgment as a sinner?" It is a serious, if not a final objection to this, that it merely repeats the argument of ver. 5, which the Apostle has already refuted. Its very generality, too—for any man, as Gifford himself says, may thus protest against being judged,—lessens its relevance: for Paul is discussing not human evasions of God's judgment, but Jewish objections to his previous arguments. Lipsius finds the contrast to καγὼ in the Gentile world. A Jew is the speaker, or at all events the Apostle speaks in the character of one: "if my unbelief does magnify His faithfulness,

9. τί οὖν; προεχόμεθα; οὐ πάντως· προητιασάμεθα γὰρ Ἰουδαίους d Ch. vi. 14,  
 τε καὶ Ἕλληνας πάντας ὅψ' ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι, καθὼς γέγραπται, 10. 15; Gal. iii. 10.

is not that all that is required? Why am I, too, like the rest of the world, whose relation to God is so different, and whose judgment is so necessary, still brought into judgment?" This would be legitimate enough, probably, if it were not for what follows. But the slander of ver. 8, which forms part of the same question as τί ἔτι κἀγὼ κ.τ.λ., and to which reference is made again in chap. vi. 1, 15, had not the Jews, but the Apostle in his Christian character, for its object; hence it seems preferable to take the κἀγὼ as referring strictly to himself. That Paul would come into judgment, in spite of the fact that his faithlessness in becoming a Christian had only set off the faithfulness of God to Israel, no unbelieving Jew questioned: and Paul turns this conviction of theirs (with which, of course, he agrees, so far as it asserts that he will be judged) against themselves. If he, for his part, cannot evade judgment, on the ground that his sin (as they think it) has been a foil to God's righteousness, no more can they on their part: they and he are in one position, and must be judged together: to condemn him is to expose themselves to condemnation; that is his point. The argument of ver. 7 is both an *argumentum ad hominem* and an *argumentum ad rem*: Paul borrows from his opponents the premises that he himself is to be judged as a sinner, and that his lie has set off God's truth: there is enough in these premises to serve his purpose, which is to show that these two propositions which do not exclude each other in his case do not do so in their case either. But, of course, he would interpret the second in a very different way from them. The question is continued in ver. 8, though the construction is changed by the introduction of the parentheses with καθὼς and the attachment to λέγειν ὅτι of the clause which would naturally have gone with τί μή; If judgment could be evaded by sinning to the glory of God, so Paul argues, he and other Christians like him might naturally act on the principle which slander imputed to them—that of doing evil that good might come. No doubt the slander was of Jewish origin. The doctrine that righteousness is a gift of God, not to be won by works of law, but by faith in Jesus Christ, can always be misrepresented as immoral: "sin the more, it

will only the more magnify grace" Paul does not stoop to discuss it. The judgment that comes on those who by such perversions of reason and conscience seek to evade all judgment is just. This is all he has to say.

Vers. 9-20. In these verses the Apostle completes his proof of the universality of sin, and of the liability of all men, without exception, to judgment. The τί οὖν of ver. 9 brings back the argument from the digression of vers. 1-8. In those verses he has shown that the historical prerogative of the Jews, as the race entrusted with the oracles of God, real and great as it is, does not exempt them from the universal rule that God will reward every man according to his works (ii. 6): here, according to the most probable interpretation of προεχόμεθα, he puts himself in the place of his fellow-countrymen, and imagines them asking, "Are we surpassed? Is it the Gentiles who have the advantage of us, instead of our having the advantage of them?"

Ver. 9. τί οὖν; What then? i.e., how, then, are we to understand the situation? It is necessary to take these words by themselves, and make προεχόμεθα a separate question: the answer to τί could not be οὐ, but must be οὐδέν. The meaning of προεχόμεθα has been much discussed. The active προέχειν means to excel or surpass. Many have taken προεχόμεθα as middle in the same sense: So the Vulg. *praeexcellimus eos*? and the A.V. "Are we better than they?" But this use, except in interpreters of this verse, cannot be proved. The ordinary meaning of the middle would be "to put forward on one's own account, as an excuse, or defence". This is the rendering in the margin of the R.V. "Do we excuse ourselves?" If τί οὖν προεχόμεθα could be taken together, it might certainly be rendered, What then is our plea? but it is impossible to take προεχόμεθα in this sense without an object, and impossible, as already explained, to make this combination. The only alternative is to regard προεχόμεθα as passive: What then? are we excelled? This is the meaning adopted in the R.V. "Are we in worse case than they?" It is supported by Lightfoot. Wetstein quotes one example from Plut. *de Stoic. contradi.*, 1038 D.: τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς πᾶσι προστίκει,



“Ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἰς· ΙΙ. οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ συνιών,<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ ἐκζητῶν τὸν Θεόν. Ι2. πάντες ἐξέκλιναν, ἅμα ἠχρειώθησαν<sup>2</sup>. οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> ο συνιών; om. ο ABG vulg.; ins. **NDKL**. The ο before ἐκζητῶν is also omitted BG, and in both places, in text though not in marg., by W. and H. (marg., ο ζητῶν). This ζητῶν is the reading in B.

<sup>2</sup> ἠχρειώθησαν **ABD<sup>1</sup>G**. οὐκ ἔστιν ποιῶν, so ABG; but **ND** have ο ποιῶν. W. and H. put the former in text, the latter in marg. The second οὐκ ἔστιν is om. in B 67<sup>2</sup> and in the marg. of W. and H.

κατ’ οὐδὲν προεχομένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός: “who are in nothing surpassed by Zeus”. The word would thus express the surprise of the Jew at seeing his prerogatives disappear; “if this line of argument be carried further,” he may be supposed to say, “the relative positions of Jew and Gentile will turn out to be the very reverse of what we have believed”. This is the idea which is negatived in οὐ πάντως. Strictly speaking, the οὐ should modify πάντως, and the meaning be “not in every respect”: in some respects (for instance, the one referred to in ver. 2), a certain superiority would still belong to the Jew. But to allude to this seems irrelevant, and there is no difficulty in taking the words to mean, “No: not in any way”. See Winer, p. 693 f. “We are not surpassed at all, we who are Jews, for we have already brought against Jews and Greeks alike the charge of being all under sin.” ὑπὸ ἁμαρτίας, cf. vii. 14, Gal. iii. 22. The idea is that of being under the power of sin, as well as simply sinful: men are both guilty and unable to escape from that condition.

Ver. 10. The long series of quotations, beginning with this verse, has many points of interest. The καθὼς γέγραπται with which it is introduced, shows that the assertion of indiscriminate sinfulness which the Apostle has just made, corresponds with Scripture testimony. It is as if he had said, I can express my opinion in inspired words, and therefore it has God upon its side. The quotations themselves are taken from various parts of the O.T. without distinction; no indication is given when the writer passes from one book to another. Thus vv. 10-12 are from Ps. xiv. 1-3; ver. 13 gives the LXX of Ps. v. 9; ver. 14 corresponds best to Ps. x. 7; in vv. 15-17 there is a condensation of Is. lix. 7 f.; and in ver. 18 we have part of the first verse of Ps. xxxvi. No attention whatever is paid to the context. The value of the quotations for the Apostle's purpose has been disputed. It has been

pointed out that in Ps. xiv., for instance, there is mention of a people of God, “a generation of the righteous,” as well as of the godless world; and that in other passages only the contemporaries of the writer, or some of them, and not all men in all times, are described. Perhaps if we admit that there is no possibility of an empirical proof of the universality of sin, it covers the truth there is in such comments. Paul does not rest his case on these words of Scripture, interpreted as modern exegetical science would interpret them. He has brought the charge of sin against all men in chap. i. 17, in announcing righteousness as the gift of the Gospel; in chap. i. 18-32 he has referred to the facts which bring the charge home to Gentile consciences; in chap. ii. he has come to close quarters with evasions which would naturally suggest themselves to Jews: and in both cases he has counted upon finding in conscience a sure ally. Hence we do not need to lay too heavy a burden of proof on these quotations: it is enough if they show that Scripture points with unmistakable emphasis in the direction in which the Apostle is leading his readers. And there can be no doubt that it does so. As Gifford well says on ver. 18: “In the deep inner sense which St. Paul gives to the passage, ‘the generation of the righteous’ would be the first to acknowledge that they form no exception to the universal sinfulness asserted in the opening verses of the Psalm”.

Ver. 10. Οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος οὐδὲ εἰς. There is something to be said for the idea that this is Paul's thesis, rather than a quotation of Ps. xiv. 3. Ps. xiv. 3 is correctly quoted in ver. 12, and the Apostle would hardly quote it twice: δίκαιος, too, seems chosen to express exactly the conclusion to which he means to come in ver. 20. Still, the words come after καθὼς γέγραπται: hence they must be Scripture, and there is nothing they resemble so much as a free rendering of Ps. xiv. 3.

ἐστι ποιῶν χρηστότητα, οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός.” 13. “τάφος ἀνεωγ-  
μένος ὁ λάρυγξ αὐτῶν, ταῖς γλώσσαις αὐτῶν ἐδολιοῦσαν”. “ἰδὲ  
ἀσπιδῶν ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν”. 14. “ὦν τὸ στόμα <sup>1</sup> ἀρᾶς καὶ πικρίας  
γέμει.” 15. “ὄξεις οἱ πόδες αὐτῶν ἐκχέαι αἷμα.” 16. σύντριμμα  
καὶ ταλαιπωρία ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν. 17. καὶ ὁδὸν \*εἰρήνης οὐκ ε Luke 1.  
ἔγνωσαν.” 18. “οὐκ ἔστι φόβος Θεοῦ ἀπέναντι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν <sup>79</sup>  
αὐτῶν.” 19. οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι ὅσα ὁ νόμος λέγει, τοῖς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ f Ch. iv. 10.  
λαλεῖ. ἵνα πᾶν στόμα φραγῇ, καὶ <sup>h</sup> ὑπόδικος γένηται πᾶς ὁ κόσμος <sup>g</sup> Heb. xi. 33.  
<sup>h</sup> Here only.

<sup>1</sup> στόμα; after στόμα B 17 read αὐτῶν. This Hebr. idiom may be right, and W. and H. put αὐτῶν in marg.

Ver. 11. οὐκ ἔστιν συνίων. For the form (συνίων or συνιών), see Winer, p. 97. If we read ὁ συνίων the meaning is, There is no one to understand: if the article (as in the LXX) be omitted, There is no one who has sense.

Ver. 12. ἡχρεώθησαν is the LXX rendering of <sup>אָנְדִּירְטִין</sup>, which means “to become sour,” “to turn” (of milk): one and all they have become good for nothing. χρηστότητα usually signifies kindness, and so it is rendered in 2 Cor. vi. 6, Eph. ii. 7, Col. iii. 12, Tit. iii. 4 (cf. Rom. ii. 4, xi. 22: goodness): here it answers to Hebrew <sup>רָעָה</sup> and means “good”. οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός, non est usque ad unum (Vulg.), which may be even more exactly given in the Scottish idiom: there is not the length of one.

Ver. 13. τάφος . . . ἐδολιοῦσαν is an exact quotation of Ps. v. 10 (LXX). The original seems to describe foreign enemies whose false and treacherous language threatened ruin to Israel. For the form ἐδολιοῦσαν, see Winer, p. 91 (f.). The termination is common in the LXX: Wetstein quotes one grammarian who calls it Boeotian and another Chalcidic; it was apparently widely diffused. The last clause, ἰδὲ ἀσπιδῶν κ.τ.λ., is Ps. cxxxix. 4, LXX.

Ver. 14. Ps. ix. 28, LXX, freely quoted: (Ps. x. 7, A.V.). αὐτῶν after στόμα (W. and H., margin) is a Hebrew idiom which the LXX has in this passage, only in the singular: οὗ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ.

Vers. 15-17. These verses are rather a free extract from, than a quotation of, Is. lix. 7, 8. They describe the moral corruption of Israel in the age of the prophet. According to Lipsius, σύντριμμα καὶ ταλαιπωρία refer to the

spiritual misery which comes upon the Jews in the path of self-righteousness. But it is much more natural to suppose that the Apostle is pointing to the destruction and misery which human wickedness inflicts on others, than to any such spiritual results of it. It is as if he had said, “Wherever they go, you can trace them by the ruin and distress they leave behind”. The same consideration applies to ver. 17. It does not mean, “They have failed to discover the way of salvation,” but “they tread continually in paths of violence”.

Ver. 18. Ps. xxxv. 2, LXX, with αὐτῶν for αὐτοῦ. This verse at once sums up and explains the universal corruption of mankind.

Ver. 19. At this point the first great division of the epistle closes, that which began with chap. i. 18, and has been occupied with asserting the universal prevalence of sin. “We know that whatever the law says, it says to those who are in the law,” i.e., to the Jews. For the distinction of λέγειν (in which the object is the main thing) and λαλεῖν (in which the speaker and the mode of utterance are made prominent), see Trench, *Synonyms*, § lxxvi., and commentary on John viii. 43. It is most natural to suppose that by “the things the law says” Paul means the words he has just quoted from the O.T. These words cannot be evaded by the very persons to whom the O.T. was given, and who have in it, so to speak, the spiritual environment of their life. In this case, ὁ νόμος is used in the wider sense of the old revelation generally, not specifically the Pentateuch, or even the statutory part of Scripture. For this use of the word, cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 21, where ἐν τῷ νόμῳ introduces a quotation from Is. xxviii. 11: and John x. 34 (*your law*), xv. 25 (*their law*), both prefacing quota-



τῷ Θεῷ. 20. διότι ἐξ ἔργων νόμου οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· διὰ γὰρ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας.

tions from Psalms (lxxxii. 6, xxxv. 19). At first sight there seems a disparity between the two parts of the verse. How does the fact that those who are under the law are impeached and condemned by such utterances of the law as those just quoted subserve the Divine intention to stop *every* mouth and make *all the world* answerable to God? We must suppose that all other men—that is, the Gentiles, who are not under the law—are convicted already; and that what is needed to prepare the way for the universal Gospel of grace is that those who have been under law should admit concerning themselves, what they are prompt enough to assert of all others ("sinners of the Gentiles": Gal. ii. 15), that they have not a word to say, and are liable to God's judgment. *ὑπόδικος* is a classical word, found here only in the N.T. Sanday and Headlam remark its "forensic" character.

Ver. 20. *διότι* means "because," not "therefore," as in A.V. The rendering "therefore" is perhaps due to the difficulty which the translators had in putting an intelligible meaning into "because." The sense seems to be: Every mouth must be stopped, and all the world shown to be liable to God's judgment, because by works of law no flesh shall be justified before Him. This last proposition—that no flesh shall be justified in this way—is virtually an axiom with the Apostle: it is a first principle in all his spiritual thinking, and hence everything must be true which can be deduced from it, and everything must take place which is required to support it. *Because* this is the fundamental certainty of the case, every mouth *must* be stopped, and the strong words quoted from the law stand where they do to secure this end. The explanation of this axiom is to be found in its principal terms—flesh and law. Flesh primarily denotes human nature in its frailty: to attain to the righteousness of God is a task which no flesh has strength to accomplish. But flesh in Paul has a moral rather than a natural meaning; it is not its weakness in this case, but its strength, which puts justification out of the question; to justify is the very thing which the law cannot do, and it cannot do it because it is weak owing to the flesh (*cf.* viii. 3). But the explanation of the axiom lies not only in "flesh," but in "law." "By the law

comes the full knowledge of sin." (*ἐπίγνωσις*, a favourite Pauline word: fifteen times used in his epistles.) This is its proper, and indeed its exclusive function. There is no law given with power to give life, and therefore there are no works of law by which men can be justified. The law has served its purpose when it has made men feel to the full how sinful they are; it brings them down to this point, but it is not for it to lift them up. The best exposition of the passage is given by the Apostle himself in Gal. ii. 15 f., where the same quotation is made from Ps. cxlii. 2, and proof given again that it applies to Jew and Gentile alike. In *ἐξ ἔργων νόμου*, *νόμος*, of course, is primarily the Mosaic law. As Lipsius remarks, no distinction is drawn by the Apostle between the ritual and the moral elements of it, though the former are in the foreground in the epistle to the Galatians, and the latter in that to the Romans. But the truth would hold of every legal dispensation, and it is perhaps to express this generality, rather than because *νόμος* is a technical term, that the article is omitted. Under no system of statutes, the Mosaic or any other, will flesh ever succeed in finding acceptance with God. Let mortal man, clothed in works of law, present himself before the Most High, and His verdict must always be: Unrighteous.

Vers. 21-26. The universal need of a Gospel has now been demonstrated, and the Apostle proceeds with his exposition of this Gospel itself. It brings what all men need, a righteousness of God (see on i. 17); and it brings it in such a way as to make it accessible to all. Law contributes nothing to it, though it is attested by the law and the prophets; it is a righteousness which is all of grace. Grace, however, does not signify that moral distinctions are ignored in God's procedure: the righteousness which is held out in the Gospel is held out on the basis of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus. It is put within the sinner's reach at a great cost. It could never be offered to him—it could never be manifested, or indeed have any real existence—but for the propitiatory virtue of the blood of Christ. Christ a propitiation is the inmost soul of the Gospel for sinful men. If God had not set Him forth in this character, not only must we

21. νυνὶ δὲ χωρὶς νόμου δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ πεφανέρωται, μαρτυρο-  
μένη ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν <sup>1</sup>προφητῶν. 22. δικαιοσύνη δὲ Θεοῦ διὰ <sup>i</sup>Matt.v. 17;  
πίστεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας <sup>1</sup>τοὺς πιστεύοντας. <sup>k</sup>Acts xiii.  
οὐ γάρ ἐστι <sup>15</sup>διαστολή. 23. πάντες γὰρ ἡμαρτον, καὶ ὑστεροῦνται <sup>1</sup>Ch. x. 12;  
<sup>1</sup>Cor. xiv.  
<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας; so  $\Sigma^3$ DFGKL, but om.  $\Sigma^1$ ABC. The words are omitted by Lachm., Tischdf., Tregelles, W. and H., but retained by Weiss, who explains the omission by homœoteleuton. As ἐπὶ πάντας alone is found in very good MSS. of the vulg. and in John of Damascus, the received text may be a combination of this and the true reading.

despair for ever of attaining to a Divine righteousness; all our attempts to read the story of the world in any consistency with the character of God must be baffled. Past sins God seemed simply to ignore: He treated them apparently as if they were not. But the Cross is "the Divine theodicy for the past history of the world" (Tholuck); we see in it how seriously God deals with the sins which for the time He seemed to pass by. It is a demonstration of His righteousness—that is, in the widest sense, of His consistency with His own character,—which would have been violated by indifference to sin. And that demonstration is, by God's grace, given in such a way that it is possible for Him to be (as He intends to be) at once just Himself, and the justifier of those who believe in Jesus. The propitiatory death of Jesus, in other words, is at once the vindication of God and the salvation of man. That is why it is central and fundamental in the Apostolic Gospel. It meets the requirements, at the same time, of the righteousness of God and of the sin of man.

Ver. 21. νυνὶ δὲ: but now. All time is divided for Paul into "now" and "then". Cf. Eph. ii. 12 f., τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ . . . νυνὶ δέ; 2 Cor. v. 16, ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν: the reception of the Gospel means the coming of a new world. χωρὶς νόμου: legal obedience contributes nothing to evangelic righteousness. It is plain that in this expression νόμος does not signify the O. T. revelation or religion as such, but that religion, or any other, conceived as embodied in statutes. It is statutory obedience which (as Paul has learned by experience) cannot justify. Hence νόμος has not exactly the same sense here as in the next clause, ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου κ. τῶν προφητῶν, where the whole expression is equal to the O. T., and the meaning is that the Gospel is not alien to the religion of Israel, but really finds attestation there. This is worth remarking, because there is a similar variation

in the meaning of δικαιοσύνη between vv. 21 and 25, and in that of ἡ δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ between iii. 23 and v. 2. To deny that words which mean so much, and are applied so variously, can convey different shades of meaning, even within the narrow limits of a few verses, is to deny that language shares in the life and subtlety of the mind. πεφανέρωται: once for all the righteousness of God has been revealed in the Gospel. Cf. xvi. 26, Col. i. 26, 2 Tim. i. 10, 1 Peter i. 20, Heb. ix. 8, 26.

Ver. 22. δικαιοσύνη δὲ Θεοῦ. The δὲ is explicative: "a righteousness of God (see on chap. i. 17) [ver. 21], and that a righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ". In the Epistle to the Hebrews Jesus Christ is undoubtedly set forth as a pattern of faith: ἀφορῶντες εἰς τὸν τῆς πίστεως ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τελειωτὴν Ἰησοῦν, Heb. xii. 2. Cf. Heb. ii. 13; but such a thought is irrelevant here. It is the constant teaching of Paul that we are justified (not by sharing Jesus' faith in God, as some interpreters would take it here, but) by believing in that manifestation and offer of God's righteousness which are made in the propitiatory death of Jesus. εἰς πάντας καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας: the last three words are omitted by  $\Sigma$ ABC and most edd. If genuine, they add no new idea to εἰς πάντας; see Winer, p. 521. For διαστολή, cf. x. 12. The righteousness of God comes to all on the terms of faith, for all alike need it, and can receive it only so.

Ver. 23. ἡμαρτον must be rendered in English "have sinned"; see Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 54. ὑστεροῦνται expresses the consequence—and so come short of the glory of God. To emphasise the middle, and render "they come short, and feel that they do so," though suggested by the comparison of Mt. xix. 20 with Lk. xv. 14 (Gifford), is not borne out by the use of the N. T. as a whole. The most one could say is that *sibi* is latent in



Matt. x. 8; τῆς δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ, 24. δικαιοῦμενοι <sup>1</sup> δωρεὰν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, διὰ  
 2 Cor. xi. 7; Rev. τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 25. ὃν προέθετο ὁ Θεὸς  
 xxi. 6,  
 xxii. 17.

the middle: to their loss (not necessarily to their sensible or conscious loss) they come short. The present tense implies that but for sin men might be in enjoyment of "ἡ δόξα τοῦ Θεοῦ". Clearly this cannot be the same as the future heavenly glory of God spoken of in v. 2: as in John v. 44, xii. 43, it must be the approbation or praise of God. This sense of δόξα is easily derived from that of "reputation," resting on the praise or approval of others. Of course the approbation which God would give to the sinless, and of which sinners fall short, would be identical with justification.

Ver. 24. δικαιοῦμενοι: grammatically, the word is intractable. If we force a connection with what immediately precedes, we may say with Lipsius that just as Paul has proved the universality of grace through the universality of sin, so here, conversely, he proves the universal absence of merit in men by showing that they are justified freely by God's grace. Westcott and Hort's punctuation (comma after τοῦ Θεοῦ) favours this connection, but it is forced and fanciful. In sense δικαιοῦμενοι refers to πάντας τοὺς πιστεύοντας, and the use of the nominative to resume the main idea after an interruption like that of ver. 23 is rather characteristic than otherwise of the Apostle. δωρεὰν is used in a similar connection in Gal. ii. 21. It signifies "for nothing". Justification, we are told here, costs the sinner nothing; in Galatians we are told that if it comes through law, then Christ died "for nothing". Christ is all in it (1 Cor. i. 30): hence its absolute freeness. τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι repeats the same thing: as δωρεὰν signifies that we contribute nothing, τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι signifies that the whole charge is freely supplied by God. αὐτοῦ in this position has a certain emphasis. διὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως τῆς ἐν Χ. Ἰ. The justification of the sinful, or the coming to them of that righteousness of God which is manifested in the Gospel, takes effect through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. Perhaps "liberation" would be a fairer word than "redemption" to translate ἀπολύτρωσις. In Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 14, Heb. ix. 15, it is equal to forgiveness. Ἀπολύτρωσις itself is rare; in the LXX there is but one instance, Dan. iv. 29, in which ὁ χρόνος μου τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως signifies

the time of Nebuchadnezzar's recovery from his madness. There is here no suggestion of price or cost. Neither is there in the common use of the verb λυτροῦσθαι, which in LXX represents

לְנַח and הָפַח, the words employed to describe God's liberation of Israel from Egypt (Is. xliii. 3 does not count). On the other hand, the classical examples favour the idea that a reference to the cost of liberation is involved in the word. Thus Jos., *Ant.*, xii. 2, 3: πλείονων δὲ ἢ τετρακοσίων ταλάντων τὰ τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως γενήσεσθαι φαρμένων κ.τ.λ.; and Philo, *Quod omnis probus liber*, § 17 (of a Spartan boy taken prisoner in war) ἀπογνοὺς ἀπολύτρωσιν ἄσμενος ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο, where it is at least most natural to translate "having given up hope of being held to ransom". In the N.T., too, the cost of man's liberation is often emphasised: 1 Cor. vi. 20, vii. 23, 1 Pet. i. 18 f., and that especially where the cognate words λύτρον and ἀντίλυτρον are employed: Mc. x. 45, 1 Tim. ii. 6. The idea of liberation as the end in view may often have prevailed over that of the particular means employed, but that some means—and especially some cost, toil or sacrifice—were involved, was always understood. It is implied in the use of the word here that justification is a liberation; the man who receives the righteousness of God is set free by it from some condition of bondage or peril. From what? The answer is to be sought in the connection of i. 17 and i. 18: he is set free from a condition in which he was exposed to the wrath of God revealed from heaven against sin. In Eph. i. 7, Col. i. 14, ἀπολύτρωσις is plainly defined as remission of sins: in Eph. i. 14, Rom. viii. 23, 1 Cor. i. 30, it is eschatological.

Ver. 25 f. But the question whether the word ἀπολύτρωσις involves of itself a reference to the cost at which the thing is accomplished is after all of minor consequence: that cost is brought out unambiguously in ver. 25. The ἀπολύτρωσις is in Christ Jesus, and it is in Him as One whom God set forth in propitiatory power, through faith (or, reading διὰ τῆς πίστεως, through the faith referred to), in His blood. προέθετο in Eph. i. 9 (*cf.* Rom. i. 13) is "purposed"; but here the other meaning, "set forth" (Vulg. *proposuit*) suits the context much

ἰλαστήριον διὰ τῆς πίστεως<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι, εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν πᾶρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων

<sup>1</sup> διὰ τῆς πίστεως; so BC<sup>3</sup>D<sup>3</sup>KL 17, but om. τῆς N<sup>C</sup>D<sup>1</sup>F, Origen. Most critical edd. omit, but W. and H. give it a place in marg. Weiss puts it in text, and emphasises it with ref. to ver. 22.

better. ἰλαστήριον has been taken in various ways. (1) In the LXX it is the rendering of מְרִצָּה, (A.V.) "mercy-seat". In one passage at least, Ex.

xxv. 16, מְרִצָּה is rendered ἰλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα, which is possibly a combination of two translations—a literal one, a "lid" or "covering"; and a figurative or spiritual one, "a propitiatory". Many scholars argue that Paul's use must follow that of the LXX, familiarity with which on the part of his readers is everywhere assumed. But the necessity is not quite apparent; and not to mention the incongruities which are introduced if Jesus is conceived as the mercy-seat upon which the sacrificial blood—His own blood—is sprinkled, there are grammatical reasons against this rendering. Paul must have written, to be clear, τὸ ἰλαστήριον ἡμῶν, or some equivalent phrase. Cf. 1 Cor. v. 8 (Christ our passover). A "mercy-seat" is not such a self-evident, self-interpreting idea, that the Apostle could lay it at the heart of his gospel without a word of explanation. Consequently (2) many take ἰλαστήριον as an adjective. Of those who so take it, some supply θύμα or ἱερεῖον, making the idea of sacrifice explicit. But it is simpler, and there is no valid objection, to make it masculine, in agreement with ὃν: "whom God set forth in propitiatory power". This use of the word is sufficiently guaranteed by Jos., *Ant.*, xvi. 7, 1: περιφόβος δ' αὐτὸς ἐξήλει καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰλαστήριον μνημα . . . κατεσκευάσατο. The passage in 4 Macc. xvii. 22 (καὶ διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τοῦ ἰλαστηρίου [τοῦ] θανάτου αὐτῶν ἡ θεία πρόνοια τὸν

Ἰσραὴλ προκακωθέντα διέσωσεν) is decisive, owing to the doubtful reading.\* Perhaps the grammatical question is insoluble; but there is no question that Christ is conceived as endowed with propitiatory power, in virtue of His death. He is set forth as ἰλαστήριος(ν) ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. It is His blood that covers sin. It seems a mere whim of rigour to deny, as Weiss does, that the death of Christ is here conceived as sacrificial. It is in His blood that Christ is endowed with propitiatory power; and there is no propitiatory power of blood known to Scripture unless the blood be that of sacrifice. It is not necessary to assume that any particular sacrifice—say the sin offering—is in view; neither is it necessary, in order to find the idea of sacrifice here, to make ἰλαστήριον neuter, and supply θύμα; it is enough to say that for the Apostle the ideas of blood with propitiatory virtue, and sacrificial blood, must have been the same. The precise connection and purpose of διὰ (τῆς) πίστεως is not at once clear. Grammatically, it might be construed with ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι; cf. Eph. i. 15, Gal. iii. 26 (?), Mk. i. 15; but this lessens the emphasis due to the last words. It seems to be inserted, almost parenthetically, to resume and continue the idea of ver. 22, that the righteousness of God which comes in this way, —namely, in Christ, whom God has set forth in propitiatory power in virtue of His death—comes only to those who believe. Men are saved freely, and it is all God's work, not in the very least their own; yet that work does not avail for any one who does not by faith accept it. What God has given to the world in Christ, infinitely great and absolutely free as it is, is literally nothing unless it is

\* Seeberg, *Der Tod Christi*, S. 185, adduces it with the reading τοῦ θανάτου, to support the view that in ἰλαστήριον (as a substantive) Paul is thinking not of the concrete *Kapfloreith*, but only of that on account of which this sacred article received its name; in other words, of a covering by which that is hidden from God's eyes on account of which He would be obliged to be angry with men. It is possible to take ἰλαστήριον as a substantive = a means of propitiation (as this passage from 4 Macc. shows, if we read τοῦ θανάτου), without special allusion to the מְרִצָּה. But see Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, S. 121 ff.



ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ, 26. πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ ἐν  
 n Ch. viii. 18, xi. τῷ νῦν <sup>a</sup> καιρῷ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτῶν δίκαιον καὶ δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστews

taken. Faith must have its place, therefore, in the profoundest statement of the Gospel, as the correlative of grace. Thus διὰ (τῆς) πίστews, though parenthetic, is of the last importance. With εἰς ἔνδειξιν τῆς δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. we are shown God's purpose in setting forth Christ as a propitiation in His blood. It is done with a view to demonstrate His righteousness, owing to the passing by of the sins previously committed in the forbearance of God. God's righteousness in this place is obviously an attribute of God, on which the sin of the world, as hitherto treated by Him, has cast a shadow. Up till now, God has "passed by" sin. He has "winked at" (Acts xvii. 30) the transgressions of men perpetrated before Christ came (προ-γεγονότων), ἐν τῇ ἀνοχῇ αὐτοῦ. The last words may be either temporal or causal: while God exercised forbearance, or because He exercised it, men sinned, so to speak, with impunity, and God's character was compromised. The underlying thought is the same as in Ps. l. 21: "These things hast Thou done, and I kept silence: *Thou thoughtest that I was altogether such an one as Thyself*". Such had been the course of Providence that God, owing to His forbearance in suspending serious dealing with sin, lay under the imputation of being indifferent to it. But the time had now come to remove this imputation, and vindicate the Divine character. If it was possible once, it was no longer possible now, with Christ set forth in His blood as a propitiation, to maintain that sin was a thing which God regarded with indifference. Paul does not say in so many words what it is in Christ crucified which constitutes Him a propitiation, and so clears God's character of the charge that He does not care for sin: He lays stress, however, on the fact that an essential element in a propitiation is that it should vindicate the Divine righteousness. It should proclaim with unmistakable clearness that with sin God can hold no terms. (The distinction between πάρεσις, the suspension, and ἀφεσις, the revocation, of punishment, is borne out, according to Lightfoot, *Notes on Epp. of St. Paul*, p. 273, by classical usage, and is essential here.) In ver. 26 this idea is restated, and the significance of a propitiation more fully brought out. "Yes, God set Him forth in this charac-

ter with a view to demonstrate His righteousness, that He might be righteous Himself, and accept as righteous him who believes in Jesus." The words ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ refer to the Gospel Age, the time in which believers live, in contrast to the time when God exercised forbearance, and men were tempted to accuse Him of indifference to righteousness. πρὸς, as distinguished from εἰς, makes us think rather of the person contemplating the end than of the end contemplated; but there is no essential difference. τὴν ἔνδειξιν: the article means "the ἔνδειξις already mentioned in ver. 25". But the last clause, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ., is the most important. It makes explicit the whole intention of God in dealing with sin by means of a propitiation. God's righteousness, compromised as it seemed by His forbearance, might have been vindicated in another way; if He had executed judgment upon sin, it would have been a kind of vindication. He would have secured the first object of ver. 26: "that He might be righteous Himself". But part of God's object was to justify the ungodly (chap. iv. 5), upon certain conditions; and this could not be attained by the execution of judgment upon sin. To combine both objects, and at once vindicate His own righteousness, and put righteousness within reach of the sinful, it was necessary that instead of executing judgment God should provide a propitiation. This He did when He set forth Jesus in His blood for the acceptance of faith. (Håring takes the ἔνδειξις of God's righteousness here to be the same as the "revelation" of δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ in i. 17, or the "manifestation" of it in iii. 21; but this is only possible if with him we completely ignore the context, and especially the decisive words, διὰ τὴν πάρεσιν τῶν προγεγονότων ἁμαρτημάτων.) The question has been raised whether the righteousness of God, here spoken of as demonstrated at the Cross, is His judicial (Weiss) or His penal righteousness (Meyer). This seems to me an unreal question; the righteousness of God is the whole character of God so far as it must be conceived as inconsistent with any indifference about sin. It is a more serious question if we ask what it is in Christ set forth by God in His blood which at once vindicates

Ἰησοῦ. 27. Ποῦ οὖν ἡ καύχησις; ἐξεκλείσθη. διὰ τοῦ νόμου; οὐκ ἐργῶν; οὐχί, ἀλλὰ διὰ νόμου πίστεως. 28. λογιζόμεθα οὖν<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> οὖν; so BCD<sup>3</sup>KL 17, but γὰρ NAD<sup>1</sup>F, Origen-interp. The division of authorities here is like that in ver. 25, and the edd. decide in the same way. W. and H. put γὰρ in text, οὖν in marg. Weiss puts οὖν in text. πιστεῖ δικαιοῦσθαι N<sup>3</sup>KL 17, but δικαιοῦσθαι πιστεῖ N<sup>1</sup>ABCD.

God's character and makes it possible for Him to justify those who believe. The passage itself contains nothing explicit—except in the words ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι. It is pedantic and inept to argue that since God could have demonstrated His righteousness *either* by punishment *or* by propitiation, therefore punishment and propitiation have no relation to each other. Christ was a propitiation *in virtue of His death*; and however a modern mind may construe it, *death to Paul was the doom of sin*. To say that God set forth Christ as a propitiation *in His blood* is the same thing as to say that God *made Him to be sin* for us. God's righteousness, therefore, is demonstrated at the Cross, because there, in Christ's death, it is made once for all apparent that He does not palter with sin; the doom of sin falls by His appointment on the Redeemer. And it is possible, at the same time, to accept as righteous those who by faith unite themselves to Christ upon the Cross, and identify themselves with Him in His death: for in doing so they submit in Him to the Divine sentence upon sin, and at bottom become right with God. It is misleading to render εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον κ. δικαιοῦντα, "that He might be just and yet the justifier," etc.: the Apostle only means that the two ends have equally to be secured, not that there is necessarily an antagonism between them. But it is more than misleading to render "that He might be just and therefore the justifier": there is no conception of righteousness, capable of being clearly carried out, and connected with the Cross, which makes such language intelligible. (See Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, iv., 14, English Translation.) It is the love of God, according to the consistent teaching of the New Testament, which provides the propitiation, by which God's righteousness is vindicated and the justification of the ungodly made possible. τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ is every one who is properly and sufficiently characterised as a believer in Jesus. There is no

difficulty whatever in regarding Ἰησοῦ as objective genitive, as the use of πιστεῖν throughout the N.T. (Gal. ii. 16, e.g.) requires us to do: such expressions as τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ (iv. 16) are not in the least a reason to the contrary: they only illustrate the flexibility of the Greek language. See on ver. 22 above.

Vers. 27-31. In these verses the positive exposition of the righteousness of God as offered to faith through the redemption in Christ Jesus, is concluded. The Apostle points out two inferences which can be drawn from it, and which go to commend it to religious minds. The first is, that it excludes boasting. A religious constitution under which men could make claims, or assume anything, in the presence of God, must necessarily be false; it is at least one mark of truth in the Christian doctrine of justification that by it such presumption is made impossible. The second is, that in its universality and its sameness for all men, it is consistent with (as indeed it flows from) the unity of God. There can be no step-children in the family of God; a system which teaches that there are, like that current among the Jews, must be wrong; a system like the Christian, which excludes such an idea, is at least so far right. In ver. 31 an objection is raised. The whole system just expounded may be said to make Law void—to stultify and disannul all that has ever been regarded as in possession of Divine moral authority in the world. In reality, the Apostle answers in a word, its effect is precisely the reverse: it establishes Law.

Ver. 27. ποῦ οὖν; where, since this is the case, is boasting? ἐξεκλείσθη: for the use of the tense, cf. ἐβλήθη and ἐξηράνθη in John xv. 6; it is equivalent to, "is peremptorily, or once for all, shut out". διὰ τοῦ νόμου; By what kind of law? In other words, How is the "law," the divinely appointed spiritual order, or constitution, which excludes boasting, to be characterised? Is it by "the works" which it prescribes, and which those who live under it per-



πίστει δικαιοῦσθαι ἄνθρωπον, χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου. 29. ἡ Ἰουδαίων  
 ὁ Θεὸς μόνον<sup>1</sup>; οὐχὶ δὲ καὶ ἐθνῶν; ναὶ, καὶ ἐθνῶν. 30. ἐπεὶ περ<sup>2</sup> εἰς  
 p 1 Tim. ii. ὁ ὁ Θεὸς, ὃς δικαιοῦσει περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως, καὶ ἀκροβυστίαν διὰ τῆς  
 4 ff. πίστεως. 31. νόμον οὖν καταργοῦμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως; μὴ γένοιτο.  
 ἀλλὰ νόμον ἰστώμεν.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> μόνον  $\Sigma$ ACFKL 17; μόνων B (W. and H. marg.). δε om.  $\Sigma$ ABCD<sup>2</sup>FK.

<sup>2</sup> For ἐπεὶ περ  $\Sigma$ 1ABCD<sup>2</sup> read εἰ περ, and so most editors; but Weiss regards ἐπεὶ περ (which is not found elsewhere in the N.T.) as the true reading.

<sup>3</sup> For ἰστώμεν,  $\Sigma$ 1ABCD<sup>2</sup>F, etc., read ἰστανόμεν.

form? No: its character is given when we call it a constitution or law of "faith". Νόμος in these brief questions is evidently used in a wide sense to denote the religious order or system under which men live, regarded as established by God, and having His authority; the O.T. religion and the N.T. religion, unlike, and in some ways opposed, as they are, are alike νόμος—divine institutes.

Ver. 28. λογιζόμεθα γάρ: see critical note. In λογιζόμεθα there is no idea of an uncertain conclusion: it rather suggests the confident self-consciousness of the reasoner. ἄνθρωπον is not "any human being," as if beings of another sort could be justified otherwise: it is like the German "man" or "one". Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 1, vii. 1, xi. 28, Gal. ii. 16. The sharp distinction drawn between faith and works of law, as characterising two different religious systems, shows that faith must not itself be interpreted as a work of law. In principle it is a renunciation of all such confidence as legal obedience inspires.

Ver. 29 f. ἡ Ἰουδαίων ὁ Θεὸς μόνον; The only way to evade the conclusion of ver. 28 would be to suppose—as is here presented by way of alternative—that God is a God of Jews only. But the supposition is impossible: there is only one God, and therefore He must be God of all, of Gentiles and Jews alike. This is assumed as an axiom by the Apostle. εἰ περ is the best attested reading, but the argument seems to require that it should "approximate to the sense of ἐπεὶ περ" (Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 171), which is a variant: "if, as is the fact".\* It is simplest to read ver. 30 as explaining and confirming what precedes: He is God of the Gentiles also, if as is the fact God is

one; and (consequently) He will justify the circumcision on the ground of faith and the uncircumcision by means of faith. δικαιοῦσει is probably logical, rather than temporal, whether the reference be made to the last judgment, or to each case, as it arises, in which God justifies. Lightfoot insists on drawing a distinction between ἐκ πίστεως and διὰ τῆς πίστεως in this passage. "The difference," he says, "will perhaps best be seen by substituting their opposites, οὐ δικαιοῦσει περιτομὴν ἐκ νόμου, οὐδὲ ἀκροβυστίαν διὰ τοῦ νόμου: when, in the case of the Jews, the falsity of their starting-point, in the case of the Gentiles, the needlessness of a new instrumentality, would be insisted on." (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 274.) But a comparison of ii. 26, v. 1, ix. 30, Gal. iii. 8 (Weiss), shows that Paul does not construe the propositions so rigorously: and in point of fact, what he does insist upon here is that justification is to be conceived in precisely the same way for Jew and Gentile. The ἐκ πίστεως and διὰ τῆς πίστεως serve no purpose but to vary the expression.

Ver. 31. νόμον οὖν καταργοῦμεν διὰ τῆς πίστεως; Do we then annul "law" through the faith we have been discussing? Perhaps if Law were written with a capital letter, it would suggest the true meaning. The Apostle speaks as from the consciousness of a Jewish objector: is all that we have ever called Law—the whole Jewish religion—that divinely established order, and everything of the same nature—made void by faith? God forbid, he answers: on the contrary, Law is set upon a secure footing; for the first time it gets its rights. To prove this was one of the main tasks lying upon the Apostle of the New Covenant. One species of proof is given in chap. iv.,

\* But εἰ περ = if God is indeed one (which no Jew, the supposed interlocutor, would deny).

IV. 1. ΤΙ οὖν ἐροῦμεν Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα ἡμῶν εὐρηκέναι κατὰ σάρκα<sup>1</sup>; 2. εἰ γὰρ Ἀβραὰμ ἐξ ἔργων ἐδικαιώθη, ἔχει καύχημα, ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν.<sup>2</sup> 3. τί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει; "Ἐπίστευσε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. 4. τῷ δὲ ἐργαζομένῳ ὁ μισθὸς οὐ λογίζεται κατὰ χάριν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ὀφεί- a Ver. 16.

<sup>1</sup> The T.R. Ἀβρααμ τον πατερα ημων ευρηκεναι is found in KLP, Theodoret and later fathers. For πατερα, προπατορα is read in Ξ<sup>1</sup>ABC<sup>1</sup>, etc. ευρηκεναι stands before Ἀβρααμ in ΞACDFG lat. and Egypt. versions, etc. In B 47<sup>1</sup> ευρηκεναι is omitted. The omission (see commentary) gives the easiest and most suitable text. W. and H. omit it from their text but put it in marg. after ερουμεν. The R.V. omits it in marg., inserting it in text. Weiss retains it.

<sup>2</sup> προς τον θεον; om. τον ΞABCD<sup>1</sup>F.

where he shows that representative saints under the Old Dispensation, like Abraham, were justified by faith. That is the Divine order still, and it is securer than ever under the Gospel. Another kind of proof is given in chaps. vi.-viii., where the new life of the Christian is unfolded, and we are shown that "the just demands of the law" are fulfilled in believers, and in believers only. The claim which the Apostle makes here, and establishes in these two passages, is the same as that in our Lord's words: "I came not to destroy (the law or the prophets), but to fulfil."

CHAPTER IV.—Vers. 1-8. The justification of Abraham, considered in relation to the doctrine just expounded in iii. 21-31. The point to be made out is that the justification of Abraham does not traverse but illustrates the Pauline doctrine.

Ver. 1 The force of οὖν seems to be that the case of Abraham, as commonly understood, has at least the appearance of inconsistency with the Pauline doctrine. "What, then, *i.e.*, on the supposition that vers. 21-31 in chap. iii. are a true exposition of God's method, shall we say of Abraham, our forefather according to the flesh? Does not his case present a difficulty? For if he was justified by works (as one may assume), he has ground for boasting (whereas boasting, according to the previous argument, iii. 27, is excluded)." This seems to me by far the simplest interpretation of the passage. The speaker is a Jewish Christian, or the Apostle putting himself in the place of one. κατὰ σάρκα goes with τὸν προπάτορα ἡμῶν, because the contrast with another kind of fatherhood belonging to Abraham is already in the Apostle's thoughts: see ver. 11. If the reading

εὐρηκέναι be adopted (see critical note), no change is necessary in the interpretation. To take κατὰ σάρκα with εὐρηκέναι, as though the question were: What shall we say that our forefather Abraham found in the way of natural human effort, as opposed to the way of grace and faith? is to put a sense on κατὰ σάρκα which is both forced and irrelevant. The whole question is, What do you make of Abraham, with such a theory as that just described?

Ver. 2 f. With ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν θεόν the Apostle summarily repels the objection. "You say he has ground of boasting? On the contrary, he has no ground of boasting in relation to God. For what does the Scripture say? Abraham *believed* God, and it was imputed to Him for righteousness." The quotation is from Gen. xv. 6, and is exactly as in the LXX, except that Paul writes ἐπίστευσεν δὲ τῷ θεῷ instead of καὶ ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ, which serves partly to bring out the contrast between the real mode of Abraham's justification, and the mode suggested in ver. 2, partly to give prominence to *faith*, as that on which his argument turned. The reading ἐπίστευσεν δὲ is also found in Jas. i. 23, Philo i., 605 (Mangey), as well as Clem. Rom., I., x., 6, and Just. Martyr, *Dial.*, 92: so that it was probably current, and not introduced by Paul. It is assumed that something not in itself righteousness was reckoned to Abraham as righteousness; only on this assumption is boasting in his case excluded.

Ver. 4 f. The faith of Abraham, in whatever way it may be more precisely determined by relation to its object, agrees with Christian faith in the essential characteristic, that it is not a work. To him who works—der mit Werken umgehet: Luther—the reward



b Ver. 24; λημα · 5. τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐργαζομένῳ, πιστεύοντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δικαιοῦντα  
 Acts ix.  
 42. τὸν ἄσεβῃ, <sup>1</sup> λογίζεται ἡ πίστις αὐτοῦ εἰς ὁ δικαιοσύνην. 6. καθάπερ  
 c Ch. ii. 26, καὶ Δαβὶδ λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ᾧ ὁ Θεὸς λογίζεται  
 ix. 8. δικαιοσύνην, χωρὶς ἔργων, 7. “Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι,  
 καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι. 8. μακάριος ἀνὴρ <sup>2</sup> οὗ μὴ

<sup>1</sup> ασεβῃ; for this  $\aleph^1 D^1 FG$  have the form ασεβην, on which see Winer, p. 76.

For  $\varphi \aleph^3 ACD^3 FKL$  ου is found in  $\aleph^1 BD^1 G$  (so LXX in  $\aleph^1 AB$ ). W. and H. put ου in text,  $\varphi$  in marg. ου is the better supported reading, but  $\varphi$  “naturally established itself as the more euphonious” (S. and H.).

is reckoned, not by way of grace (as in Abraham's case), but by way of debt. But to him who does *not* work, i.e., who does not make works his ground of hope toward God—but believes on Him who justifies the ungodly, his *faith* is reckoned for righteousness. Ver. 5 describes the category under which Abraham falls, but is not a generalisation from his case. The ἄσεβης (Gen. xviii. 23, Prov. xi. 31, chap. v. 6) is a person who has no *claim* to justification: if he is justified, it must be not on the ground of works, but freely, by God's grace, on which he relies through faith. Of course to believe in this grace of God is to do something; in that sense it is a work; but it is to do something which involves a complete renunciation of hope in anything we can do without God. It excludes merit, boasting, justification ἐξ ἔργων. Cf. Philo, i., 486 (quoted in Mayor on Jas. i. 21): δίκαιον γὰρ οὕτως οὐδὲν ὡς ἀκράτῳ καὶ ἀμυγῇ τῇ πρὸς θεὸν μόνον πίστει κεκρήσθαι . . . τὸ ἐπὶ μόνῳ τῷ ὄντι βεβαίως καὶ ἀκλινῶς ὁρμεῖν . . . δικαιοσύνης μόνον ἔργον. The whole Pauline gospel could be summed up in this one word—God who justifies the ungodly. Under that device, what room is there for any pretensions or claims of man? It is sometimes argued (on the ground that all God's actions must be “ethical”) that God can only pronounce just, or treat as just, those who actually are just; but if this were so, what Gospel would there be for sinful men? This “ethical” gospel is identical with the Pharisaism in which Paul lived before he knew what Christ and faith were, and it led him to despair. It leads all men either to despair or to a temper which is that of the Pharisee rather than the publican of Luke xviii. What it can never beget is the temper of the Gospel. The paradoxical phrase, Him that justifieth the ungodly, does not suggest that justification is a fiction, whether legal or

of any other sort, but that it is a miracle. It is a thing that only God can achieve, and that calls into act and manifestation all the resources of the Divine nature. It is achieved through an unparalleled revelation of the judgment and the mercy of God. The miracle of the Gospel is that God comes to the ungodly, with a mercy which is righteous altogether, and enables them through faith, in spite of what they are, to enter into a new relation to Himself, in which goodness becomes possible for them. There can be no spiritual life at all for a sinful man unless he can get an initial assurance of an unchanging love of God deeper than sin, and he gets this at the Cross. He gets it by believing in Jesus, and it is justification by faith. The whole secret of New Testament Christianity, and of every revival of religion and reformation of the Church is in that *laetum et ingens paradoxon*, θεὸς ὁ δικαίων τὸν ἄσεβῃ.

Ver. 6 ff. καθάπερ καὶ Δαβὶδ: David is not a new illustration of this doctrine, but a new witness to it. The argument just based on Gen. xv. 6 is in agreement with what he says in the 32nd Psalm. The quotation exactly reproduces the LXX. λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου: “pronounceth blessing upon the man,” etc. (R.V.): or, speaks the felicitation of the man. He does so in the exclamation with which the Psalm opens. Obviously to impute righteousness without works, and freely to forgive sins, are to Paul one and the same thing. Yet the former is not a merely negative idea: there is in it an actual bestowment of grace, an actual acceptance with God, as unlike as possible to the establishment of an unprejudiced neutrality between God and man, to which the forgiveness of sins is sometimes reduced.

Vers. 9-12. In these verses the justification of Abraham appears in a new light. In virtue of its ground in his faith, he is not only a forefather κατὰ

λογίσηται Κύριος ἁμαρτίαν.” 9. Ὁ <sup>a</sup> μακαρισμὸς οὖν οὗτος, ἐπὶ τὴν d Gal. iv. 15. περιτομὴν, ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκροβυστίαν; λέγομεν γὰρ ὅτι ἐλογίσθη τῷ Ἀβραάμ ἡ πίστις εἰς δικαιοσύνην. 10. πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; ἐν περιτομῇ ὄντι, ἢ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ; οὐκ ἐν περιτομῇ, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἀκροβυστίᾳ. 11. καὶ σημεῖον ἔλαβε περιτομῆς, <sup>1</sup> σφραγίδα τῆς δικαιοσύνης e 2 Cor. i. 22; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30. τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ· εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πατέρα πάντων τῶν πιστευόντων <sup>f</sup> δι’ ἀκροβυστίας, εἰς τὸ λογισθῆναι καὶ αὐτοῖς τὴν f Ch. ii. 27.

<sup>1</sup> περιτομῆς <sup>h</sup>BC<sup>2</sup>DFKL, etc.; περιτομην AC<sup>1</sup>, etc.

σάρκα (i.e., the natural ancestor of the Jews), but he is the spiritual ancestor of all believers. The faith which was imputed to him for righteousness constitutes him such; it is the same in essence as Christian faith; and so it is a vital bond between him and all who believe, whether they be Jews or Gentiles. God’s method has been the same through all history.

Ver. 9. ὁ μακαρισμὸς οὖν οὗτος: This felicitation, then, what is its extent? Does it apply to the circumcision only, or to the uncircumcision also? Just as vers. 1-8 correspond to iii. 27 f., so do vers. 9-12 correspond to iii. 29-31. God is not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles also, and the Apostle’s purpose here is to show that the felicitation of the justified in Ps. xxxii. is not limited by circumcision. λέγομεν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.: for our proposition is, that his faith was reckoned, etc.

Ver. 10. πῶς οὖν ἐλογίσθη; To say that his faith was reckoned as righteousness, without mentioning circumcision, suggests that the latter was at least not indispensable; still it is not decisive, and so the further question must be asked, How—i.e., under what conditions—was his faith thus reckoned to him? Was it when he was circumcised or when he was uncircumcised? History enables Paul to answer, Not when he was circumcised, but when he was uncircumcised. Abraham’s justification is narrated in Gen. xv. his circumcision not till Gen. xvii., some fourteen years later: hence it was not his circumcision on which he depended for acceptance with God.

Ver. 11 f. On the contrary, he received a sign in circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had while uncircumcised. Both sign (αἶν) and seal (σφραγίς) are frequently used by Rabbinical writers to

describe circumcision as a symbol or pledge that one is in covenant with God. So even of heathens: “Og was circumcised, and Moses feared אֶת מִסְכֵּי שְׁלֹו בְרִית, *propter signum foederis ejus*”. But usually of Jews: “Jonah shewed Leviathan sigillum (חותם) Abrahami patris nostri”. See Schoettgen, Wetstein, or Delitzsch, *ad loc.* περιτομῆς (for which W. and H. have in margin περιτομῆν) must be a genitive of apposition. With εἰς τὸ εἶναι the Divine purpose in this relation of circumcision to justification in the case of Abraham is explained. Things were ordered as has been described that he might be father of all that believe while uncircumcised (as he himself did)—that the righteousness in question might be imputed to them; and father of circumcision (i.e., of persons circumcised) in the case of those who are not only circumcised, but also walk in the steps of the faith which he had while not circumcised. It was God’s intention that Abraham should be the representative and typical believer, in whom all believers without distinction should recognise their spiritual father; the Divine method of justification was to be inaugurated and illustrated in him, as it should hold good for all who were to be justified: accordingly the whole process took place antecedent to his circumcision, and in no circumstances has circumcision any essential relation to this great blessing. For its true meaning and advantage see on ii. 25. On οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον, see Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, 184. The grammar in ver. 12 is faulty, and Westcott and Hort suspect a primitive error. Either τοῖς before στοιχοῦσιν must be omitted, or it must be changed, as Hort suggests, into αὐτοῖς, if we are to express the meaning correctly. The sense required by the context is not open to doubt. For



δικαιοσύνην · 12. καὶ πατέρα περιτομῆς τοῖς οὐκ ἐκ περιτομῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς στοιχοῦσι <sup>1</sup> τοῖς ἔχνεσι τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροβυστίᾳ πίστεως  
 g Ch. ix. 4; τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμ. 13. Οὐ γὰρ διὰ νόμου ἡ ἑπαγγελία τῷ  
 Gal. iii. Ἀβραάμ ἢ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ, τὸ ληρονόμον αὐτὸν εἶναι τοῦ <sup>2</sup> κόσμου,  
 17 ff.; Eph. ii. 12; ἀλλὰ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως. 14. εἰ γὰρ οἱ ἐκ νόμου κληρονόμοι,  
 iii. 6. κекένωται ἢ πίστις, καὶ κατήργηται ἡ ἐπαγγελία · 15. ὁ γὰρ νόμος

<sup>1</sup> τοῖς στοιχοῦσιν is found in all MSS. but cannot be right; see note in commentary below. Om. τῇ before ἀκροβυστία  $\S$  ABCD<sup>1</sup>F.

<sup>2</sup> Om. του before κόσμου  $\S$  ABCD, etc.

δι' ἀκροβυστίας cf. ii. 27. For the dative τοῖς ἔχνεσιν see Philipp. iii. 16, Gal. v. 16, 25. But cf. also Winer, p. 274.

Vers. 13-15. The argument of vers. 9-12 is reiterated and confirmed here in other terms. Abraham is the father of all believers: for it is not through law that the promise is given to him or his seed, that he should be heir of the world—a condition which would limit the inheritance to the Jews, but through the righteousness of faith—a condition which extends it to all who believe. We might have expected a quasi-historical proof of this proposition, similar to the proof given in 10 f. that Abraham's justification did not depend on circumcision. But the Apostle takes another and more speculative line. Instead of arguing from the O.T. narrative, as he does in Gal. iii. 14-17, that the promise was given to a justified man before the (Mosaic) law was heard of, and therefore must be fulfilled to all independently of law, he argues that law and promise are mutually exclusive ideas. For (ver. 14) if those who are of law, i.e., Jews only, as partisans of law, are heirs, then faith (the correlative of promise) has been made vain, and the promise of no effect. And this incompatibility of law and promise in idea is supported by the actual effect of the law in human experience. For the law works wrath—the very opposite of promise. But where there is not law, there is not even transgression, still less the wrath which transgression provokes. Here, then, the other series of conceptions finds its sphere: the world is ruled by grace, promise and faith. This is the world in which Abraham lived, and in which all believers live; and as its typical citizen, he is father of them all.

Ver. 13. ἡ ἐπαγγελία is the Divine promise, which is identical with salvation in the widest sense. The word implies that the promise is held out by God

of his own motion. The peculiar content here assigned to the promise, that Abraham should be heir of the world, is not found in so many words in the O.T. Schoettgen, on ver. 3, quotes *Mechilta*, fol. 25, 2. "Sic quoque de Abrahamo legimus, quod mundum hunc et mundum futurum non nisi ea de causa consecutus sit, quia in Deum credidit, q.d., Gen. xv. 6. And Wetstein, *Tanchuma*, 165, 1: Abrahamo patri meo Deus possidendum dedit cælum et terram. These passages prove that the idea was not unfamiliar, and it may be regarded as an extension of the promises contained in Gen. xii. 7, xvii. 8, xxii. 17. But what precisely did it mean? Possibly participation in the sovereignty of the Messiah. Abraham and his seed would then be heirs of the world in the sense of 1 Cor. vi. 2, 2 Tim. ii. 12. So Meyer and many others. In the connection in which the words stand, however, this seems strained; and the "rationalising" interpretation, which makes the world Abraham's inheritance through the spread of Abraham's faith, and the multiplication of his spiritual children, is probably to be preferred. The religion which is conquering the world is descended from him, its power lies in that faith which he also had, and in proportion as it spreads he inherits the world. τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ: not Christ, as in Gal. iii. 16, but Abraham's descendants in the widest sense. διὰ δικαιοσύνης πίστεως: it was not as one under law, but as one justified by faith, that Abraham had the promise given to him. In the narrative, indeed, the promise (Gen. xii. 7) antedates the justification (Gen. xv. 6), but it is repeated at later periods (see above): and as ver. 14 argues, promise, faith and justification are parts of one spiritual whole.

Ver. 14. κекένωται cf. 1 Cor. i. 17, ix. 15, 2 Cor. ix. 3. κατήργηται: a

ὀργὴν κατεργάζεται· οὐ γὰρ<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἔστι νόμος, οὐδὲ παράβασις. 16.  
 διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ πίστεως, ἵνα κατὰ<sup>h</sup> χάριν, εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν τὴν ἐπαγ-<sup>h</sup> Ver. 4  
 γελίαν παντὶ τῷ σπέρματι, οὐ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ, ὃς ἔστι πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν, 17. (καθὼς i Gen. xvii.  
<sup>i</sup> γέγραπται, “Ὅτι πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν τέθεικά σε,”) κατέναντι οὐκ<sup>5</sup> Ch. viii.  
 ἐπίστευσε Θεοῦ, τοῦ<sup>k</sup> ζωοποιούντος τοὺς νεκροὺς, καὶ καλούντος τὰ<sup>11; i Tim.</sup> vl. 13.

-ου γαρ; so  $\aleph^s$ DFKLP, but  $\aleph^1$ ABC ου δε.

favourite word of Paul, who uses it twenty-five times.

Ver. 15. ὀργήν: wrath, i.e., the wrath of God. See on i. 18. Under a legal dispensation sin is stimulated, and brought into clear consciousness: men come under the wrath of God, and know that they do. This is the whole and sole result of “the law,” and hence law cannot be the means through which God administers His grace, and makes man the heir of all things. On the contrary, to attain this inheritance man must live under a regime of faith. οὐ δὲ: δὲ is the true reading (see critical note), not γάρ: but where law is not, neither is there παράβασις. It would not have been true to say οὐδὲ ἁμαρτία, for Paul in chap. ii. recognises the existence and guilt of sin even where men live ἀνόμως; but in comparison with the deliberate and conscious transgression of those who live ἐν νόμῳ, such sin is comparatively insignificant and venial, and is here left out of account. The alternative systems are reduced to two, Law and Grace (or Promise).

Vers. 16-22. The Apostle can now develop, without further interruption or digression, his idea of the representative (and therefore universal) character of Abraham’s justification. The New Testament cannot be said to subvert the Old if the method of justification is the same under both. Nay, it establishes the Old (iii. 31). This is the point which is enforced in the closing verses of chap. iv.

Ver. 16 f. Διὰ τοῦτο: because of the nature of law, and its inability to work anything but wrath. ἐκ πίστεως: the subject is the promise, considered in reference to the mode of its fulfilment. ἵνα κατὰ χάριν: χάρις on God’s part is the correlative of πίστις on man’s. εἰς τὸ εἶναι βεβαίαν κ.τ.λ. This is the Divine purpose in instituting the spiritual order of grace and faith: it is the only one consistent with universalism in religion. οὐ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἐκ πίστεως Ἀβραάμ: there seems

to be some inexactness in expression here. The seed which is “of the Law” ought to mean the Jews, as partisans of law in distinction from faith: then the seed which is “of the faith of Abraham” would mean the Gentiles. But the promise did not belong at all to the seed which was “of the law,” i.e., to the Jews, as Abraham’s natural descendants; even in them, faith was required. And the seed which is “of the faith” of Abraham is not quite appropriate to describe Gentile believers exclusively; the very point of the argument in the passage is that the faith of Abraham is reproduced in all the justified, whether Gentile or Jew. Still there seems no doubt that the persons meant to be contrasted in the two clauses are Jewish and Gentile believers (Meyer), not Jews and Christians (Fritzsch, who supplies σπέρματι before Ἀβραάμ): the difficulty is that the words do not exactly suit either meaning.

ὃς ἔστιν πατὴρ πάντων ἡμῶν. The πάντων is emphatic, and ἡμῶν expresses the consciousness of one who has seen in Abraham the spiritual ancestor of the new Christian community, living (as it does), and inheriting the promise, by faith. *Opponuntur haec verba Judaeis, qui Abrahamum non nominant nisi cum adjecto אבירי pater noster* (Schoettgen).

When Paul speaks out of his Jewish consciousness, he shares this pride (“whose are the fathers,” ix. 5); when he speaks as a Christian, to whom the Church is “the Israel of God” (Gal. vi. 16), and who can even say “we are the circumcision,” he claims all the Jews boasted of as in reality the property of believers: it is Christians, and not Jews by birth, who can truly say “We have Abraham to our father”. The earliest indication (an indirect one) of the Jewish pride in Abraham is perhaps seen in Is. lxiii. 16. That Abraham is the father of us all agrees with Scripture: Gen. xvii. 5 LXX. The ὅτι belongs to the quotation. If there is any parenthesis, it should only



μη ὄντα ὡς ὄντα. 18. Ὃς παρ' ἐλπίδα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἐπίστευσεν, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν πατέρα πολλῶν ἐθνῶν, κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, "Οὕτως

1 Here only  
in Paul.  
m Heb. xi.  
12.  
n Eph. vi. 10;  
2 Tim. ii.  
1; Heb.  
xi. 34.  
ἔσται τὸ σπέρμα σου" · 19. καὶ μὴ ἀσθενήσας τῇ πίστει, <sup>1</sup>οὐ <sup>1</sup>κατε-  
νόησε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἥδη <sup>m</sup>νεκρωμένον, ἑκατονταέτης που ὑπάρχων,  
καὶ τὴν νέκρωσιν τῆς μήτρας Σάρρας · 20. εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν  
τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐ διεκρίθη τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἀλλ' <sup>n</sup>ἐνεδυναμώθη τῇ πίστει, δοὺς  
δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ, 21. καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς ὅτι ὁ ἐπηγγέλται, δυνατός

<sup>1</sup> οὐ κατενόησεν; so DFKLP, Syr. and lat. Om. ου <sup>h</sup>ABC, best MSS. of vulg., etc. All the critical edde. omit ου, though both readings are widely and early attested; though the sense is quite good either way, the authorities for the omission are undoubtedly stronger. ἥδη <sup>h</sup>ACDKLP; om. BF 47, etc. W. and H. bracket. Weiss omits.

be from καθὼς το σέ. As Abraham has this character in Scripture, so he has it before God: the two things are one and the same; it is his true, historical, Divine standing, that he is father of all believers. The attraction in κατέναντι οὐ ἐπίστανεν θεοῦ is most simply resolved into κ. θεοῦ ᾧ ἐπίστανε: but see Winer, p. 204, 206. In characterising the God whom Abraham believed, the Apostle brings out further the correspondence between the patriarch's faith and that of Christians. He is "God who makes the dead alive and calls things that are not as though they were". Such a reference to Isaac as we find in Heb. xi. 19 (λογισάμενος ὅτι καὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγείρειν δυνατὸς ὁ θεός) is not suggested here (yet see ver. 24), and hence it is better to take ζωπτ. τοὺς νεκροὺς of restoring vitality to Abraham, whose body was as good as dead. In the application, the things that are not are the unborn multitudes of Abraham's spiritual children. God speaks of them (hardly, issues his summons to them) as if they had a being. Faith in a God who is thus conceived comes nearer than anything else in Paul to the definition given in Heb xi. 1. On τὰ μὴ ὄντα, see Winer, p. 608.

Ver. 18 ff. Abraham's faith described. It was both contrary to hope (as far as nature could give hope), and rested on hope (that God could do what nature could not). εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν πατέρα κ.τ.λ. (cf. ver. 11) is most properly taken to express the Divine purpose—that he might become father, etc. (see Moulton's note in Winer, p. 474); not result—so that he became. κατὰ τὸ εἰρημένον, Οὕτως κ.τ.λ., Gen. xv. 5: the passage is familiar, and the οὕτως is supposed to suggest its own interpretation—the stars of the heaven.

μη ἀσθενήσας . . . κατενόησεν, without becoming weak in faith, he considered his own body. "The participle ἀσθενήσας, though preceding the verb, is most naturally interpreted as referring to a (conceived) result of the action denoted by κατενόησεν." Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 145. This remark holds good only with the reading κατενόησεν: if we read οὐ κατ. the meaning is, He considered not his body *quippe qui non esset imbecillis* (Winer, p. 610). ἑκατονταέτης που (circiter) ὑπάρχων: his great age was the primary and fundamental fact in the situation: this seems to be the suggestion of ὑπάρχων as distinct from ὢν. In ver. 20 (εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν) the δὲ contrasts with becoming weak, as he considered his body, the actual conduct of Abraham. "He did not waver in relation to the promise, in unbelief; on the contrary, he was strengthened in faith." On διεκρίθη, cf. Mt. xxi. 21, Jas. i. 6, Rom. xiv. 23. τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ: instrum. dative; because of unbelief. It is simplest to take τῇ πίστει as dative of respect, though Heb. xi. 11 can be adduced by those who would render: "he became strong, recovered his bodily vigour, by faith". The participles in ver. 21 are loosely attached to the principal verbs, and are really equivalent to co-ordinate clauses with καί. In his whole conduct on this occasion Abraham glorified God, and demonstrated his own assurance of His power. See Burton, § 145. δοὺς δόξαν τῷ Θεῷ: for this Hebraism see Josh. vii. 19, Jer. xiii. 16, John ix. 24, Acts xii. 23. For πληροφορηθεὶς xiv. 5, Col. iv. 12.

Ver. 22. διὸ: because of this signal faith, evinced so triumphantly in spite of all there was to quell it. ἐλογίσθη: i.e., his faith was reckoned to him as

ἔστι καὶ ποιῆσαι. 22. διδ καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην.  
23. Οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον, ὅτι ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ. 24. ἀλλὰ  
καὶ δι' ἡμᾶς, οἷς μέλλει λογιῆσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐγε-

righteousness. That which needs to be reckoned as righteousness is not in itself righteousness—on this the Apostle's argument rests in vers. 1-8; yet it is not arbitrarily that faith is so reckoned. The spiritual attitude of a man, who is conscious that in himself he has no strength, and no hope of a future, and who nevertheless casts himself upon, and lives by, the word of God which assures him of a future, is the necessarily and eternally right attitude of all souls to God. He whose attitude it is, is at bottom right with God. Now this was the attitude of Abraham to God, and it is the attitude of all sinners who believe in God through Christ; and to him and them alike it is reckoned by God for righteousness. The Gospel does not subvert the religious order under which Abraham lived; it illustrates, extends, and confirms it.

Vers. 23-25. Conclusion of the argument. Οὐκ ἐγράφη δὲ δι' αὐτὸν μόνον: cf. xiv. 4, 1 Cor. ix. 10, x. 6, 11, Gal. iii. 8. The formula for quoting Scripture is not ἐγράφη but γέγραπται: i.e., Scripture conveys not a historical truth, relating to one person (as here, to Abraham), but a present eternal truth, with some universal application. δι' ἡμᾶς: to show the mode of our justification. οἷς μέλλει λογιῆσθαι: to whom it (the act of believing) is to be imputed as righteousness. μέλλει conveys the idea of a Divine order under which things proceed so. τοῖς πιστεύουσιν is in apposition to οἷς: "believing as we do". (Weiss.) The object of the Christian's faith is the same as that of Abraham's, God that giveth life to the dead. Only in this case it is specifically God as He who raised Jesus our Lord. Cf. 1 Pet. i. 21, where Christians are described as those who through Christ believe in God who raised Him from the dead. In Abraham's case, "God that quickeneth the dead" is merely a synonym for God Omnipotent, who can do what man cannot. In Paul, on the other hand, while omnipotence is included in the description of God—for in Eph. i. 19, in order to give an idea of the greatest conceivable power, the Apostle can do no more than say that it is according to that working of the strength of God's might which He wrought in Christ

when He raised Him from the dead—omnipotence is not the sole object of the Christian's faith. His spiritual attitude toward God is the same as Abraham's, but God is revealed to him, and offered to his faith, in a character in which Abraham did not yet know Him. This is conveyed in the description of the Person in relation to whom the Omnipotence of God has been displayed to Christians. That Person is "Jesus our Lord, who was delivered up for our offences, and raised for our justification". The Resurrection of Jesus our Lord entitles us to conceive of God's Omnipotence not as mere unqualified power, but as *power no less than infinite engaged in the work of man's salvation from sin.* In the Resurrection of Jesus, omnipotence is exhibited as redeeming power: and in this omnipotence we, like Abraham, believe. παρεδόθη is used in LXX, Is. liii. 12, and its N.T. use, whether God or Christ be the subject of the παραδίδοναι (Rom. viii. 32; Gal. ii. 20, Eph. v. 2), may be derived thence. There is considerable difficulty with the parallel clauses διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, and διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἡμῶν. It is safe to assert that Paul did not make an abstract separation between Christ's Death and His Resurrection, as if the Death and the Resurrection either had different motives, or served ends separable from each other. There is a sort of mannerism in the expression here, as there is in xiv. 9, which puts us on our guard against overprecision. This granted, it seems simplest and best to adopt such an interpretation as maintains the same meaning for διὰ in both clauses. This has been done in two ways. (1) The διὰ has been taken retrospectively. "He was delivered up because we had sinned, and raised because we were justified"—sc. by His death. But though Paul writes in v. 9, δικαιωθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ, it is impossible to believe that he would have written—as this interpretation requires him to do—that we were justified by Christ's death, and that Christ was *therefore* raised from the dead by God. Justification is not only an act of God, but a spiritual experience; it is dependent upon faith (iii. 25); and it is realised in men as one by one, in



παντα Ἰησοῦν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν ἐκ νεκρῶν, 25. ὃς παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ  
 o Ch. v. 18. παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡγέρθη διὰ τὴν ὁ δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν.

the time determined by Providence, they receive the Gospel. Hence διὰ τὴν δικαίωσιν ἡμῶν at least must be prospective.\* (2) The διὰ has been taken in both clauses prospectively. "He was delivered up on account of our offences—to make atonement for them; and he was raised on account of our justification—that it might become an accomplished fact." That this interpretation is legitimate, so far as the language goes, cannot be questioned; and if we avoid unreal separations between things that really form one whole, it is thoroughly Pauline. Paul does ascribe expiatory value to the death or the blood of Christ; in that sense it is true the work of Christ was finished on the Cross. But Paul never thought of that by itself; he knew Christ only as the Risen One who had died, and who had the virtue of His atoning death ever in Him; this Christ was One, in all that He did and suffered—the Christ who had evoked in him the faith by which he was justified, the only Christ through faith in whom sinful men ever could be justified; and it is natural, therefore, that he should conceive Him as raised with a view to our justification. But it would have been equally legitimate to say that He died for our justification. It is only another way of expressing what every Christian understands—that we believe in a living Saviour, and that it is faith in Him which justifies. But then it is faith in Him as One who not only lives, but was delivered up to death to atone for our offences. He both died and was raised for our justification; the work is one and its end is one. And it is a mistake to argue, as Beyschlag does (*Neutest. Theologie*, ii., 164), that this reference of faith to the Risen Christ who died is inconsistent with the vicarious nature of His expiatory sufferings. That His sufferings had this character is established on independent grounds; and to believe in the Risen Christ is to believe in One in whom the power of that propitiatory vicarious suffering abides for ever. It is indeed solely because the virtue of that suffering is in Him that faith in the Risen Lord does justify. For an exposition of the passage, in which the retrospective force

is given to διὰ, see Candlish in *Expositor*, Dec., 1893. See also Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 160 ff. The identity in principle of Abrahamic and Christian faith is seen in this, that both are faith in God. But Abraham's is faith in a Divine promise, which only omnipotence could make good; the Christian's is faith in the character of God as revealed in the work of redemption wrought by Christ. That, too, however, involves omnipotence. It was the greatest display of power ever made to man when God raised Christ from the dead, and set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places; and the Christ so raised was one who had been delivered to death for our offences. That is only another way of saying that the ultimate power in the world—the omnipotence of God—is in the service of a love which provides at infinite cost for the expiation of sin. The only right attitude for any human being in presence of this power is utter self-renunciation, utter abandonment of self to God. This is faith, and it is this which is imputed to men in all ages and under all dispensations for righteousness.

CHAP. V.—Vers. I-11. The blessings of justification. The first section of the epistle (chap. i. 18-iii. 20) has proved man's need of the righteousness of God; the second (chap. iii. 21-30) has shown how that righteousness comes, and how it is appropriated; the third (chap. iii. 31-iv. 25) has shown, by the example of Abraham, and the testimony of David, that it does not upset, but establishes the spiritual order revealed in the O.T. The Apostle now, like David, enlarges on the felicity of the justified, and especially on their assurance of God's love and of future blessedness. We may describe the contents of vers. 1-11 in the words which he himself applies (iv. 6) to the 32nd psalm: λέγει τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ᾧ ὁ θεὸς λογίζεται δικαιοσύνην χωρὶς ἔργων.

Ver. 1. δικαιοθῆντες takes up emphatically the δικαίωσιν of iv. 25: Christ's death and resurrection have not been in vain: there are those who have actually been justified in consequence.

\* This, however, does not prevent us from conceiving of the resurrection of Christ as His public vindication, and the sign of God's acceptance of the work which He achieved in His death: in a certain sense, therefore, as His justification.

V. 1. ΔΙΚΑΙΩΘΕΝΤΕΣ οὖν ἐκ πίστεως, εἰρήνην ἔχομεν<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 2. δι' οὗ καὶ τὴν προσαγωγὴν ἐσχήκαμεν τῇ πίστει<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην ἐν ᾗ ἐστήκαμεν.

<sup>1</sup> ἔχομεν is found in correctors of  $\aleph$  and B, in FG (not in the Latin of these bilingual MSS.) and many cursives; ἐχωμεν in  $\aleph^1$ AB<sup>1</sup>CDKL cursives, vulg., Syr., etc. The authority for the latter seems therefore overwhelming; but besides the exegetical reasons which have led interpreters to prefer the former, and which are noticed in the commentary, we have to consider the frequency with which  $\omega$  and  $\omicron$  are confused even in the best MSS. Thus Weiss (*Textkritik*, S. 44 f.) gives the following instances in which  $\omega$  is certainly wrong, and is not adopted by any editor: ἀφορίσας, Gal. i. 15 in B; ἡν ὡς ἀγκυραν ἐχωμεν, Heb. vi. 19 in DE; δι' ἧς ἐγγιζόμεν, Heb. vii. 19 in A 31; διαταξώμαι, 1 Cor. xi. 34 in ADEFG 37, 44, 47; προσεχωμεθα, Rom. iii. 9 in AL; θερισώμεν, 1 Cor. ix. 11 in CDEFGLP and many cursives; αἰρησώμαι, Phil. i. 22 in B; εισερχώμεθα, Heb. iv. 3 in AC 17, 37; συνβασιλευσώμεν, 2 Tim. ii. 12 in ACLP 109; θερισώμεν, Gal. vi. 9 in  $\aleph$ CFGLP cursives. These are only samples, and though the attestation is more divided in these and similar cases than in Rom. v. 1, they are quite enough to show that in a variation of this kind no degree of MS. authority could support a reading against a solid exegetical reason for changing  $\omega$  into  $\omicron$ . That such solid reason can be given here I agree with the expositors named below.

<sup>2</sup> τῇ πίστει  $\aleph^1$ CKLP, vulg., Syr. Om. BDF old lat. W. and H. bracket.

Having, therefore, been justified (the Apostle says), εἰρήνην ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν. The MSS. evidence is overwhelmingly in favour of ἔχωμεν, so much so that W. and H. notice no other reading, and Tischdf. says "ἔχωμεν cannot be rejected unless it is altogether inappropriate, and inappropriate it seemingly is not". But this last statement is at least open to dispute. There is no indication that the Apostle has finished his dogmatic exposition, and is proceeding to exhortation. To read ἔχωμεν, and then to take καυχώμεθα as subjunctive both in ver. 2 and ver. 3 (as the R.V.), is not only awkward, but inconsistent with οὐ μόνον δέ, ver. 3. If the hortative purpose dominated the passage throughout, the Apostle must have written μὴ: see Gifford, p. 122. It is better (reading ἔχωμεν) to take καυχώμεθα in ver. 2 with δι' οὗ, and co-ordinate it with τὴν προσαγωγὴν: "through whom we have had our access, and rejoice, etc". Then the οὐ μόνον is in place. But the uninterrupted series of indicatives afterwards, the inappropriateness of the verb ἔχειν to express "let us realise, let us make our own," the strong tendency to give a paraenetic turn to a passage often read in church, the natural emphasis on εἰρήνη, and the logic of the situation, are all in favour of ἔχομεν, which is accordingly adopted by Meyer, Weiss, Lipsius, Godet and others, in spite of the MSS., see critical note. The justified have peace with God; i.e., His wrath (i. 18)

no longer threatens them; they are accepted in Christ. It is not a change in their feelings which is indicated, but a change in God's relation to them.

Ver. 2. δι' οὗ καὶ: through whom also. To the fact that we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ corresponds this other fact, that through Him we have had (and have) our access into this grace, etc. προσαγωγή has a certain touch of formality. Christ has "introduced" us to our standing as Christians: cf. Eph. ii. 18, 1 Pet. iii. 18. τῇ πίστει: by the faith referred to in ver. 1. Not to be construed with εἰς τὴν χάριν ταύτην: which would be without analogy in the N.T. The grace is substantially one with justification: it is the new spiritual atmosphere in which the believer lives as reconciled to God. καυχώμεθα, which always implies the expression of feeling, is to be co-ordinated with ἔχομεν. ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τοῦ θεοῦ: on the basis of hope in the glory of God, i.e., of partaking in the glory of the heavenly kingdom. For ἐπ' ἐλπίδι, cf. iv. 18: the construction is not elsewhere found with καυχᾶσθαι.

Ver. 3. οὐ μόνον δέ ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα: and not only (do we glory on that footing), but we also glory in tribulations. Cf. Jas. i. 2 ff. ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν does not simply mean "when we are in tribulations," but also "because we are": the tribulations being the ground of the glorying: see ii. 17, 23, v. 11, 1 Cor. iii. 21, 2 Cor. xii. 9, Gal. vi. 14.



α Ch. viii. 18, καὶ καυχώμεθα ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς \*δόξης τοῦ Θεοῦ. 3. οὐ μόνον δέ, 21.  
ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμεθα<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταῖς θλίψεσιν, εἰδότες ὅτι ἡ θλίψις ὑπομονὴν  
b 2 Cor. ii. 9. κατεργάζεται, 4. ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ<sup>b</sup> δοκιμὴν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα, 5. ἡ  
xiii. 3;  
Phil. ii. 22; δὲ ἐλπίς οὐ καταισχύνει, ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ \*ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς  
c Acts ii. 17  
I, 33, x. 45. καρδίαις ἡμῶν διὰ Πνεύματος Ἀγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν. 6. Ἐτι  
d Matt. xxvi.  
41. γὰρ<sup>2</sup> Χριστὸς ὄντων ἡμῶν<sup>a</sup> ἀσθενῶν, κατὰ καιρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσεβῶν ἀπέθανε.

<sup>1</sup> καυχώμεθα  $\Sigma$ ADFKP; καυχώμενοι BC, Origen (twice). The participle is hardly open to suspicion on the ground of being conformed to ver. 11 (S. and H.); it is much rather the indicative (subjunctive?) that is open to suspicion as a "mechanical repetition" (Alford) from the preceding verse. W. and H. put καυχώμεθα in text, καυχώμενοι in marg. By the rule *proclivi lectioni praestat ardua* Alf. and Treg. are rather justified for putting καυχώμενοι in the text.

<sup>2</sup> ἐτι γὰρ  $\Sigma$ ACD<sup>1</sup>-KP; εἰς τι γὰρ D<sup>3</sup>F; *ut quid enim* lat. Iren.-interp.; εἰ δε L Syr.; εἰ γε B. For a full discussion of the readings here, see S. and H. *ad loc.*, or W. and H., Appendix, p. 108. W. and H. suspect some primitive error; while holding the text of B to give a more probable sense than any of the other variants, Hort thinks εἰπερ would better explain all the variations and be equally appropriate. ἐτι after ἀσθενῶν  $\Sigma$ ABCD<sup>1</sup>F.

Ver. 4. ὑπομονὴν κατεργάζεται: has as its fruit, or effect, endurance. ὑπομονὴ has more of the sense of bravery and effort than the English "patience": it is not so passive. ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμὴν: endurance produces approvedness—its result is a spiritual state which has shown itself proof under trial. Cf. Jas. i. 12 (δόκιμος γενόμενος = when he has shown himself proof). Perhaps the best English equivalent of δοκιμὴ would be *character*. This in its turn results again in hope: the experience of what God can do, or rather of what He does, for the justified amid the tribulations of this life, animates into new vigour the hope with which the life of faith begins.

Ver. 5. ἡ δὲ ἐλπίς οὐ καταισχύνει: and hope, *i.e.*, the hope which has not been extinguished, but confirmed under trial, does not put to shame. Ps. xxii. 6. *Spes erit res* (Bengel). Here the *aurea catena* comes to an end, and the Apostle points to that on which it is ultimately dependent. All these Christian experiences and hopes rest upon an assurance of the love of God. ὅτι ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ. That the love of God to us is meant, not our love to Him, is obvious from ver. 6 and the whole connection: it is the evidence of God's love to us which the Apostle proceeds to set forth. ἐκκέχυται ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν (cf. Joel iii. 1, ii. 28, LXX, Acts x. 45): has been poured out in, and still floods, our hearts. διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου τοῦ δοθέντος ἡμῖν: the aorist τοῦ δοθέντος can hardly refer to Pentecost, in which case ἡμῖν would express the consciousness of the

Christian community: the spirit was given to Christians in virtue of their faith (Gal. iii. 2), and normally on occasion of their baptism (1 Cor. xii. 13, Acts xix. 1 ff.): and it is this experience, possibly this event, to which the participle definitely refers. What the spirit, given (in baptism) to faith, does, is to flood the heart with God's love, and with the assurance of it.

Ver. 6. The reading εἰ γε is well supported, and yields a good sense ("so surely as": Evans), though the suggestion is made in W. and H. that it may be a primitive error for εἰ περ (see note on iii. 30). The assurance we have of the love of God is no doubt conditioned, but the condition may be expressed with the utmost force, as it is with εἰ γε, for there is no doubt that what it puts as a hypothesis has actually taken place, *viz.*, Christ's death for the ungodly. Although he says εἰ γε, the objective fact which follows is in no sense open to question: it is to the Apostle the first of certainties. Cf. the use of εἰ γε in Eph. iii. 2, iv. 21, and Ellicott's note on the former. ἀσθενῶν: the weakness of men who had not yet received the Spirit is conceived as appealing to the love of God. ἔτι goes with ὄντων ἡμ. ἀσθενῶν: the persons concerned were no longer weak, when Paul wrote, but strong in their new relation to God. κατὰ καιρὸν has been taken with ὄντων ἡ. ἀ. ἔτι: "while we were yet without strength, as the pre-Christian era implied or required": but this meaning is remote, and must have been more clearly suggested. The anal-

7. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ δικαίου τις ἀποθανεῖται· ὑπὲρ γὰρ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ὁ τὰς αἰτίας τις καὶ τολμᾷ ἀποθανεῖν· 8. συνίστησι δὲ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγάπην εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀπέθανε. 9. πολλῷ οὖν μᾶλλον, δικαιοθέντες νῦν ἐν τῷ αἵματι

<sup>1</sup> ο θεος om. B.

ogy of Gal. iv. 4, Eph. i. 10, supports the ordinary rendering, "in due time," i.e., at the time determined by the Providence of God and the history of man as the proper time, Christ died. ὑπὲρ: in the interest of, not equivalent to ἀντί, instead of: whether the interest of the ungodly is secured by the fact that Christ's death has a substitutionary character, or in some other way, is a question which ὑπὲρ does not touch.

Ver. 7. Christ's death for the ungodly assures us of God's love; for the utmost that human love will do is far less. ὑπὲρ δικαίου: for a righteous man. Some make both δικαίου and τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ neuter: some who take δικαίου as masculine take τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ as neuter (so Weiss and Godet—"pour un juste, pour le bien"); but as Jowett says, the notion of dying for an abstract idea is entirely unlike the N.T., or the age in which the N.T. was written, while the opposition to Christ's dying for sinful persons requires that persons should be in question here also. The absence of the article with δικαίου corresponds to the virtually negative character of the clause: it is inserted before ἀγαθοῦ because the exceptional case is definitely conceived as happening. ἀποθανεῖται, gnomic; see Burton, § 69. Unless ἀγαθός is meant to suggest a certain advance upon δίκαιος, it is impossible to see in what respect the second clause adds anything to the first. Of course the words are broadly synonymous, so that often they are both applied to the same person or thing (Lk. xxiii. 50, Rom. vii. 12); still there is a difference, and it answers to their application here; it is difficult to die for a just man, it has been found possible (one may venture to affirm) to die for a good man. The difference is like that between "just" and "good" in English: the latter is the more generous and inspiring type of character. Cf. the Gnostic contrast between the "just" God of the O.T. and the "good" God of the N.T., and the passages quoted in Cremer, s.v. ἀγαθός. καὶ τολμᾷ: even prevails upon himself, wins it from himself.

Ver. 8. How greatly is this utmost

love of man surpassed by the love of God. He commends, or rather makes good, presents in its true and unmistakable character (for συνίστησιν, cf. iii. 5, 2 Cor. vi. 4, vii. 11; Gal. ii. 18), His own love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners, etc. ἑαυτοῦ is an emphatic His: His, not as opposed to Christ's (as some have strangely taken it), but as opposed to anything that we can point to as love among men: His spontaneous and characteristic love. ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν: they are no longer such, but justified, and it is on this the next step in the argument depends.

Ver. 9 f. πολλῷ οὖν μᾶλλον: The argument is from the greater to the less. The supreme difficulty to be overcome in the relations of man and God is the initial one: How can God demonstrate His love to the sinner, and bestow on him a Divine righteousness? In comparison with this, everything else is easy. Now the Apostle has already shown (iii. 21-30) how the Gospel meets this difficulty: we obtain the righteousness required by believing in Jesus, whom God has set forth as a propitiation through faith in His blood. If such grace was shown us then, when we were in sin, much more, justified as we have now been by His blood, shall we be saved from wrath through Him. ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς: the wrath to come: see note on i. 18. This deliverance from wrath does not exhaust Paul's conception of the future (see ver. 2), but it is an important aspect of it, and implies the rest. Verse 10 rather repeats, than grounds anew, the argument of ver. 9. εἰ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες: this is practically equivalent to ἔτι ἁμαρτωλῶν ὄντων ἡμῶν. The state of sin was that in which we were ἐχθροί, and the whole connection of ideas in the passage requires us to give ἐχθροί the passive meaning which it undoubtedly has in xi. 28, where it is opposed to ἀγαπητοί. We were in a real sense objects of the Divine hostility. As sinners, we lay under the condemnation of God, and His wrath hung over us. This was the situation which had to be faced: Was



g 1 Thess. i. αὐτοῦ, σωθῆσόμεθα δι' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς. 10. εἰ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ  
 10. ὄντες κατηλλάγημεν τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, πολλῶ  
 μᾶλλον καταλλαγέντες σωθῆσόμεθα ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ. 11. οὐ μόνον  
 h 1 Cor. i. 31. δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ καυχώμενοι ἐν τῷ ἑαυτοῦ διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ  
 i 2 Cor. v. 18. Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν.

there love in God equal to it? Yes, when we were enemies we were reconciled to God by the death of His Son. κατηλλάγημεν is a real passive: "we" are the objects, not the subjects, of the reconciliation: the subject is God, 2 Cor. v. 19-21. Compare ver. 11: τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν. To represent κατηλλάγημεν by an active form, e.g., "we laid aside our hostility to God," or by what is virtually one, e.g., "we were won to lay aside our hostility," is to miss the point of the whole passage. Paul is demonstrating the love of God, and he can only do it by pointing to what God has done, not to what we have done. That we on our part are hostile to God before the reconciliation, and that we afterwards lay aside our enmity, is no doubt true; but here it is entirely irrelevant. The Apostle's thought is simply this: "if, when we lay under the Divine condemnation, the work of our reconciliation to God was achieved by Him through the death of His Son, much more shall the love which wrought so incredibly for us in our extremity carry out our salvation to the end". The subjective side of the truth is here completely, and intentionally, left out of sight; the laying aside of our hostility adds nothing to God's love, throws no light upon it; hence in an exposition of the love of God it can be ignored. To say that the reconciliation is "mutual," is true in point of fact; it is true, also, to all the suggestions of the English word; but it is not true to the meaning of κατηλλάγημεν, nor to the argument of this passage, which does not prove anything about the Christian, but exhibits the love of God at its height in the Cross, and argues from that to what are comparatively smaller demonstrations of that love. ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ: the ἐν is instrumental: cf. ver. 9 ἐν τῷ αἵματι αὐτοῦ. The Living Lord, in virtue of His life, will save us to the uttermost. Cf. John xiv. 19.

Ver. 11. καυχώμενοι is the best attested reading, but hard to construe. It is awkward (with Meyer) to supply καταλλαγέντες with οὐ μόνον δέ, and retain σωθῆσόμεθα as the principal verb:

and not only (as reconciled shall we be saved), but also rejoicing, etc. There is no proportion between the things thus co-ordinated, and it is better to assume an inexact construction, and regard καυχώμενοι as adding an independent idea which would have been more properly expressed by the indicative (καυχώμεθα). But see Winer, 441. The Christian glories in God; for though "boasting is excluded" from the true religion (iii. 27), yet to make one's boast in God is the perfection of that religion. Yet the believer could not thus glory, but for the Lord Jesus Christ; it is in Him, "clothed in the Gospel," that he obtains that knowledge of God's character which enables him to exult. δι' οὗ νῦν τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἐλάβομεν. Nothing could show more unmistakably that the καταλλαγὴ is not a change in our disposition toward God, but a change in His attitude toward us. We do not give it (by laying aside enmity, distrust, or fear); we receive it, by believing in Christ Jesus, whom God has set forth as a propitiation through faith in His blood. We take it as God's unspeakable gift. Cf. 2 Macc. ii. 50. ὁ καταλειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ τοῦ παντοκράτορος ὀργῇ πάλιν ἐν τῇ τοῦ μεγάλου δεσπότου καταλλαγῇ μετὰ πάσης δόξης ἐπανωρθώθη. For an examination of the Pauline idea of reconciliation, see especially Schmiedel on 2 Cor. v. 21, *Excursus*.

Vers. 12-21. The treatment of the righteousness of God, as a Divine gift to sinners in Jesus Christ, is now complete, and the Apostle might have passed on to his treatment of the new life (chaps. vi.-viii.). But he introduces at this point a digression in which a comparison—which in most points is rather a contrast—is made between Adam and Christ. Up to this point he has spoken of Christ alone, and the truth of what he has said rests upon its own evidence; it is not affected in the least by any difficulty we may have in adapting what he says of Adam to our knowledge or ignorance of human origins. The general truth he teaches here is that there is a real unity of the human race, on the one hand in sin and

12. Διὰ τοῦτο ὥσπερ δι' ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτία εἰς τὸν κόσμον  
εἰσῆλθε, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, καὶ οὕτως εἰς πάντας

death, on the other in righteousness and life; in the former aspect the race is summed up in Adam; in the latter, in Christ. It is a distinction, apparently, between the two, that the unity in Adam is natural, having a physical basis in the organic connection of all men through all generations; whereas the unity in Christ is spiritual, being dependent upon faith. Yet this distinction is not specially in view in the passage, which rather treats Adam and Christ in an objective way, the transition (morally) from Adam's doom to that of man being only mediated by the words πάντες ἡμαρτον in ver. 12, and the connection between Christ and the new humanity by οἱ τὴν περισσείαν τῆς χάριτος λαμβάνοντες in ver. 17.

Ver. 12. διὰ τοῦτο refers to that whole conception of Christ's relation to the human race which is expounded in chaps. iii. 21-v. 11. But as this is summed up in v. 1-11, and even in the last words of v. 11 (through Him we received the reconciliation) the grammatical reference may be to these words only. ὥσπερ: the sentence beginning thus is not finished; cf. Mt. xxv. 14. There is a virtual apodosis in the last clause of ver. 14: ὅς ἐστιν τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος; the natural conclusion would have been, "so also by one man righteousness entered into the world, and life by righteousness". Cf. Winer, p. 712 f. By the entrance of sin into the world is not meant that sin began to be, but that sin as a power entered into that sphere in which man lives. Sin, by Divine appointment, brought death in its train, also as an objective power; the two things were inseparably connected, and consequently death extended over all men (for διῆλθεν, cf. Ps. lxxxvii. 17, Ez. v. 17) ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἡμαρτον. The connection of sin and death was a commonplace of Jewish teaching, resting apparently on a literal interpretation of Gen. iii. Cf. Sap. ii. 23 f. ὁ θεὸς ἐκτίσεν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐπ' ἀφθαρσίᾳ . . . φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον. Cf. also Sir. xxv. 24, Rom. vi. 23, 1 Cor. xv. 56. Paul no doubt uses death to convey various shades of meaning in different places, but he does not explicitly distinguish different senses of the word; and it is probably misleading rather than helpful to say that in one sentence (here,

for example) "physical" death is meant, and in another (chap. vii. 24, e.g.) "spiritual" death. The analysis is foreign to his mode of thinking. All that "death" conveys to the mind entered into the world through sin. The words ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἡμαρτον, in which the πάντες resumes πάντας of the preceding clause, give the explanation of the universality of death: it rests upon the universality of sin. ἐφ' ᾧ means *propterea quod* as in 2 Cor. v. 4 and perhaps in Phil. iii. 12. Winer, 491. But in what sense is the universality of sin to be understood? In other words, what precisely is meant by πάντες ἡμαρτον? Many interpreters take the aorist rigorously, and render: because all sinned, i.e., in the sin of Adam. *Omnes peccarunt, Adamo peccante* (Bengel). This is supported by an appeal to 2 Cor. v. 14, εἰς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον: the death of one was the death of all; so here, the sin of one was the sin of all. It seems to me a final objection to this (grammatically quite sound) interpretation, that it really makes the words ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἡμαρτον meaningless. They are evidently meant to explain how the death which came into the world through Adam's sin obtained its universal sway, and the reason is that the sin of which death is the consequence was also universally prevalent. The sense in which this was so has been already proved in chap. iii., and the aorist is therefore to be taken as in iii. 23: see note there. Because all men were, in point of fact, sinners, the death which is inseparable from sin extended over all. To drag in the case of infants to refute this, on the ground that πάντες ἡμαρτον does not apply to them (unless in the sense that they sinned in Adam) is to misconceive the situation: to Paul's mind the world consists of persons capable of sinning and of being saved. The case of those in whom the moral consciousness, or indeed any consciousness whatever, has not yet awakened, is simply to be disregarded. We know, and can know, nothing about it. Nothing has been more pernicious in theology than the determination to define sin in such a way that in all its damning import the definition should be applicable to "infants"; it is to this we owe the moral atrocities that have disfigured most



ἀνθρώπους ὁ θάνατος διήλθεν, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον. 13. ἄχρι  
 k Philem. γὰρ νόμου ἁμαρτία ἦν ἐν κόσμῳ· ἁμαρτία δὲ οὐκ ἔλλογεῖται, μὴ  
 18.  
 1 Vv. 17, 21; ὀντος νόμου· 14. ἀλλ' ἡ βασιλευσεν ὁ θάνατος ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι  
 Ch. vi. 12 Μωσέως καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιώματι τῆς

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας, so  $\Sigma$  ABCD<sup>2</sup> G<sup>3</sup> K<sup>2</sup> L<sup>2</sup>; the μὴ was wanting in some MSS. known to Origen and in "most Latin MSS." known to Augustine: see W. and H., Appendix. However the omission may have originated, μὴ is undoubtedly the true text.

creeds, and in great part the idea of baptismal regeneration, which is an irrational unethical miracle, invented by men to get over a puzzle of their own making.

Ver. 13 f. These two verses are rather obscure, but must be intended (γὰρ) to prove what has been asserted in ver. 12. ἄχρι γὰρ νόμου = ἀπὸ Ἀδὰμ μέχρι Μωσέως, ver. 14, the law meant being the Mosaic. The sin which was in the world before the law is not the guilt of Adam's fall imputed to the race as fallen in him, but the actual sin which individuals had committed. Now if law has no existence, sin is not imputed. Cf. iv. 15. The natural inference would seem to be that the sins committed during this period could not be punished. But what was the case? The very opposite of this. Death reigned all through this period. This unrestrained tyranny of death (observe the emphatic position of ἐβασίλευσεν) over persons whose sins cannot be imputed to them, seems at variance with the explanation just adopted of πάντες ἥμαρτον. Indeed Meyer and others use it to refute that explanation. The reign of death, apart from imputable individual sin, implies, they argue, a corresponding objective reign of sin, apart from individual acts: in other words, justifies the interpretation of ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον according to which all men sinned in Adam's sin, and so (and only so) became subject to death. But the empirical meaning of ἥμαρτον is decidedly to be preferred, and we must rather fill out the argument thus: "all sinned. For there was sin in the world before Moses; and though sin is not imputed where there is no law, and though therefore no particular penalty—death or another—could be expected for the sins here in question, yet all that time death reigned, for in the act of Adam sin and death had been inseparably and for ever conjoined." καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ ἁμαρτήσαντας ἐπὶ τῷ ὁμοιώματι κ.τ.λ.—even over those who

did not sin after the likeness of Adam's transgression. For ἐπὶ, cf. Winer, p. 492. This describes not some, but all of those who lived during the period from Adam to Moses. None of them had like Adam violated an express prohibition sanctioned by the death penalty. Yet they all died, for they all sinned, and in their first father sin and death had been indissolubly united. And this Adam is τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος sc. Ἀδὰμ. In the coming Adam and his relations to the race there will be something on the same pattern as this. 1 Cor. x. 6, 11, Heb. ix. 14, 1 Cor. xv. 22, 45, 49. Parallels of this sort between Adam and the Messiah are common in Rabbinical writings: e.g., Schöttgen quotes *Neve Schalom*, f. 160-2. "Quemadmodum homo primus fuit unus in peccato, sic Messias erit postremus, ad auferendum peccatum penitus;" and 9, 9 has "Adamus postremus est Messias". Cf. Delitzsch: *Brief an die Römer*, p. 82 f. The extent to which the thoughts of this passage on sin and death, and on the consequences of Adam's sin to his descendants, can be traced in Jewish writers, is not quite clear. As a rule (see above on ver. 12) they admit the dependence of death on sin, though Schöttgen quotes a Rabbi Samuel ben David as saying, "Etiamsi Adamus primus non peccasset, tamen mors fuisset". On the unity and solidarity of the race in sin and its consequences, they are not perfectly explicit. Weber (*Die Lehren des Talmud*, p. 217) gives the following summary: "There is an inherited guilt, but not an inherited sin; the fall of Adam has brought death upon the whole race, not however sinfulness in the sense of a necessity to commit sin; sin is the result of each individual's decision; it is, as far as experience goes, universal, yet in itself even after the Fall not absolutely necessary". This seems to agree very closely with the Apostle's teaching as interpreted above. It is the appeal to experience in Paul (πάντες ἥμαρτον),

παραβάσεως Ἀδάμ, ὅς ἐστι τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος. 15. Ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς τὸ παράπτωμα, οὕτω καὶ τὸ χάρισμα. εἰ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ ἐνὸς παραπτώματι οἱ πολλοὶ ἀπέθανον, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι τῇ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐπερίσσευσε. 16. καὶ οὐχ ὡς δι' ἐνὸς ἁμαρτήσαντος, τὸ δῶρημα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ κρίμα ἐξ ἐνὸς εἰς κατάκριμα, τὸ δὲ χάρισμα ἐκ πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων εἰς δικαίωμα. 17. εἰ γὰρ τῷ τοῦ ἐνὸς παραπτώματι ὁ θάνατος ἐβασίλευσε διὰ τοῦ ἐνός, πολλῷ μᾶλλον οἱ τὴν περισσείαν τῆς χάριτος καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες

<sup>1</sup> τῷ τοῦ ἐνός NBCKLPD lat.; ἐν τῷ ἐνι D-gr.; ἐν ἐνός 47, W. and H. marg.; ἐν ἐνι παραπτώματι AFG and Weiss. τῆς δωρεᾶς om. B 49, Origen twice; W. and H. bracket. Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; but X. l. in B, Origen.

crossing with a transcendent view of the unity of the race in Adam, which gives rise to all the difficulties of interpretation; but without this appeal to experience (which many like Bengel, Meyer and Gifford reject) the whole passage would hang in the air, unreal. There must be something which involves the individual in Adam's fate; that something comes into view in πάντες ἥμαρτον, and there only; and without it our interest dies. A sin which we commit in Adam (and which never becomes ours otherwise) is a mere fancy to which one has nothing serious to say.

Ver. 15. At this point the parallel of Adam and Christ becomes a contrast: not as the παράπτωμα (the word implies the Fall), so also is the χάρισμα (the gift which is freely provided for sinners in the Gospel, i.e., a Divine righteousness and life). οἱ πολλοὶ means "all," but presents the "all" as a great number. πολλῷ μᾶλλον: the idea underlying the inference is that God delights in mercy; if under His administration one man's offence could have such far-reaching consequences, much more reasonably may we feel sure of the universal influence of one Man's righteous achievement. This idea is the keynote of the whole chapter: see vers. 9, 10, 17. ἡ δωρεὰ ἐν χάριτι is to be construed together: to repeat the article before ἐν χάριτι is not essential, and ἡ δωρεὰ is awkward standing alone. God's χάρις is shown in the gift of His Son, Christ's in His undertaking in obedience to the Father the painful work of our salvation. εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς like οἱ πολλοὶ is not opposed to "all," but to "one": it is indeed equivalent to "all," and signifies that the "all" are not few. The world

is the subject of redemption; if the race suffered through the first Adam, much more may we argue that what has been done by the Second will benefit the race. ἐπερίσσευσεν: the word is prompted by Paul's own experience: the blessedness of the Christian life far outwent the misery of the life under condemnation.

Ver. 16. A fresh point of contrast. That which God bestows (for δῶρημα, see Mayor on James i. 17) is not as through one that sinned: the analogy with Adam breaks down here. For the Divine judgment (κρίμα neutral) starting from one (person) resulted in condemnation (for all); whereas the free gift, starting from many offences (which appealed to the mercy of God), has resulted in a sentence of justification (for all). This abstract way of looking at the matter disregards what the Apostle insists on elsewhere, that this "sentence of justification" only takes effect for the individual on the condition of faith. The ἐκ πολλῶν παραπτωμάτων in this verse is a decisive argument for the meaning given above to πάντες ἥμαρτον: redemption is not inspired merely by the fall of the race in Adam, but by its actual and multiplied offences, and this is its glory. ἐξ ἐνός: ἐνός is masculine, resuming the ἐνός ἁμαρτήσαντος of the previous clause; not neuter, with παραπτώματος anticipated from the following clause.

Ver. 17. This verse confirms the preceding. The argument is the same in kind as in ver. 15. The effects of the Fall are indubitable: still less open to doubt are the effects of the work of Christ. With οἱ τὴν περισσείαν τῆς χάριτος καὶ [τῆς δωρεᾶς] τῆς δικαιοσύνης λαμβάνοντες we again touch experience, and an empirical condition is attached



νοντες ἐν ζωῇ βασιλεύσουσι διὰ τοῦ ἐνός Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 18. Ἄρα οὖν ὡς δι' ἐνός παραπτώματος, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἰς κατάκριμα · ρ Ch. iv. 25. οὕτω καὶ δι' ἐνός δικαίωματος, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους, εἰς ὁ δικαίωσιν ζωῆς. 19. Ὡςπερ γὰρ διὰ τῆς παρακοῆς τοῦ ἐνός ἀνθρώπου ἁμαρ- ρ Heb. v. 2. τωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν οἱ πολλοί, οὕτω καὶ διὰ τῆς ὕπακοῆς τοῦ ἐνός

to the abstract universality suggested by ver. 12. The abundance of the grace and of (the gift which consists in) righteousness has to be received by faith. But when by faith a connection is formed with Christ, the consequences of that connection, as more agreeable to what we know of God's nature, can be more surely counted upon than the consequences of our natural connection with Adam. Part of the contrast is marked by the change from "death reigned" to "we shall reign in life," not "life shall reign in or over us". The future in βασιλεύουσιν is no doubt logical, but it refers nevertheless to the consummation of redemption in the Messianic kingdom in the world to come. Cf. viii. 17, 21, Col. iii. 3 f., 2 Tim. ii. 12.

Ver. 18. With ἅρα οὖν (cf. vii. 3, 25, and often in Paul) the conclusion of the argument is introduced. It is simplest to take ἐνός in both clauses as neuter. "As through one offence the result for all men was condemnation, so also through one righteous act the result for all men is justification of life." The result in both cases is mediated; in the former, by men's actual sin; in the latter, by their faith in Christ. It has been questioned whether δικαίωμα can mean a "righteous act,"—that which Christ achieved in His death, conceived as one thing commanding the approval of God. This sense seems to be required by the contrast with παράπτωμα, but Meyer and others argue that, as in ver. 16, the meaning must be "a sentence of justification". "Through one justifying sentence (pronounced over the world because of Christ's death) the result for all men is justification of life." But this justifying sentence in *vacuo* is alien to the realism of Paul's thinking, and no strain is put upon δικαίωμα (especially when we observe its correspondence with παράπτωμα) in making it signify Christ's work as a thing in which righteousness is, so to speak, embodied. Lightfoot (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 292) adopts this meaning, "a righteous deed," and quotes Arist., *Rhet.*, i., 13, τὰ ἀδικήματα πάντα καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα, and *Eth. Nic.*, v., 7 (10): καλεῖται δὲ μάλλον

δικαιοπράγημα τὸ κοινόν: δικαίωμα δὲ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα τοῦ ἀδικήματος. This sense of an act by which an injustice is rectified is exactly suitable here. Through this the result for all men is δικαίωσις ζωῆς: for the genitive, see Winer, p. 235. Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, 85. When God justifies the sinner, he enters into and inherits life. But Lightfoot makes it *gen. appos.*

Ver. 19. The sense of this verse has been determined by what precedes. The γὰρ connects it closely with the last words of verse 18: "justification of life; for, as through, etc.". ἁμαρτωλοὶ κατεστάθησαν: "were constituted sinners". For the word κατεστ. cf. Jas. iv. 4, 2 Pet. i. 8. It has the same ambiguity as the English word "constituted" (S. and H.); but we cannot say, from the word itself, whether the many constituted sinners, through the one person's disobedience, are so constituted immediately and unconditionally, or mediately through their own sin (to be traced back, of course, to him); this last, as has been argued above, is the Apostle's meaning. οὕτως καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπακοῆς τοῦ ἐνός: the application of τῆς ὑπακοῆς has been disputed. By some (Hofmann, Lechler) it is taken to cover the whole life and work of Jesus conceived as the carrying out of the Father's will: cf. Phil. ii. 8. By others (Meyer) it is limited to Christ's death as the one great act of obedience on which the possibility of justification depended: cf. chap. iii. 25, v. 9. Both ideas are Pauline, but the last seems most congruous to the context and the contrast which pervades it. δίκαιοι κατασταθσονται: "shall be constituted righteous"; the futureshow again that Paul is dealing with experience, or at least with possible experience; the logic which finds the key to the passage in Bengel's formula, *Omnes peccarunt Adamo peccante*, would have written here also δίκαιοι κατεστάθησαν. It is because Paul conceives of this justification as conditioned in the case of each of the πολλοί by faith, and as in process or taking place in one after another that he uses the future. A reference to the Judgment Day (Meyer) is forced: it is

δίκαιοι κατασταθήσονται οἱ πολλοί. 20. Νόμος δὲ παρεισῆλθεν, ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα. οὐ δὲ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὑπερ-επερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις. 21. ἵνα ὥσπερ ἐβασιλεύσεν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ χάρις βασιλεύσῃ διὰ δικαιοσύνης εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

not then, but when they believe in Christ, that men are constituted δίκαιοι.

Ver. 20 f. "The comparison between Adam and Christ is closed. But in the middle, between the two, stood the law" (Meyer). Paul must refer to it in such a way as to indicate the place it holds in the order of Providence, and especially to show that it does not frustrate, but further, the end contemplated in the work of Christ. παρεισῆλθεν: see ver. 12 above. Sin entered into the world; the Law entered into the situation thus created as an accessory or subordinate thing; it has not the decisive significance in history which the objective power of sin has. Words in which the same prepositions have a similar force are παρεισάγω, 2 Pet. ii. 1; παρεισδύνω, Jude 4; παρεισφέρω, 2 Pet. i. 5: cf. Gal. ii. 4. There is often in such words, though not necessarily, the idea of stealth or secrecy: we might render "the law slipped in". ἵνα πλεονάσῃ τὸ παράπτωμα: the purpose expressed by ἵνα is God's: Winer, p. 575. The offence is multiplied because the law, encountering the flesh, evokes its natural antagonism to God, and so stimulates it into disobedience. Cf. Gal. iii. 19 ff., and the development of this idea in chap. vii. 7 ff. As the offence multiplied, the need of redemption, and the sense of that need were intensified. οὐ δὲ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία: ἁμαρτία seems used here, not παράπτωμα, because more proper to express the sum total of evil, made up of repeated acts of disobedience to the law. "Sin" bulked larger, as "offence" was added to "offence", οὐ might seem to refer to Israel only, for it was there that the law had its seat; but there is something analogous to this law and its effects everywhere; and everywhere as the need of redemption becomes more pressing grace rises in higher power to meet it. ὑπερ-επίσσευσεν: "the ἐπλεόνασεν had to be surpassed" (Meyer). Cf. 2 Cor. vii. 4. Paul is excessively fond of compounds with ὑπέρ. The purpose of this abounding manifestation of grace is, "that as sin reigned in death, so also should grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life through

Jesus Christ our Lord". ἐν τῷ θανάτῳ: it is more natural to oppose this to ζωὴ αἰώνιος, and regard death as "a province which sin had won, and in which it exercised its dominion" (Gifford), than to make it parallel (with Meyer) to διὰ δικαιοσύνης, and render "in virtue of death" (dat. instr.). Grace has not yet attained to its full sovereignty; it comes to this sovereignty as it imparts to men the gift of God's righteousness (διὰ δικαιοσύνης); its goal, its limit which is yet no limit, is eternal life. Some, however, construe εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον with διὰ δικαιοσύνης: through a righteousness which ends in eternal life: cf. εἰς δικαίωσιν ζωῆς, ver. 18. διὰ Ἰ. Χ. τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν: this full rhetorical close has almost the value of a doxology.

CHAPTER VI.—Vers. 1-14. In the fifth chapter, Paul has concluded his exposition of the "righteousness of God" which is revealed in the Gospel. But the exposition leaves something to be desired—something hinted at in iii. 8 ("Let us do evil that good may come") and recalled in v. 20 f. ("Where sin abounded, grace did superabound"). It seems, after all, as if the gospel *did* "make void the law" (iii. 31) in a bad sense; and Paul has now to demonstrate that it does not. It is giving an unreal precision to his words to say with Lipsius that he has now to justify his gospel to the moral consciousness of the Jewish Christian; it is not Jewish Christians, obviously, who are addressed in vi. 19 ff., and it is not the Jewish-Christian moral consciousness, but the moral consciousness of all men, which raises the questions to which he here addresses himself. He has to show that those who have "received the reconciliation" (v. 11), who "receive the abundance of the grace and of the gift of righteousness" (v. 17), are the very persons in whom "the righteous requirement of the law" is fulfilled (viii. 4). The libertine argument is rather Gentile than Jewish, though when Paul speaks of the new religion as establishing Law, it is naturally the Mosaic law of which he thinks. It was the one definite embodiment of the concept. The justification, to the moral consciousness, of the



- <sup>a</sup> Ch. xi. 23 f.; Col. i. 23; <sup>1</sup> Tim. iv. 16. VI. 1. Τι οὖν ἐροῦμεν; \*ἐπιμενούμεν<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσῃ; 2. μὴ γένοιτο. οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν ἐν αὐτῇ; 3. ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν εἰς Χριστὸν ὡς ἐν ἡμῶν, <sup>b</sup> Col. ii. 12. Ἰησοῦν,<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἐβαπτίσθημεν; 4. <sup>b</sup> συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰς τὸν θάνατον· ἵνα, ὡς περ ἡγήρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ νεκρῶν διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν

<sup>1</sup> For ἐπιμενούμεν read ἐπιμενώμεν with ABCDF.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰησοῦν om. B and some cursives; W. and H. bracket. But this kind of omission is frequent; see Weiss, *Textkritik*, S. 88.

Gospel in which a Divine righteousness is freely held out in Jesus Christ to the sinner's faith, fills the next three chapters. In chap. vi. it is shown that the Christian, in baptism, dies to sin; in chap. vii., that by death he is freed from the law, which in point of fact, owing to the corruption of his nature, perpetually stimulates sin; in chap. viii., that the Spirit imparted to believers breaks the power of the flesh, and enables them to live to God.

Ver. 1. Τι οὖν ἐροῦμεν; What inference then shall we draw, i.e., from the relations of sin and grace expounded in v. 20 f.? Are we to continue in sin (cf. xi. 22 f.) that grace may abound? Light-foot suggests "the sin" and "the grace" just referred to. The question was one sure to be asked by some one; Paul recognises it as a natural question in view of his doctrine, and asks it himself. But he answers it with an indignant negative.

Ver. 2. μὴ γένοιτο, cf. iii. 4. οἵτινες ἀπεθάνομεν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ: the relative is qualitative: "we, being as we are persons who died to sin". For the dative, see vers. 10, 11, and Winer, p. 263. To have died to sin is to be utterly and for ever out of any relation to it. πῶς ἔτι ζήσομεν; how after that shall we live in it? impossible.

Ver. 3. But this death to sin, on which the whole argument turns, raises a question. It is introduced here quite abruptly; there has been no mention of it hitherto. *When*, it may be asked, did this all-important death take place? The answer is: It is involved in baptism. ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι κ.τ.λ.: the only alternative to accepting this argument is to confess ignorance of the meaning of the rite in which they had been received into the Church. ὅσοι ἐβαπτίσθημεν: we all, who were baptised into Christ Jesus, were baptised into His death. The ὅσοι is not partitive but distributive: there is

no argument in the passage at all, unless all Christians were baptised. The expression βαπτισθῆναι εἰς Χριστὸν does not necessarily mean to be baptised into Christ; it may only mean to be baptised Christward, i.e., with Christ in view as the object of faith. Cf. 1 Cor. x. 2, and the expression βαπτισθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. In the same way βαπτισθῆναι εἰς τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ might certainly mean to be baptised with Christ's death in view as the object of faith. This is the interpretation of Lipsius. But it falls short of the argumentative requirements of the passage, which demand the idea of an actual union to, or incorporation in, Christ. This is more than Lipsius means, but it does not exclude what he means. The baptism in which we are united to Christ and to His death is one in which we confess our faith, looking to Him and His death. To say that faith justifies but baptism regenerates, breaking the Christian life into two unrelated pieces, as Weiss does—one spiritual and the other magical—is to throw away the Apostle's case. His whole point is that no such division can be made. Unless there is a necessary connection between justification by faith and the new life, Paul fails to prove that faith establishes the law. The real argument which unites chaps. iii., iv. and v. to chaps. vi., vii. and viii., and repels the charge of antinomianism, is this: justifying faith, looking to Christ and His death, really unites us to Him who died and rose again, as the symbolism of baptism shows to every Christian.

Ver. 4. This symbolism interpreted. συνετάφημεν οὖν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.: Therefore we were buried with Him (in the act of immersion) through that baptism into His death—burial being regarded as the natural sequence of death, and a kind of seal set to its reality. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 3 f. It introduces a false abstraction to say

καινότητι ζωῆς περιπατήσωμεν. 5. Εἰ γὰρ ὁ σύμφυτος γεγόναμεν <sup>c</sup> Here only, τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἐσόμεθα <sup>cf. Luke viii. 7.</sup> 6. τοῦτο γινώσκοντες, ὅτι ὁ παλαιὸς ἡμῶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος συνεσταυρώθη, <sup>d Ch. i. 23, v. 14, viii. 3; Phil. ii. 7; Rev. ix. 7.</sup> ἵνα καταργηθῇ τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ. 7. ὁ γὰρ ἀποθάνων δεικνύεται <sup>e Eph. iv. 22; Col. iii. 9.</sup> ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας. 8. Εἰ δὲ ἀπεθάνομεν σὺν Χριστῷ, πιστεύομεν ὅτι καὶ συζήσομεν αὐτῷ, <sup>f Acts xiii. 39</sup> 9. εἰδότες ὅτι Χριστὸς ἐγερθεὶς ἐκ νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔτι ἀποθνήσκει. θάνα-

(with Meyer) that εἰς τὸν θάνατον means "unto death," not "unto His death": death in the whole context is perfectly definite. διὰ τῆς δόξης τοῦ πατρὸς: in nothing was the splendour of God's power revealed so much as in the resurrection of Jesus, Eph. i. 19 f. ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς: in life of a new quality; cf. vii. 6, 1 Tim. vi. 17: the construction makes the new quality of the life prominent. Winer, p. 296.

Ver. 5. This verse proves the legitimacy of the reference to a new life in the preceding one; union with Christ at one point (His death) is union with Him altogether (and therefore in His resurrection). εἰ γὰρ σύμφυτος γεγόναμεν τῷ ὁμοιώματι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ: it is simplest to take συμφ. and τῷ ὁμοιώματι together—if we have become vitally one with the likeness of His death; i.e., if the baptism, which is a similitude of Christ's death, has had a reality answering to its obvious import, so that we have really died in it as Christ died, then we shall have a corresponding experience of resurrection. τῆς ἀναστάσεως is also dependent on ὁμοιώματι: baptism, inasmuch as one emerges from the water after being immersed, is a ὁμοίωμα of resurrection as well as of death. It does not seem a real question to ask whether the ἀνάστασις is ethical or transcendent: one cannot imagine Paul drawing the distinction here. (On the word ὁμοίωμα, see Cremer.)

Ver. 6. All this can be asserted, knowing as we do that "our old man" = our old self, what we were before we became Christians—was crucified with Him. Paul says συνεσταυρώθη simply because Christ died on the cross, and we are baptised into that death, not because "our old man" is the basest of criminals for whom crucifixion is the proper penalty. The object of this crucifixion of the old man was "that the body of sin might be brought to nought". τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἁμαρτίας is the body in which we live: apart from the crucifixion of the old self it can be characterised as "a body of

sin". It may be wrong to say that it is necessarily and essentially sinful—the body, as such, can have no moral predicate attached to it; it would be as wrong to deny that it is invariably and persistently a seat and source of sin. The genitive is perhaps qualitative rather than possessive, though "the body of which sin has taken possession" (S. and H.) is a good paraphrase. See Winer, p. 235, 768. This body is to be reduced to impotence τοῦ μηκέτι δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ. "that we may no longer be slaves to sin". (The body is the instrument we use in the service of sin, and if it is disabled the service must cease. For the gen. inf., see Burton, § 397.

Ver. 7. ὁ γὰρ ἀποθάνων κ.τ.λ. Here we have the general principle on which the foregoing argument rests: death annuls all obligations, breaks all ties, cancels all old scores. The difficulty is that by the words ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας Paul introduces one particular application of the principle—the one he is concerned with here—as if it were identical with the principle itself. "Death clears men of all claims, especially (to come to the case before us) it clears us, who have died with Christ, of the claim of sin, our old master, to rule over us still." Weiss would reject the introduction into this clause of the idea of dying with Christ, on the ground that the words σὺν Χριστῷ bring it in as a new idea in the following verse. But it is no new idea; it is the idea of the whole passage; and unless we bring it in here, the quittance from sin (and not from any obligation in general) remains inexplicable. Weiss, in fact, gives it up.

Ver. 8. The Apostle now resumes his main thought. συζήσομεν: see note on ἀνάστασις ver. 5: there is no conscious separation of ethical and transcendent life with Christ—to Paul it is one life.

Ver. 9. εἰδότες... οὐκέτι ἀποθνήσκει: The new life with Christ will be the same which Christ Himself lives, a life inaccessible to death. The post-resurrection life of Jesus was not His old life over



τος αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔτι κυριεύει. 10. ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθανε, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ· ὁ δὲ ζῇ, ζῇ τῷ Θεῷ. 11. οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς λογίξεσθε ἑαυτοὺς νεκροὺς μὲν εἶναι<sup>1</sup> τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ, ζῶντας δὲ τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.<sup>2</sup> 12. Μὴ οὖν βασιλευέτω ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῷ θνητῷ

<sup>1</sup> νεκροὺς μὲν εἶναι N<sup>3</sup>KLP; εἶναι νεκροὺς μὲν N<sup>1</sup>BC; om. ADF 17.

<sup>2</sup> τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν; om. ABDF, and edd.; ins. NCKLP.

again; in that life death had dominion over Him, because He made Himself one with us in all the consequences of sin; but now the dominion of death has expired. The principle of ver. 7 can be applied to Christ also: He has died, and the powers which in the old relations had claims upon Him—death, e.g.—have such claims no more.

Ver. 10. This is expanded in ver. 10. ὁ γὰρ ἀπέθανε, τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ ἀπέθανεν ἐφάπαξ: the ὁ is 'cognate' accus. Winer, p. 209. "The death that He died, He died to sin once for all." The dative τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ must be grammatically the same here as in vers. 2, 11, but the interpretation required seems different. While He lived, Christ had undoubtedly relations to sin, though sin was foreign to His will and conscience (2 Cor. v. 21); but after He died these relations ceased; sin could never make Him its victim again as at the Cross. Similarly while *we* lived (i.e., before we died with Christ), we also had relations to sin; and these relations likewise, different as they were from His, must cease with that death. The difference in the reference of the dative is no doubt an objection to this interpretation, and accordingly the attempt has been made to give the same meaning to dying to sin in Christ's case as in ours, and indeed to make our dying to sin the effect and reproduction of His. "The language of the Apostle seems to imply that there was something in the mind of Christ in dying for us that was the moral equivalent [italics ours] to that death to sin which takes place in us when we believe in Him, something in its very nature fitted to produce the change in us." Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, p. 100 f. He died, in short, rather than sin—laid down His life rather than violate the will of God; in this sense, which is an ethical one, and points to an experience which can be reproduced in others under His influence, He died to sin. "His death on the Cross was the final triumph of His holiness over all those desires of the flesh that furnish to

man unregenerate the motive power of His life." But though this gives an ethical meaning to the words in both cases, it does not give exactly the same ethical meaning; a certain disparity remains. It is more in the line of all Paul's thoughts to say with Holtzmann (*N. T. Theol.*, ii., 118), that Christ by dying paid to sin that tribute to which in virtue of a Divine sentence (κρίμα, v. 16) it could lay claim, and that those therefore who share His death are like Himself absolved from all claims of sin for the future. For ἐφάπαξ, see Heb. vii. 27, ix. 12, x. 10. The very idea of death is that of a summary, decisive, never-to-be-repeated end. ὁ δὲ ζῇ κ.τ.λ. "The life that He lives He lives to God".

Ver. 11. In this verse the application is made of all that precedes. The death with Christ, the life with Christ, are real, yet to be realised. The truth of being a Christian is contained in them, yet the calling of the Christian is to live up to them. We may forget what we should be; we may also (and this is how Paul puts it) forget what we *are*. We are dead to sin in Christ's death; we are alive to God in Christ's resurrection; let us regard ourselves as such in Christ Jesus. The essence of our faith is a union to Him in which His experience becomes ours. This is the theological reply to antinomianism.

Ver. 12 f. Practical enforcement of vers. 1-11. The inner life is in union with Christ, and the outer (bodily) life must not be inconsistent with it (Weiss). ἐν τῷ θνητῷ ὑμῶν σώματι: the suggestion of θνητὸς is rather that the frail body should be protected against the tyranny of sin, than that sin leads to the death of the body. μὴδὲ παριστάνετε . . . ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε: and do not go on, as you have been doing, putting your members at the service of sin, but put them once for all at the service of God. For the difference between pres. and aor. imper., see Winer, p. 393 f. ὅπλα ἀδικίας: the gen. is of quality, cf. Luke xvi. 8, 9. ὅπλα in the N.T. seems always to mean weapons, not instruments: see

ὕμῶν ὡς σώματι, εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν αὐτῇ ἐν<sup>1</sup> ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ · 13. ἡ Ch.viii.11. μὴδὲ παριστάνετε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὅπλα ἀδικίας τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ · ἀλλὰ παραστήσατε ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ ὡς<sup>2</sup> ἐκ νεκρῶν ὄντας, καὶ τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν ὅπλα ἡ δικαιοσύνης τῷ Θεῷ. 14. ἁμαρτία γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐ κυριεύσει · ἡ Ch.xiii.12 οὐ γὰρ ἐστε ὑπὸ νόμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ χάριν.

15. Τί οὖν; ἁμαρτήσομεν,<sup>3</sup> ὅτι οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὑπὸ ἰ νόμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ ἰ 1 Cor. ix. χάριν; μὴ γένοιτο. 16. οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι ᾧ παριστάνετε ἑαυτοὺς<sup>20</sup> δούλους εἰς ὑπακοήν, δοῦλοί ἐστε ᾧ ὑπακούετε, ἥτοι ἁμαρτίας εἰς θάνατον, ἢ ὑπακοῆς εἰς δικαιοσύνην; 17. χάρις δὲ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅτι ἦτε

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ εν C<sup>3</sup>KLP; om. NABC<sup>1</sup> 47, vulg.; αὐτῇ only, DF, Orig.-inter. The received reading is apparently an attempt to combine the other two.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς DFKLP 17; but ὡσει NABC 47.

<sup>3</sup> For ἁμαρτήσομεν NABCDKLP read ἁμαρτησωμεν.

2 Cor. x. 4, 6, 7, and cf. ὁψώνια, ver. 23. ὡσεὶ ἐκ νεκρῶν ζῶντας: they were *really* such; the ὡσεὶ signifies that they are to think of themselves *as* such, and to act accordingly.

Ver. 14. They can obey these exhortations, for sin will not be their tyrant now, since they are not under law, but under grace. It is not restraint, but inspiration, which liberates from sin: not Mount Sinai but Mount Calvary which makes saints. But this very way of putting the truth (which will be expanded in chaps. vii. and viii.) seems to raise the old difficulty of iii. 8, vi. 1 again. The Apostle states it himself, and proceeds to a final refutation of it.

Ver. 15. ἁμαρτήσωμεν; deliberative: are we to sin because our life is not ruled by statutes, but inspired by the sense of what we owe to that free pardoning mercy of God? Are we to sin because God justifies the ungodly at the Cross?

Ver. 16. οὐκ οἴδατε: It is excluded by the elementary principle that no man can serve two masters (Matt. vi. 24). The δούλους is the exclusive property of *one*, and he belongs to that one εἰς ὑπακοήν, with obedience in view; nothing else than obedience to his master alone is contemplated. The masters here are ἁμαρτία whose service ends in death, and ὑπακοή (cf. v. 19) whose service ends in righteousness. δικαιοσύνη here cannot be "justification," but righteousness in the sense of the character which God approves. ἥτοι here only in N.T. = *of course* these are the *only* alternatives.

Ver. 17. Paul thanks God that his readers have already made their choice, and made it for obedience. ὅτι ἦτε . . . ὑπηκούσατε δὲ: the co-ordination seems

to imply that Paul is grateful (1) that their servitude to sin is *past*—ἦτε having the emphasis; (2) that they have received the Gospel. Yet the two things are one, and it would have been more natural to subordinate the first: "that though ye were slaves of sin, ye obeyed," etc. ὑπηκούσατε εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδασκῆς must be resolved into ὃ. τῷ τύπῳ τῆς διδασκῆς εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε. The alternative is εἰς τὸν τύπον τῆς διδασκῆς ὃς παρεδόθη ὑμῖν (Kypke). But ὑπακούειν εἰς τι only means to be obedient with respect to something, not to be obedient to some one, or some thing, which is the sense required here. A true parallel is Cyril of Jerus. Catechet. lect. iv., § iii.: πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν πίστιν παραδόσεως; the catechumens were handed over to the faith. But what is the τύπος διδασκῆς to which the converts at Rome were handed over? Many, in the line of these words of Cyril, conceive of it as a "type of doctrine," a special mode of presenting the Gospel, which had as catchwords, *e.g.*, "not under law but under grace," or "free from sin and slaves to righteousness," or more probably, "dying with Christ and rising with Him". In other words, Paulinism as modern theology conceives it. But this is an anachronism. It is only modern eyes that see distinct doctrinal types in the N.T., and Paul, as far as he knew (1 Cor. xv. 3-11), preached the same Gospel as the other Apostles. It is unnecessary, also, to the argument. In whatever form the Gospel won the obedience of men, it was inconsistent with their continuance in sin. Hence it seems nearer the truth to take τύπος διδασκῆς in a more general sense;



δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε  
τύπον διδαχῆς. 18. ἐλευθερωθέντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ἐδουλώθητε  
τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ. 19. Ἀνθρώπινον λέγω διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς  
<sup>k Matt. xxv. 41.</sup> ὑμῶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ παρεστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν δοῦλα τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ  
καὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν, οὕτω νῦν παραστήσατε τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν  
<sup>i 1 Thess. iv. 3 f., 7; Heb. xii. 14.</sup> δοῦλα τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ εἰς ἁγιασμόν. 20. ὅτε γὰρ δοῦλοι ἦτε τῆς  
ἁμαρτίας, ἐλεύθεροι ἦτε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ. 21. τίνα οὖν καρπὸν εἶχετε  
τότε, ἐφ' οἷς νῦν ἐπαισχύνεσθε; τὸ γὰρ τέλος <sup>1</sup> ἐκείνων θάνατος. 22.  
<sup>m Luke iii. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 7; 2 Cor. xi. 8.</sup> νυνὶ δὲ ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, δουλωθέντες δὲ τῷ Θεῷ,  
ἔχετε τὸν καρπὸν ὑμῶν εἰς ἁγιασμόν, τὸ δὲ τέλος ζωὴν αἰώνιον.  
23. τὰ γὰρ <sup>m</sup> ὀψώνια τῆς ἁμαρτίας θάνατος· τὸ δὲ χάρισμα τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> το γαρ τελος H<sup>1</sup>ACD<sup>8</sup>KLP; το μεν γαρ τελος H<sup>8</sup>BD<sup>1</sup>F, Syr. As the reasons for omitting are obvious—the art. is already separated from the substantive, and there is really nothing to balance it—the μεν is probably original, and is retained by Lachmann, Weiss, and Tregelles (marg.), though omitted by W. and H.

it is teaching, of course in a definite form, but regarded chiefly in its ethical requirements; when received, or when men were handed over to it, it became a moral authority. Cf. Hort, *Romans and Ephesians*, p. 32 f. What is the time referred to in the aorists ὑπηκούσατε and παρεδόθητε? It is the time when they became Christians, a time really fixed by their acceptance of the Gospel in faith, and outwardly marked by baptism. Baptism is the visible point of separation between the two servitudes—to sin and to God.

Ver. 18. There is no absolute independence for man; our nature requires us to serve some master.

Ver. 19. ἀνθρώπινον λέγω διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς ὑμῶν. Cf. iii. 5, Gal. iii. 15. Paul apologises for using this human figure of the relation of slave to master to convey spiritual truths. But what is "the weakness of the flesh" which makes him have recourse to such figures? Weiss makes it moral. The Apostle speaks with this unmistakable plainness and emphasis because he is writing to morally weak persons whose nature and past life really made them liable to temptations to libertinism. This seems to me confirmed by the reference, which immediately follows, to the character of their pre-Christian life. Others make the weakness rather intellectual than ethical, as if Paul said: "I condescend to your want of spiritual intelligence in using such figures". But this is not a natural meaning for "the weakness of your flesh," and does not yield so good a connection with what follows.

δοῦλα τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἀνομίᾳ: ἀκαθαρσία defiling the sinner, ἀνομία disregarding the will of God. If εἰς τὴν ἀνομίαν should remain in the text, it may suggest that this bad life never gets beyond itself. On the other hand, to present the members as slaves to righteousness has ἁγιασμός in view, which is a higher thing. ἁγιασμός is sanctification, primarily as an act or process, eventually as a result. It is unreal to ask whether the process or the result is meant here: they have no meaning apart.

Ver. 20. In every state in which man lives, there is a bondage and a liberty. In the old state, it was bondage to sin, and liberty in relation to righteousness. For τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ see Winer, 263.

Ver. 21 f. To decide which of the two lives, or of the two freedoms, is the true, Paul appeals to their fruits. The marked contrast between τότε and νῦν is in favour of those who put the mark of interrogation after τότε. "What fruit therefore had you then? Things of which you are now ashamed." The construction ἐφ' οἷς ἐπαισχύνεσθε is found also in Isa. i. 29: ἠσχύνθησαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κήποις. If the point of interrogation is put after ἐπαισχύνεσθε, the answer "none" must be interpolated: and ἐκείνων supplied as antecedent to ἐφ' οἷς. νυνὶ δέ: But now, now that the situation is reversed, and you have been freed from sin and made slaves to God, you have your fruit εἰς ἁγιασμόν. He does not say what the fruit is, but we know what the things are which contribute to and result in ἁγιασμός: see ver. 19.

Ver. 23. The γὰρ introduces the

Θεοῦ ζωῇ αἰώνιος ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν. VII. 1. Ἦ ἀγνοεῖτε, ἀδελφοί (γινώσκουσι γὰρ νόμον λαλῶ), ὅτι ὁ νόμος κυριεύει τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ; 2. ἡ γὰρ ὑπανδρος γυνὴ τῷ ζῶντι ἀνδρὶ δέδεται νόμῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, κατήργηται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός. 3. ἄρα οὖν ζῶντος τοῦ ἀνδρός μοιχαλὶς χρηματίζει, ἐὰν γένηται ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ, ἐλευθέρα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν μοιχαλίδα, γενομένην ἀνδρὶ ἐτέρῳ. 4. ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐτέρῳ, τῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν

general truth of which what has been said of the Romans in ver. 21 f. is an illustration. "All this is normal and natural, for the wages of sin is death," etc. *ὁψώνια* 1 Macc. iii. 28, xiv. 32. The idea of a warfare (see *ὅπλα*, ver. 13) is continued. The soldier's pay who enlists in the service of sin is death. *τὸ δὲ χάρισμα*: but the free gift, etc. The end in God's service is not of debt, but of grace. Tertullian (quoted in S. and H.) renders *χάρισμα* here *donativum* (the largess given by the emperor to soldiers on a New Year's Day or birthday), keeping on the military association; but Paul could hardly use what is almost a technical expression with himself in a technical sense quite remote from his own. On *ζωῇ αἰώνιος ἐν Χ. Ἰ. τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν*, see on v. 21.

CHAPTER VII. The subject of chap. vi. is continued. The Apostle shows how by death the Christian is freed from the law, which, good as it is in itself and in the Divine intention, nevertheless, owing to the corruption of man's nature, instead of helping to make him good, perpetually stimulates sin. Vers. 1-6 describe the liberation from the law; vers. 7-13, the actual working of the law; in vers. 14-25 we are shown that this working of the law is due not to anything in itself, but to the power of sin in the flesh.

Vers. 1-6. For ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε, cf. vi. 3. Chap. vi. contains the argument which is illustrated in these verses, and the question alludes to it: not to accept the argument that the Christian is free from all legal obligations leaves no alternative but to suppose the persons to whom it is addressed ignorant or the principle by which the duration of all legal obligations is determined. This they cannot be, for Paul speaks *γινώσκουσι νόμον* = to people who know what law is. Neither Roman nor Mosaic law is specially referred to: the argument rests on the nature or law in general. Even in

ὁ νόμος, though in applying the principle Paul would think first of the Mosaic law, it is not exclusively referred to.

Ver. 2 f. An illustration of the principle. It is the only illustration in which death liberates a person who yet remains alive and can enter into new relations. Of course there is an inexactness, for in the argument the Christian is freed by his own death, and in the illustration the wife is freed by the husband's death; but we must discount that. Paul required an illustration in which both death and a new life appeared. *κατήργηται ἀπὸ*: cf. ver. 6, Gal. v. 4: she is once for all discharged (or as R.V. in Gal. "severed") from the law of the husband: for the genitive τοῦ ἀνδρός, see Winer, 235. *χρηματίζει* = she shall be publicly designated: cf. Acts xi. 26. *τοῦ μὴ εἶναι αὐτὴν μοιχαλίδα κ.τ.λ.*: grammatically this may either mean (1) *that she may not be an adulteress*, though married to another man; or (2) *so that she is not*, etc. Meyer prefers the first; and it may be argued that in this place, at all events, the idea of forming another connection is essential: cf. *εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ἐτέρῳ*, ver. 4 (Gifford); but it is difficult to conceive of innocent remarriage as being formally the purpose of the law in question, and the second meaning is therefore to be preferred. Cf. Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 398.

Ver. 4. ὥστε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐθανατώθητε τῷ νόμῳ: the inference is drawn rather from the principle than from the example, but καὶ ὑμεῖς means "you as well as the woman in the illustration," not "you Gentiles as well as I a Jew". The last, which is Weiss's interpretation, introduces a violent contrast of which there is not the faintest hint in the context. The meaning of *ἐθανατώθητε* is fixed by reference to chap. vi. 3-6. The aorist refers to the definite time at which in their baptism the old life (and with it all its legal obligations)



a Matt. xiii.  
23; Col. i.  
6, 10.  
b Gal. v. 24.

ἐγερθέντι, ἵνα \*καρποφορήσωμεν τῷ Θεῷ. 5. ὅτε γὰρ ἦμεν ἐν τῇ σαρκί, τὰ \*παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου ἐτηργεῖτο ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ· 6. νυνὶ δὲ κατηργήθημεν ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου, ἀποθανόντες ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα, ὥστε δουλεύειν ἡμᾶς<sup>1</sup> ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος, καὶ οὐ παλαιότητι γράμματος.

7. Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ὁ νόμος ἁμαρτία; μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔγνω, εἰ μὴ διὰ νόμου· τὴν τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν οὐκ

<sup>1</sup> ημας om. BFG. Most edd. (W. and H., Lachm., and Treg.) bracket it; Weiss omits, but allows that the case is disputable.

came to an end. διὰ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χτοῦ: Weiss rejects as opposed to the context the "dogmatic" reference to the sacrificial death of Christ as a satisfaction for sin; all the words imply, according to him, is that the Christian, in baptism, experiences a ὁμοίωμα of Christ's death, or as it is put in vi. 6 is crucified with Him, and so liberated from every relation to the law. But if Christ's death had no spiritual content—if it were not a death "for our sins" (1 Cor. xv. 3), a death having the sacrificial character and atoning virtue described in iii. 25 f.—there would be no reason why a sinful man should be baptised into Christ and His death at all, and in point of fact no one would be baptised. It is because Christ's death is what it is, a sin-expiating death, that it draws men to Him, and spiritually reproduces in them a reflex or counterpart of His death, with which all their old relations and obligations terminate. The object of this is that they may belong to another, a different person. Paul does not say ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρί: the marriage metaphor is dropped. He is speaking of the experience of Christians one by one, and though Christ is sometimes spoken of as the husband or bridegroom of the Church, there is no Scripture authority for using this metaphor of His relation to the individual soul. Neither is this interpretation favoured by the use of καρποφορήσωμεν; to interpret this of the fruit of the new marriage is both needless and grotesque. The word is used frequently in the N.T. for the outcome of the Christian life, but never with this association; and a reference to vi. 21 shows how natural it is to the Apostle without any such prompting. Even the change from the second person (ἐθανατώθητε) to the first (καρποφορήσωμεν) shows that he is contemplating the end of the Christian life quite apart from the suggestions of the metaphor. Christ is

described as τῷ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἐγερθέντι, because we can only belong to a living person. τῷ Θεῷ is *dat. comm.* God is the person interested in this result.

Ver. 5. Contrast of the earlier life. "ἐν τῇ σαρκί" is materially the same as "ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον"; the same state of the soul is described more from within and more from without. The opposite would be ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, οἱ ὑπὸ χάριν. τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν are the passions from which acts of sin proceed: Gal. v. 24. τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου: it is through the law that these passions become actualised: we would never know them for what they are, if it were not for the law. εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ: there is no allusion to marriage here any more than in ver. 4. Death is personified here as in v. 17: this tyrant of the human race is the only one who profits by the fruits of the sinful life.

Ver. 6. νυνὶ δὲ but as things stand, considering what we are as Christians. κατηργήθημεν: cf. ver. 2. We are discharged from the law, by our death to that in which we were held. But what is this? Most expositors say the law; Philippi even makes τοῦ νόμου the antecedent of ἐν ᾧ, rendering, we have been delivered, by dying, from the law in which we were held. This construction is too artificial to be true; and if we supply τούτῳ with ἀποθανόντες, something vaguer than the law, though involving and involved by it (the old life in the flesh, for instance) must be meant. ὥστε δουλεύειν κ.τ.λ.: "enabling us to serve" (S. and H.): for ὥστε with inf. in N.T., see Blass, *Gramm. des N.T. Griech.*, § 219. ἐν καινότητι πνεύματος κ.τ.λ. = in a new way, which only the possession of the spirit makes possible, not in the old way which alone was possible when we were under the letter of the law. For the Pauline contrast of πνεῦμα and γράμμα, see 2 Cor. iii.; for οὐ in this expression, see Burton, § 481.

ἦδεν, εἰ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἔλεγεν, "Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις". 8. \*ἀφορμὴν <sup>c 2 Cor. xi. 12; Gal. v. 13; 1 Tim. v. 14.</sup> δὲ λαβοῦσα ἡ ἀμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς κατειργάσατο <sup>1</sup> ἐν ἐμοὶ πᾶσαν

<sup>1</sup> κατειργάσατο  $\Sigma$ ACFGKL; κατηργάσατο B<sup>1</sup>DP. In chap. xv. 18 all editors with  $\Sigma$ ABCP read κατειργάσατο, and this is preferred here by Lachm., W. and H., and by Weiss in all places; but here Tischdf., Treg. and Alford read κατηργάσατο. Variations in the treatment of the augment are very frequent in the MSS.

Vers. 7-13. The actual working of the law. A very close connection between the law and sin is implied in all that has preceded: especially in vi. 14, and in such an expression as τὰ παθήματα τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν τὰ διὰ τοῦ νόμου in vii. 5. This connection has to be examined more closely. The object of the Apostle, according to Weiss, is not to answer a false inference from his teaching, *viz.*, that the law is sin, but to conciliate for his own mind the idea of liberation from the law with the recognition of the O.T. revelation. But the difficulty of conciliating these two things is not peculiar to the Apostle; it is because we all feel it in some form that the passage is so real to us. *Our* experience of law has been as tragic as his, and we too ask how this comports with the idea of its Divine origin. The much discussed question, whether the subject of this passage (vers. 7-24) is the unregenerate or the regenerate self, or whether in particular vers. 7-13 refer to the unregenerate, and vers. 14-24 to the regenerate, is hardly real. The distinction in its absolute form belongs to doctrine, not to experience. No one could have written the passage but a Christian: it is the experience of the unregenerate, we may say, but seen through regenerate eyes, interpreted in a regenerate mind. It is the Apostle's spiritual history, but universalised; a history in which one stage is not extinguished by the next, but which is present as a whole to his consciousness, each stage all the time determining and determined by all the rest. We cannot date the things of the spirit as simply as if they were mere historical incidents. τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν, *cf.* vi. 1: What inference then shall we draw? *sc.* from the relations of sin and law just suggested. Is the law sin? Paul repels the thought with horror. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν οὐκ ἔγνων: ἀλλὰ may continue the protest = On the contrary, I should not have known sin, etc.; or it may be restrictive, abating the completeness of the negation involved in the protest. The law is not sin—God forbid; but, for all that, there is a connection: I should

not have known sin but by the law. The last suits the context better: see ver. 21. On οὐκ ἔγνων without ἄν, see Winer, 383: it is possible, however (Gifford), to render simply, I did not know sin except through the law; and so also with οὐκ ἦδεν. διὰ νόμου: of course he thinks of the Mosaic law, but the absence of the article shows that it is the legal, not the Mosaic, character of it which is in view; and it is this which enables us to understand the experience in question. τὴν τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν κ.τ.λ.: the desire for what is forbidden is the first conscious form of sin. For the force of τε here see Winer, p. 561. Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, p. 160. In the very similar construction in 2 Cor. x. 8 Winer suggests an anacoluthon: possibly Paul meant here also to introduce something which would have balanced the τε (I should both have been ignorant of lust, unless the law had said, Thou shalt not lust, and ignorant of other forms of sin unless the law had prohibited them). But the one instance, as he works it out, suffices him. It seems impossible to deny the reference to the tenth commandment (Exod. xx. 17) when the words οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις are quoted from "the law"; but the special modes of ἐπιθυμία prohibited are of no consequence, and it is beside the mark to argue that Paul's escape from pharisaism began with the discovery that a feeling, not an outward act only, might be sinful. All he says is that the consciousness of sin awoke in him in the shape of a conflict with a prohibitive law, and to illustrate this he quotes the tenth commandment. Its generality made it the most appropriate to quote.

Ver. 8. ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα means "having received," not "having taken" occasion. ἡ ἀμαρτία is sin as a power dwelling in man, of the presence of which he is as yet unaware. How it "receives occasion" is not stated; it must be by coming face to face with something which appeals to ἐπιθυμία; but when it has received it, it avails itself of the commandment (*viz.*, the one prohibiting ἐπιθυμία) to work in us ἐπιθυμία of



ἐπιθυμίαν · χωρὶς γὰρ νόμου ἁμαρτία νεκρά · 9. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ · ἐλθοῦσης δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς, ἡ ἁμαρτία <sup>d</sup> ἀνέζησεν, 10. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπέθανον · καὶ εὗρέθη μοι ἡ ἐντολή ἡ εἰς ζωὴν, αὕτη εἰς θάνατον.

e Ver. 8. 11. ἡ γὰρ ἁμαρτία ὁ ἀφορμὴν λαβοῦσα διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς ἐξηπάτησέ με, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀπέκτεινεν. 12. ὥστε ὁ μὲν νόμος ἅγιος, καὶ ἡ ἐντολὴ ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθὴ. 13. Τὸ οὖν ἀγαθὸν ἐμοὶ γέγονε <sup>1</sup> θάνατος; μὴ γένοιτο · ἀλλὰ ἡ ἁμαρτία, ἵνα φανῇ ἁμαρτία, διὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μοι κατεργαζομένη θάνατον, ἵνα γένηται καθ' ὅτι ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἡ ἁμαρτία διὰ τῆς ἐντολῆς. 14. Οἶδαμεν γὰρ <sup>2</sup> ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικὸς ἐστίν · ἐγὼ δὲ σαρκικός <sup>3</sup> εἰμι, πεπραμένος ὑπὸ

<sup>d</sup> Luke xv. 24, 32.  
<sup>e</sup> Ver. 8.  
<sup>1</sup> Cor. xii. 31; <sup>2</sup> Cor. i. 8; iv. 17; Gal. i. 13.

<sup>1</sup> γέγονε KL; ἐγενετο NABCD.

<sup>2</sup> γὰρ NBCFK; δὲ AD (Greek) L. See note <sup>1</sup> page 604.

<sup>3</sup> σαρκικός N<sup>3</sup>LP; but σαρκινός NABCDF. The two words are constantly confused (Alford), but the change may have been made intentionally here with the idea that an ethical word was wanted.

every sort. It really is the commandment which it uses, for without law sin is dead. Cf. iv. 15, v. 13: but especially 1 Cor. xv. 56. Apart from the law we have no experience either of its character or of its vitality.

Ver. 9. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔζων χωρὶς νόμου ποτέ: this is ideal biography. There is not really a period in life to which one can look back as the happy time when he had no conscience; the lost paradise in the infancy of men or nations only serves as a foil to the moral conflicts and disorder of maturer years, of which we are clearly conscious. ἐλθοῦσης δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς κ.τ.λ. In these words, on the other hand, the most intensely real experience is vividly reproduced. When the commandment came, sin "came to life again"; its dormant energies woke, and "I died". "There is a deep tragic pathos in the brief and simple statement; it seems to point to some definite period full of painful recollections" (Gifford). To say that "death" here means the loss of immortality (bodily death without the hope of resurrection), as Lipsius, or that it means only "spiritual" death, is to lose touch with the Apostle's mode of thought. It is an indivisible thing, all doom and despair, too simply felt to be a subject for analysis.

Ver. 10. The result is that the commandment defeats its own intention; it has life in view, but it ends in death. Here also analysis only misleads. Life and death are indivisible wholes.

Ver. 11. Yet this result is not due to the commandment in itself. It is in-

dwelling sin, inherited from Adam, which, when it has found a base of operations, employs the commandment to deceive (cf. Gen. iii. 13) and to kill. "Sin here takes the place of the Tempter" in Genesis (S. and H.).

Ver. 12. The conclusion is that the law is holy (this is the answer to the question with which the discussion started in ver. 7: ὁ νόμος ἁμαρτία;), and the commandment, which is the law in operation, holy and just and good. ἁγία means that it belongs to God and has a character corresponding; δικαία that its requirements are those which answer to the relations in which man stands to God and his fellow-creatures; ἀγαθὴ that in its nature and aim it is beneficent; man's weal, not his woe, is its natural end. There is no formal contrast to ὁ μὲν νόμος, such as was perhaps in the Apostle's mind when he began the sentence, and might have been introduced by ἡ δὲ ἁμαρτία; but a real contrast is given in ver. 13.

Ver. 13. The description of the commandment as "good" raises the problem of ver. 7 in a new form. Can the good issue in evil? Did that which is good turn out to be death to me? This also is denied, or rather repelled. It was not the good law, but sin, which became death to the Apostle. And in this there was a Divine intention, viz., that sin might appear sin, might come out in its true colours, by working death for man through that which is good. Sin turns God's intended blessing into a curse; nothing could more clearly show what it

τὴν ἁμαρτίαν. 15. ὁ γὰρ κατεργάζομαι, οὐ γινώσκω· οὐ γὰρ ὁ θέλω, τοῦτο πράσσω· ἀλλ' ὁ μισῶ, τοῦτο ποιῶ. 16. εἰ δὲ ὁ οὐ θέλω, τοῦτο ποιῶ, "σύμφημι τῷ νόμῳ ὅτι καλός. 17. νυνὶ δὲ οὐκ- gHere only.

is, or excite a stronger desire for deliverance from it. The second clause with ἵνα (ἵνα γένηται καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἁμαρτωλὸς ἡ ἁμαρτία) seems co-ordinate with the first, yet intensifies it: personified sin not only appears, but actually turns out to be, beyond measure sinful through its perversion of the commandment.

Vers. 14-25. The last section of the chapter confirms the argument in which Paul has vindicated the law, by exhibiting the power of sin in the flesh. It is this which makes the law weak, and defeats its good intention. "Hitherto he had contrasted himself, in respect of his whole being, with the Divine law; now, however, he begins to describe a discord which exists within himself" (Tholuck).

Ver. 14. ὁ νόμος πνευματικός: the law comes from God who is Spirit, and it shares His nature: its affinities are Divine, not human. ἐγὼ δὲ σάρκινός εἰμι, πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν: I, as opposed to the law, am a creature of flesh, sold under sin. σάρκινος is properly material = *carneus*, consisting of flesh, as opposed to σαρκικός, which is ethical = *carnalis*. Paul uses it because he is thinking of human nature, rather than of human character, as in opposition to the Divine law. He does not mean that there is no higher element in human nature having affinity to the law (against this see vers. 22-25), but that such higher elements are so depressed and impotent that no injustice is done in describing human nature as in his own person he describes it here. Flesh has such an exclusive preponderance that man can only be regarded as a being who has no affinity for the spiritual law of God, and necessarily kicks against it. Not that this is to be regarded as his essential nature. It describes him only as πεπραμένος ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν: the slave of sin. To speak of man as "flesh" is to speak of him as distinguished from God who is "Spirit"; but owing to the diffusion of sin in humanity, and the ascendancy it has acquired, this mere distinction becomes an antagonism, and the mind of "the flesh" is enmity against God. In σάρκινος there is the sense of man's weakness, and pity for it; σαρκικός would only have expressed condemnation, perhaps a shade of disgust or con-

tempt. Weiss rightly remarks that the present tense εἰμι is determined simply by the ἔστιν preceding. Paul is contrasting the law of God and human nature, of course on the basis of his own experience; but the contrast is worked out ideally, or timelessly, as we might say, all the tenses being present; it is obvious, however, on reflection, that the experience described is essentially that of his pre-Christian days. It is the unregenerate man's experience, surviving at least in memory into regenerate days, and read with regenerate eyes.

Ver. 15. Only the hypothesis or slavery explains his acts. For what I do οὐ γινώσκω, i.e., I do not recognise it as my own, as a thing for which I am responsible and which I can approve: my act is that of a slave who is but the instrument of another's will. οὐ γὰρ ὁ θέλω κ.τ.λ. There is "an comprehensible contradiction in his action". κατεργάζεσθαι is to effect, to bring about by one's own work; πράσσειν is to work at, to busy oneself with, a thing, with or without success, but with purpose; ποιεῖν is simply to make or produce.

Ver. 16. ὁ οὐ θέλω takes up ὁ μισῶ the negative expression is strong enough for the argument. In doing what he hates, i.e., in doing evil against his will, his will agrees with the law, that it is good. καλός suggests the moral beauty or nobility of the law, not like ἀγαθή (ver. 12) its beneficial purpose.

Ver. 17. Νυνὶ δὲ οὐκέτι ἐγὼ κατεργάζομαι αὐτό. ἐγὼ is the true I, and emphatic. As things are, in view of the facts just explained, it is not the true self which is responsible for this line of conduct, but the sin which has its abode in the man: contrast viii. 11 τὸ ἐνοικοῦν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐν ὑμῖν. "Paul said, 'It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me,' and 'I live, yet not I, but Christ that liveth in me'; and both these sayings of his touch on the unsayable" (Dr. John Duncan). To be saved from sin, a man must at the same time own it and disown it; it is this practical paradox which is reflected in this verse. It is safe for a Christian like Paul—it is not safe for everybody—to explain his failings by the watchword, Not I, but indwelling sin. That might be anti-nomian, or manichean, as well as evan-



ἐτι ἐγὼ κατεργάζομαι αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἡ οἰκοῦσα<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτία. 18. Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ οἰκεῖ ἐν ἐμοὶ (τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου,) ἀγαθόν·  
<sup>h Only here and ver. 21.</sup> τὸ γὰρ θέλειν<sup>h</sup> παράκειται μοι, τὸ δὲ κατεργάζεσθαι τὸ καλὸν οὐχ εὐρίσκω.<sup>2</sup> 19. οὐ γὰρ ὁ θέλω ποιῶ ἀγαθόν· ἀλλ' ὁ οὐ θέλω κακόν, τοῦτο πράσσω. 20. εἰ δὲ ὁ οὐ θέλω ἐγὼ,<sup>3</sup> τοῦτο ποιῶ, οὐκ ἐτι ἐγὼ κατεργάζομαι αὐτό, ἀλλ' ἡ οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἐμοὶ ἁμαρτία. 21. Εὐρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ ποιεῖν τὸ καλόν, ὅτι ἐμοὶ τὸ κακόν  
<sup>i Here only.</sup> παράκειται. 22. <sup>i</sup> συνήδομαι γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἔσω

<sup>1</sup> For οἰκουσα **HB** read *ενοικουσα*, which is right.

<sup>2</sup> οὐχ εὐρίσκω **DFKLP**; οὐ alone without *εὐρίσκω* **HBAC**.

<sup>3</sup> θέλω **HB** **AKLP**, **Syr.**; om. *εγώ* **BCDEFG**. **W.** and **H.** omit *εγώ* from text but put it in marg. Weiss thinks if it had been inserted after the apodosis had been written it would have been before οὐ θέλω, and as it might easily be omitted to conform to ver. 16, the first clause of which is verbally the same, he counts it genuine, though admitting that the case is difficult.

gelical. A true saint may say it in a moment of passion, but a sinner had better not make it a principle.

Ver. 18. It is sin, and nothing but sin, that has to be taken account of in this connection, for "I know that in me, that is in my flesh, there dwells no good". For *τουτέστιν* see on i. 12. ἐν ἐμοὶ = ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου = in me, regarded as a creature of flesh, apart from any relation to or affinity for God and His spirit. This, of course, is not a complete view of what man is at any stage of his life. τὸ γὰρ θέλειν παράκειται μοι: θέλειν is rather *wish* than *will*: the want of will is the very thing lamented. An inclination to the good is at his hand, within the limit of his resources, but not the actual effecting of the good.

Ver. 19. In this verse there is a repetition of verse 15, but what was there an abstract contrast between inclination and action is here sharpened into the moral contrast between good inclination and bad action.

Ver. 20. The same conclusion as in ver. 17. If the *first ἐγὼ* is right, it must go with οὐ θέλω: Paul distinguishes himself sharply, as a person whose inclination is violated by his actions, from the indwelling sin which is really responsible for them.

Vers. 21-23 summarise the argument. εὐρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον . . . ὅτι: most commentators hold that the clause introduced by ὅτι is the explanation of τὸν νόμον. The law, in short, which Paul has discovered by experience, is the constant fact that when his inclination is to do good, evil is present with him. This sense of law approximates

very closely to the modern sense which the word bears in physical science—so closely that its very modernness may be made an objection to it. Possibly Paul meant, in using the word, to convey at the same time the idea of an outward compulsion put on him by sin, which expressed itself in this constant incapacity to do the good he inclined to—authority or constraint as well as normality being included in his idea of the word. But ὁ νόμος in Paul always seems to have much more definitely the suggestion of something with legislative authority: it is questionable whether the first meaning given above would have occurred, or would have seemed natural, except to a reader familiar with the phraseology of modern science. Besides, the subject of the whole paragraph is the relation of "the law" to sin, and the form of the sentence is quite analogous to that of ver. 10, in which a preliminary conclusion has been come to on the question. Hence I agree with those who make τὸν νόμον the Mosaic law. The construction is not intolerable, if we observe that εὐρίσκω ἄρα τὸν νόμον τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ. is equivalent to εὐρίσκεται ἄρα ὁ νόμος τῷ θέλοντι ἐμοὶ κ.τ.λ. "This is what I find the law—or life under the law—to come to in experience: when I wish to do good, evil is present with me." This is the answer he has already given in ver. 7 to the question, Is the law sin? No, it is not sin, but nevertheless sin is most closely connected with it. The repeated ἐμοὶ has something tragic in it: *me*, who am so anxious to do otherwise.

Ver. 22 f. Further explanation: the

\* ἄνθρωπον· 23. βλέπω δὲ ἕτερον νόμον ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί μου ἀντιστρα-<sup>k 2 Cor. iv. 16; Eph. iii. 16.</sup> τευόμενον τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ νοός μου, καὶ <sup>1</sup> αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με <sup>1</sup> τῷ νόμῳ τῆς ἁμαρτίας τῷ ὄντι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσί μου. 24. ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ <sup>12 Cor. x. 3. 2 Tim. iii. 6.</sup> ἄνθρωπος· τίς με ῥύσεται ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου; 25. εὐχαριστῶ <sup>2</sup> τῷ Θεῷ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν. ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ μὲν νοῷ <sup>2</sup> δουλεύω νόμῳ Θεοῦ· τῇ δὲ σαρκὶ νόμῳ

<sup>1</sup> αἰχμαλωτίζοντά με ἐν τῷ νόμῳ <sup>ΣBDFKP</sup>; om. ἐν ACL, most cursives, Syr. and many fathers. The omission, according to Weiss, is manifestly made to simplify the expression. Lachm. omits; W. and H. bracket.

<sup>2</sup> εὐχαριστῶ <sup>ΣAKLP</sup>, most cursives and fathers; W. and H. in marg. χαρις B., Sah., Orig. i. This is the reading adopted in all the crit. edd. as the one from which the variants are most easily deduced (e.g., ἡ χαρις τοῦ θεοῦ D, vulg.; ἡ χ. τ. κυρίου F; χαρις δὲ τῷ θεῷ <sup>Σ<sup>1</sup>C<sup>2</sup></sup>).

<sup>3</sup> τῷ μὲν νοί, om. μὲν <sup>Σ<sup>1</sup>FG</sup>, vulg., and Lat. fathers. The omission must be accidental, and all edd. except Tischdf. keep μὲν.

incongruity between inclination and action has its roots in a division within man's nature. The law of God legislates for him, and in the inner man (Eph. iii. 16) he delights in it. The inner man is not equivalent to the new or regenerate man; it is that side of every man's nature which is akin to God, and is the point of attachment, so to speak, for the regenerating spirit. It is called inward because it is not seen. What is seen is described in ver. 23. Here also νόμος is not used in the modern physical sense, but imaginatively: "I see that a power to legislate, of a different kind (different from the law of God), asserts itself in my members, making war on the law of my mind". The law of my mind is practically identical with the law of God in ver. 22; and the νοῦς itself, if not identical with ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, is its chief organ. Paul does not see in his nature two normal modes in which certain forces operate; he sees two authorities saying to him, Do this, and the higher succumbing to the lower. As the lower prevails, it leads him captive to the law of Sin which is in his members, or in other words to itself: "of whom a man is overcome, of the same is he brought in bondage". The end therefore is that man, as a creature of flesh, living under law, does what Sin enjoins. It is the law of Sin to which he gives obedience.

Ver. 24. ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος· τίς με ῥύσεται; "a wail of anguish and a cry for help". The words are not those of the Apostle's heart as he writes; they are the words which he knows are wrung from the heart of the man who realises that he is himself in the state

just described. Paul has reproduced this vividly from his own experience, but ταλαίπωρος ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος is not the cry of the Christian Paul, but of the man whom sin and law have brought to despair. ἐκ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ θανάτου τούτου: "This death" is the death of which man is acutely conscious in the condition described: it is the same as the death of ver. 9, but intensely realised through the experience of captivity to sin. "The body of this death" is therefore the same as "the body of sin" in chap. vi. 6: it is the body which, as the instrument if not the seat of sin, is involved in its doom. Salvation must include deliverance from the body so far as the body has this character and destiny.

Ver. 25. The exclamation of thanksgiving shows that the longed-for deliverance has actually been achieved. The regenerate man's ideal contemplation of his pre-Christian state rises with sudden joy into a declaration of his actual emancipation as a Christian. διὰ Ἰ. Χ. τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν: Christ is regarded as the mediator through whom the thanksgiving ascends to God, not as the author of the deliverance for which thanks are given. With ἄρα οὖν αὐτὸς ἐγὼ the Apostle introduces the conclusion of this whole discussion. "So then I myself—that is, I, leaving Jesus Christ our Lord out of the question—can get no further than this: with the mind, or in the inner man, I serve a law of God (a Divine law), but with the flesh, or in my actual outward life, a law of sin." We might say the law of God, or of sin; but the absence of the definite article emphasises the



ἁμαρτίας. VIII. 1. Οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ  
 \* John viii.  
 32-36; Ch. μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα.<sup>1</sup> 2. ὁ γὰρ νόμος  
 vi. 18, 22;  
 Gal. v. 1. τοῦ πνεύματος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ \* ἡλευθέρωσε με<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα om.  $\aleph^1$ BCD<sup>1</sup>F 47, Egypt. and Ethiopic versions, Orig. and Athan. and all crit. edd. The first part of the addition, μὴ . . . περιπατοῦσιν, is found in AD<sup>2</sup>, vulg., Syr.; the rest, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα, in  $\aleph^3$ D<sup>3</sup>KLP and most later authorities.

<sup>2</sup> ἡλευθέρωσεν με ACDKLP, vulg., Syr. For με, σε is found  $\aleph$ BFG, and also in Latin and Syriac authorities. ημας is supported by Egypt. and Aeth. versions. The case is a very difficult one. σε is the harder reading, and Weiss, who adopts it, argues that it was changed into με under the influence of the preceding paragraphs in which the first person rules. Sanday and Headlam think σε can hardly be right because it is nowhere suggested in the context. W. and H. suspect a primitive error. "The distribution of documents, combined with internal evidence, favours the omission of both pronouns, which is supported by some MSS. of Arm(enian version), and perhaps by Orig. *loc.*, Ruf. com.; σε, a very unlikely reading, is probably only an early repetition of -σε" (Appendix to N.T., p. 108).

character of law. αὐτὸς ἐγώ: see 2 Cor. x. 1, xii. 13.

CHAPTER VIII. For the place of this chapter in the argument see chap. vi., *ad init.* The general subject is the life in the spirit, by which the power of sin is broken, and the believer enabled to live to God. It falls into three parts (1) vers. 1-11, in which the spirit as opposed to the flesh is described as the principle of righteousness and life; (2) vers. 12-27, in which it is regarded as a spirit of adoption, the first fruits of a heavenly inheritance for the children of God; and (3) vers. 28-39, in which Paul concludes the argument, glorying in the assurance of God's immutable love in Jesus Christ.

(1) Vers. 1-11. The Spirit as the principle of righteousness and life.

Ver. 1. οὐδὲν ἄρα νῦν κατάκριμα τοῖς ἐν Χ. Ἰ. The οὐδὲν is emphatic: condemnation is in every sense out of the question. νῦν is temporal: it distinguishes the Christian from the pre-Christian period of life. The bold assertion is an inference (ἄρα) from what is implied in the thanksgiving to God through Jesus Christ (vii. 25). The description of Christians as "those who are in Christ Jesus" goes back to the words of Jesus Himself in John xv.

Ver. 2. There is no condemnation, for all ground for it has been removed. "The law of the spirit of the life which is in Christ Jesus made me [thee] free from the law of sin and death." It is subjection to the law of sin and death which involves condemnation; emancipation from it leaves no place for condemnation. For the meaning of "the law" see on vii. 23. The spirit which

brings to the believer the life which is in Christ Jesus brings with it also the Divine law for the believer's life; but it is now, as Paul says in Gal. iii. 21, a "νόμος ὁ δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι," not an impotent law written on tables of stone, and hence righteousness comes by it; it proves more than a match for the authority exercised over man by the forces of sin and death. Paul would not have called the Divine law (even as a series of statutes) a law of sin and death, though he says τὸ γράμμα ἀποκτείνει; Sin and Death are conceived objectively as powers which impose their own law on unredeemed men.

Ver. 3. He now explains how this was done. It was not done by the law: that is the first point. If τὸ ἀδύνατον is active (= "the inability" of the law) we must suppose that Paul meant to finish the sentence, "was overcome," or "was removed" by God. If it is passive (= "that which is impossible" for the law), we must suppose he meant to finish it, "was achieved" or "accomplished" by God. There is really no way of deciding whether ἀδύνατον is active or passive, and the anacoluthon makes it impossible to tell what construction Paul had in his mind, i.e., whether ἀδύνατον is nominative or accusative. For the best examination of the grammar see S. and H. ἐν  $\phi$  probably refers to ἀδύνατον: the point at which the law was impotent, in which it was weak through the flesh. This is better than to render ἐν  $\phi$  "in that," or "because". For the meaning cf. vii. 18. What the law could not do, God did by sending τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν His own Son. With the coming of so great a Person,

νόμου τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τοῦ θανάτου. 3. Τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου, ἐν ᾧ ἡσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός, ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας κατέκρινε τὴν <sup>b See Ch. vi. v.</sup>

uniquely related to God (for this is implied both here and in ver. 32, as contrasted with ver. 14), a new saving power entered the world. God sent His Son ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας. The connection implies that sending Him thus was in some way related to the end to be secured. But what do the words mean? ὁμοίωμα occurs in Rom. i. 23, v. 14, vi. 5, and also in Phil. ii. 7. This last passage, in which Christ is described as ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος, is the one which is most akin to Rom. viii. 3, and most easily illustrates it. There must have been a reason why Paul wrote in Philippians ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθ. γενόμενος instead of ἀνθρώπος γενόμενος, and it may well have been the same reason which made him write here ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας instead of ἐν σαρκὶ ἁμαρτίας. He wishes to indicate not that Christ was not really man, or that His flesh was not really what in us is σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας, but that what for ordinary men is their natural condition is for this Person only an assumed condition (Holtzmann, *N.T. Theol.*, ii., 74). But the emphasis in ὁμοίωμα is on Christ's likeness to us, not His unlikeness; "flesh of sin" is one idea to the Apostle, and what he means by it is that God sent His Son in that nature which in us is identified with sin. This was the "form" (and "form" rather than "likeness" is what ὁμοίωμα signifies) in which Christ appeared among men. It does not prejudice Christ's sinlessness, which is a fixed point with the Apostle *ab initio*; and if any one says that it involves a contradiction to maintain that Christ was sinless, and that He came in a nature which in us is identified with sin, it may be pointed out that this identification does not belong to the essence of our nature, but to its corruption, and that the uniform teaching of the N.T. is that Christ is one with us—short of sin. The likeness and the limitation of it (though the former is the point here urged) are equally essential in the Redeemer. But God sent His Son not only ἐν ὁμ. σ. ἀ. but καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας. These words indicate the aim of the mission. Christ was sent in our nature "in connection with sin". The R.V. renders "as an offering for sin". This is legitimate, for περὶ ἁμαρτίας is used

both in the LXX (Lev. iv. 33 and *passim*, Ps. xl. 6, 2 Chr. xxix. 24) and in the N.T. (Heb. x. 6, 8) in the sense of "sin-offering" (usually answering to Heb.

ἁνῶν, but in Isa. liii. 10 to ὀψῆς);

but it is not formally necessary. But when the question is asked, In what sense did God send His Son "in connection with sin"? there is only one answer possible. He sent Him to expiate sin by His sacrificial death. This is the centre and foundation of Paul's gospel (iii. 25 ff.), and to ignore it here is really to assume that he used the words καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας (which have at least sacrificial associations) either with no meaning in particular, or with a meaning alien to his constant and dearest thoughts. Weiss says it is impossible to think here of expiating sin, because only the removal of the power of sin belongs to the context. But we cannot thus set the end against the means; the Apostle's doctrine is that the power of sin cannot be broken except by expiating it, and that is the very thing he teaches here. This fixes the meaning and the reference of κατέκρινεν. It is sometimes interpreted as if Christ were the subject: "Christ by His sinless life in our nature condemned sin in that nature," i.e., showed that it was not inevitable, and in so doing gave us hope; and this sense of "condemned" is supported by reference to Mt. xii. 41 f. But the true argument (especially according to the analogy of that passage) would rather be, "Christ by His sinless life in our nature condemned our sinful lives, and left us inexcusable and without hope". The truth is, we get on to a wrong track if we ignore the force of περὶ ἁμαρτίας, or fail to see that God, not Christ, is the subject of κατέκρινεν. God's condemnation of sin is expressed in His sending His Son in our nature, and in such a connection with sin that He died for it—i.e., took its condemnation upon Himself. Christ's death exhibits God's condemnation of sin in the flesh. ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ is to be construed with κατέκρινεν: the flesh—that in which sin had reigned—was also that in which God's condemnation of sin was executed. But Paul does not mean that by His sinless life in our nature Christ had broken the power of



- c Ch. ii. 26, ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκί. 4. ἵνα τὸ δικαίωμα τοῦ \*νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν, τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πνεῦμα. 5. Οἱ
- d Ch. xii. 3, γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς ἄφρονουσιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ πνεῦμα, 16; Phil. ii. 5; Col. iii. 2. τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. 6. τὸ γὰρ \*φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος. τὸ δὲ
- e Only in this ch. φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη. 7. διότι τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς ἔχθρα εἰς Θεόν. τῷ γὰρ νόμῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐχ ὑποτάσσεται,
- f 1 Thess. ii. 4; iv. 1; Gal. i. 10. οὐδὲ γὰρ δύναται. 8. οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες Θεῷ ἄρέσαι οὐ δύνανται.
- g 1 Cor. vii. 40. Θεοῦ οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν. εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει, οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ. 10. εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς ἐν ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν δι'

sin at one point for the human race; he means that in the death of His own Son, who had come in our nature to make atonement for sin, God had pronounced the doom of sin, and brought its claims and its authority over man to an end. This is the only interpretation which does not introduce elements quite alien to the Apostle's mode of thought.

Ver. 4. All this was done ἵνα τὸ δικ. τοῦ νόμου πληρωθῇ ἐν ἡμῖν: that the just requirement of the law (*i.e.*, a righteous life) might be fulfilled in us. See note on iii. 31. ἐν ἡμῖν (not ὑφ' ἡμῶν), for it is not our doing, though done in us (Weiss). τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα κ.τ.λ. = inasmuch as we walk not, etc. This is the condition under which the Divine purpose is fulfilled: there is no physical necessity in it. κατὰ σάρκα: the flesh meant is our corrupt human nature. κατὰ πνεῦμα: the spirit is the Divine spirit which is given to those who are in Christ Jesus. It is in them "both law and impulse".

Ver. 5. The meaning of the sentence "is not contained in the repetitions of γὰρ by which it is hooked together" (Jowett). οἱ κατὰ σάρκα ὄντες are those whose nature is determined simply by the flesh; their "mind," *i.e.*, their moral interest, their thought and study, is upon τὰ τῆς σαρκὸς for which see Gal. v. 19 f. οἱ κατὰ πνεῦμα are those whose nature is determined by the spirit: for τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος see Gal. v. 22.

Ver. 6. τὸ γὰρ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς θάνατος: this does not so much mean that a man living after the flesh is without the life of God, as that death is the end of this line of conduct, chap. vi. 23, Gal. vi. 8. ζωὴ καὶ εἰρήνη: these on the other hand are conceived as present results involved in "the mind of the spirit". It is not arbitrary to distinguish thus: θάνατος in Paul is essentially the

doom awaiting a certain life, ζωὴ and εἰρήνη possessions and experiences of the believer.

Ver. 7 f. The reason why the mind of the flesh terminates so fatally: it is hostility to God, the fountain of life. Alienation from Him is necessarily fatal. It is the flesh which does not (for indeed it cannot) submit itself to God; as the seat of indwelling sin it is in permanent revolt, and those who are in it (a stronger expression, yet substantially identically with those who are after it, ver. 5) cannot please God.

Ver. 9. Paul applies to his readers what he has said in vers. 5-8. ὑμεῖς is emphatic. You can please God, for you are not in the flesh, etc. εἴπερ has its proper force: "if, as is the fact": cf. iii. 30, viii. 17; and the excellent examination of other N.T. instances in Simcox, *Language of the N.T.*, 171 f. Yet the possibility of the fact being otherwise in isolated cases, is admitted when he goes on: εἰ δέ τις πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἔχει κ.τ.λ. For εἰ followed by οὐ see Winer, 599 f. οὗτος οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ: only the indwelling of Christ's spirit proves a real relation to Him.

Ver. 10. Consequences of this indwelling of Christ in the Christian. In one respect, they are not yet so complete as might be expected. τὸ μὲν σῶμα νεκρὸν: the body, it cannot be denied, is dead because of sin; the experience we call death is inevitable for it. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωή: but the spirit (*i.e.*, the human spirit, as is shown by the contrast with σῶμα) is life, God-begotten, God-sustained life, and therefore beyond the reach of death. As death is due to sin, so is this life to δικαιοσύνη. It is probably not real to distinguish here between "justification" and "moral righteousness of life," and to say that the word means either to the exclusion of the other. The

ἁμαρτίαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ζωὴ διὰ δικαιοσύνην. 11. εἰ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ ἐγείραντος Ἰησοῦν<sup>1</sup> ἐκ νεκρῶν οἰκεῖ ἐν ὑμῖν, ὁ ἐγείρας τὸν Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν<sup>h</sup> ζωοποιήσει καὶ τὰ θνητὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦ ἐνοικούντος<sup>h</sup> Ch. iv. 17. αὐτοῦ πνεύματος ἐν ὑμῖν.

12. ἌΡΑ οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ὀφείλεται ἐσμέν οὐ τῇ σαρκί, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα ζῆν. 13. εἰ γὰρ κατὰ σάρκα ζήτε, μέλλετε ἀποθνήσκειν·<sup>i</sup> Col. iii. 9. εἰ δὲ πνεύματι τὰς<sup>k</sup> ἔργα τοῦ σώματος θανατοῦτε, ζήσεσθε. 14.<sup>l</sup> Ver. 19; Gal. iii. 26, Gal. iii. 26, iv. 6 f. Ὅσοι γὰρ πνεύματι Θεοῦ<sup>k</sup> ἄγονται, οὗτοί εἰσιν υἱοὶ<sup>1</sup> Θεοῦ.<sup>2</sup> 15. οὐ

<sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦν <sup>h</sup>CD<sup>h</sup>FKLP. τον Ἰησοῦν <sup>h</sup>AB, W. and H., Weiss, Tdf., etc. τον before Χριστον is om. in <sup>h</sup>ABCD<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup>F and all add. Χριστον is the reading of BD<sup>h</sup>FKLP, but Χριστον Ἰησοῦν is found in <sup>h</sup>AD 31, 47, and many fathers, and is adopted by W. and H., not by Weiss. ζωοποιήσει καὶ; om. καὶ <sup>h</sup>A 47; W. and H. bracket; Treg. brackets it in marg. δια το ἐνοικουν αυτον πνευμα BDEFGKLP it. vg. δια του ἐνοικούντος αυτου πνευματος <sup>h</sup>AC, many cursives, Copt., Arm., Aeth. This is a very old variant; Clem. Alex. has the gen., Iren., Tert. and Orig. the accus. The genitive (according to Weiss) probably owes its wide diffusion, though not its origin, to the interest taken in it by the orthodox in connection with the Macedonian controversy. It may have originated in an emendation conforming the structure to that of vi. 4 (δια της δοξης του πατρος). Edd. are divided. Lachm., Treg., and Weiss adopt the accusative, Tischdf. and W. and H. the genitive, but W. and H. put accusative in marg.

<sup>2</sup> For εἰσιν υἱοι θεου <sup>h</sup>ACD read υἱοι θεου εἰσιν.

whole argument of chaps. vi.-viii. is that neither can exist without the other. No man can begin to be good till he is justified freely by God's grace in Christ Jesus, and no one has been so justified who has not begun to live the good life in the spirit.

Ver. 11. But though the present results of the indwelling of the spirit are not all we might desire, the future is sure. The indwelling spirit is that of Him who raised Jesus from the dead, and as such it is the guarantee that our mortal bodies also (as well as our spirits) shall share in immortality. The same argument, in effect, is used in Eph. i. 18-20. "The power that worketh in us" is the same with which "God wrought in Christ when He raised Him from the dead and set Him at His own right hand in the heavenly places"; and it will work to the same issue in us as in Him. The reading in the last clause is very doubtful, but whether we take the accus. (according to which the indwelling of the spirit is the ground on which God raises our mortal bodies to undying life) or the genit. (according to which the spirit is itself the agent in this resurrection—a conception not found elsewhere in Scripture), in either case a share in the Christian resurrection is conditioned by the possession of the Spirit of Christ. It is clear from the alternation of πνεῦμα

θεοῦ and πνεῦμα χριστοῦ in ver. 9 that the Spirit of Christ is the same as the Spirit of God, and the use of χριστός alone in the next verse shows that this same spirit is the *alter ego* of Christ. Cf. Phil. i. 19; Gal. iv. 6; Eph. iii. 17. This is one of the passages in which the presuppositions of the Trinitarian conception of God come out most clearly.

(2) Vers. 12-27. The Spirit as a spirit of adoption, the first-fruits of the inheritance of the children of God.

Ver. 12 f. The blessed condition and hopes of Christians, as described in these last verses, lay them under obligations: to whom, or to what? Not (ver. 12) to the flesh, to live according to it; to it they owe nothing. If they live after the flesh they are destined to die—the final doom in which there is no hope; but if by the spirit (i.e., God's Spirit) they put to death the doings of the body, they shall live—the life against which death is powerless. We might have expected τῆς σαρκὸς instead of τοῦ σώματος, but in the absence of the spirit the body in all it does is only the tool of the flesh; the two are morally equivalent.

Ver. 14. Ye shall live, for as many as are led by God's Spirit are God's sons, and life is congruous to such a dignity. υἱὸς suggests the rank and privileges of the persons in question; τέκνον (in ver. 16 f.) their kinship in nature to God. Yet



γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας πάλιν εἰς φόβον, ἀλλ' ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα  
 m Ver. 23; <sup>m</sup> υἰοθεσίας, ἐν ᾧ κράζομεν, Ἀββᾶ, ὁ πατήρ. 16. αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα  
 Gal. iv. 5;  
 Eph. i. 5  
 (ch. ix. 4).  
 n Ch. ii. 15; τέκνα, καὶ κληρονόμοι· κληρονόμοι μὲν Θεοῦ, συγκληρονόμοι δὲ  
 ix. i.  
 o 2 Tim. ii. Χριστοῦ· εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν, ἵνα καὶ ὁ συνδοξασθῶμεν. 18. λογί-  
 11 f.  
 p Ch. iii. 26. ζομαι γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξια τὰ παθήματα τοῦ νῦν ἢ καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν

this cannot everywhere be urged in the N.T.

Ver. 15. Sons, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάβετε πνεῦμα δουλείας. The aorist refers to the time of their baptism, when they received the Spirit. It was not the Spirit proper to slaves, leading them again to shrink from God in fear as they had done when under the law of sin and death, but πνεῦμα υἰοθεσίας, a spirit proper to those who were being translated from the servile to the filial relation to God. υἰοθεσία is a word used in the N.T. by Paul only, but "no word is more common in Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic time: the idea, like the word, is native Greek" (E. L. Hicks, quoted in S. and H.), see Gal. iv. 5, Eph. i. 5. The word serves to distinguish those who are made sons by an act of grace from the only-begotten Son of God: τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν ver. 3, τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ ver. 32. But the act of grace is not one which makes only an outward difference in our position; it is accomplished in the giving of a spirit which creates in us a new nature. In the spirit of adoption we cry Abba, Father. We have not only the status, but the heart of sons. κράζομεν (often with φωνῇ μεγάλῃ) is a strong word: it denotes the loud irrepressible cry with which the consciousness of sonship breaks from the Christian heart in prayer. The change to the first person marks Paul's inclusion of himself in the number of those who have and utter this consciousness; and it is probably this inclusion of himself, as a person whose native language was "Hebrew" (Acts xxi. 40), to which is due the double form Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ. The last word certainly interprets the first, but it is not thought of as doing so: "we cry, Father, Father".

Ver. 16. The punctuation in W. and H. margin deserves notice. "In that we cry, Abba, Father, the Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit," etc. Our own spirit tells us we are God's children, but the voice with which it speaks is, as we know, prompted and inspired by the Divine Spirit itself. For similar distinctions Gifford compares ii. 15 and ix. 1. τέκνα θεοῦ: τέκνα, not υἱοί,

is used with strict propriety here, as it is the reality of the filial nature, not the legitimacy of the filial position, which is being proved.

Ver. 17. Yet this last is involved, for "if children, also heirs". Cf. Gal. iv. 7 where κληρονόμος is relative to υἱός; and all the passages in which the Spirit is regarded as "the earnest" of an inheritance: 2 Cor. i. 22, v. 5, Eph. i. 14. It is from God the inheritance comes, and we share in it with Christ (Mark. xii. 7). For what it is, see 1 Cor. ii. 9 f. The inheritance attached to Divine sonship is attained only on the condition expressed in the clause εἴπερ συμπάσχομεν ἵνα καὶ συνδοξασθῶμεν. On εἴπερ, see ver. 9. "Rom. viii. 17 gains in pathos, when we see that the share of the disciples in the Master's sufferings was felt to be a fact of which there was no question." Simcox, *Language of N.T.*, p. 171. Paul was sure of it in his own case, and took it for granted in that of others. Those who share Christ's sufferings now will share His glory hereafter; and in order to share His glory hereafter it is necessary to begin by sharing His sufferings here.

Ver. 18. The passage extending from this verse to ver. 27 is described by Lipsius as a "threefold testimony to the future transfiguration which awaits suffering believers". In vers. 19-22 there is the first testimony—the sighing of creation; in vers. 23-25 the second, the yearning hope of Christians themselves, related as it is to the possession of the first fruits of the Spirit; and in vers. 26 f. the third, the intercession of the Spirit which helps us in our prayers, and lends words to our longing. λογίζομεθα γὰρ κ.τ.λ. λογίζομαι is a favourite word with Paul; the instance most like this is the one in iii. 28. It does not suggest a more or less dubious result of calculation; rather by litotes does it express the strongest assurance. The insignificance of present suffering compared with future glory was a fixed idea with the Apostle, 2 Cor. iv. 17 f. For οὐκ ἄξια . . . πρὸς see Winer, 505 (d). With τὴν μέλλουσιν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι cf. in Gal. iii. 23

μέλλουσιν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς. 19. Ἡ γὰρ ἀποκαρ-  
δοκία τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀπεκδέχεται. 20. ἡ Ver. 14.  
τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητι ἣ κτίσις ὑπετάγη, οὐχ ἐκούσα; ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑπο- 1 Eph. iv. 17.  
τάξαντα, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι,<sup>1</sup> 21. ὅτι<sup>2</sup> καὶ αὕτη ἣ κτίσις ἐλευθερωθήσεται ἀπὸ  
τῆς δουλείας τῆς φθορᾶς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς δόξης τῶν τέκνων τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. In  $\aleph$ BDFG we find ἐφ' ἐλπίδι, and this is printed by Tischd. and W. and H. The same mistake (?) occurs Rom. iv. 18 in CDFG, Rom. v. 2 in DFG, and Tit. i. 2 in D; cf. also ἀφηλπικοτες in FG Eph. iv. 19. In these circumstances it seems doubtful whether ἐφ' ἐλπίδι should be put in the text.

<sup>2</sup> For ὅτι  $\aleph$ DFG read διοτι. The δι may easily have been omitted after ἐλπίδι, and therefore Tischd. and Weiss read διοτι, though most edd. omit.

τὴν μέλλ. πίστιν ἀποκαλ. The unusual order emphasises the futurity. εἰς ἡμᾶς = toward and upon us. The glory comes from without, to transfigure them. It is revealed at the ἀποκάλυψις (1 Cor. i. 7, 2 Th. i. 7, 1 Pet. i. 7, 13, iv. 13), the glorious second coming, of Christ, and is indeed His glory of which they are made partakers.

Ver. 19. First testimony to this glorious future: creation sighs for it. In some sense the hope and promise of it is involved in the present constitution of the world. For a fine speculative interpretation see E. Caird's *Evolution of Religion*, ii., 124 f. In Paul, however, the spirit of the passage is rather poetic than philosophical. Its affinities are with Gen. iii. 17, where the ground is cursed for man's sake: he conceives of all creation as involved in the fortunes of humanity. But this, if creation be personified, naturally leads to the idea of a mysterious sympathy between the world and man, and this is what the Apostle expresses. Creation is not inert, utterly unspiritual, alien to our life and its hopes. It is the natural ally of our souls. What rises from it is the music of humanity—not apparently so still and sad to Paul as to Wordsworth, but with a note of hope in it rising triumphantly above all the pain of conflict. ἀποκαρδοκία (Phil. i. 20) denotes absorbed, persistent expectation—waiting, as it were, with uplifted head. ἣ κτίσις is the world and all that it contains, animate and inanimate, as distinguished from man. τὴν ἀποκ. τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ: cf. 1 John iii. 2. With the revelation of the sons of God humanity would attain its end, and nature too.

Ver. 20. For creation was subjected to vanity, etc. ματαιότης is not classical, but is often used in the LXX, especially for הַבְּלָה. The idea is that of look-

ing for what one does not find—hence of futility, frustration, disappointment. ματαιότης ματαιότητων is the "vanity of vanities" in Eccl., the complaint of the utter resultlessness of life. Sin brought this doom on creation; it made a pessimistic view of the universe inevitable. ὑπετάγη: the precise time denoted is that of the Fall, when God pronounced the ground cursed for man's sake. Creation came under this doom οὐχ ἐκούσα ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ὑποτάξαντα: the last words seem best referred to God: it was on account of Him—that His righteousness might be shown in the punishment of sin—that the sentence fell upon man, carrying consequences which extended to the whole realm intended originally for his dominion. The sentence on man, however, was not hopeless, and creation shared in his hope as in his doom. When the curse is completely removed from man, as it will be when the sons of God are revealed, it will pass from creation also; and for this creation sighs. It was made subject to vanity on the footing of this hope; the hope is latent, so to speak, in the constitution of nature, and comes out, in its sighing, to a sympathetic ear.

Ver. 21. Contents of the hope. It makes no difference in meaning, whether we read ὅτι or διότι. αὕτη ἣ κτίσις: creation as well as man. ἡ δουλεία τῆς φθορᾶς: a system in which nothing continues in one stay, in which death claims everything, in which there is not even an analogy to immortality, is a system of slavery—in subjection to "vanity," with no high eternal worth of its own. From such a condition creation is to be emancipated; it is to share in the liberty which belongs to the glory of the children of God. When man's redemption is complete, he will find himself in a new world matching with his new condition (Isa. lxxv. 17, 2 Pet. iii. 13, Rev. xxi. 1): this is



• Mark xvi. Θεοῦ. 22. οἶδαμεν γὰρ ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει  
15; Col. i.  
15; 23. ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν. 23. οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ

Πνεύματος ἔχοντες, καὶ ἡμεῖς<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὶ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς στενάζομεν, υἰοθεσίαν  
1 Cor. i. 7; ἀπεκδεχόμενοι τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. 24. τῇ γὰρ  
Gal. v. 5;  
Phil. iii.  
20; Heb.  
ix. 28. ἐλπιδὶ ἐσώθημεν. ἐλπίς δὲ βλεπομένη οὐκ ἔστιν ἐλπίς· ὁ γὰρ  
βλέπει τις, τί καὶ ἐλπίζει<sup>2</sup>; 25. εἰ δὲ ὁ οὐ βλέπομεν ἐλπίζομεν,

<sup>1</sup> ημεῖς om. B 31, 73, 93, vulg. The rec. text is that of DFKLP. In  $\mathfrak{N}^{AC}$  47 the order of the words is *ἐχοντες ημεῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ*. This is followed by Tischd. Lachm., Treg. and W. and H. bracket *ημεῖς* in this position; Weiss omits it altogether.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of B is *ο γὰρ βλέπει τις ἐλπίζει*. This is adopted by W. and H., Weiss. Of the received text—*ο γὰρ βλέπει τις τι καὶ ἐλπίζει*—*τι* is wanting in  $\mathfrak{N}$ , and *καὶ* in DFG, vulg., Pesh. The reading of B is difficult, and seems to have been partially amended in different ways which are combined in the received text. For *ἐλπίζει*  $\mathfrak{N}^A$  47, marg., have *υπομένει*, and W. and H. give a place to this, as well as to the received text, in their margin.

Paul's faith, and the sighing of creation attests it.

Ver. 22. οἶδαμεν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.: How Christians know this Paul does not say. Perhaps we may say that the Christian consciousness of sin and redemption is in contact with the ultimate realities of the universe, and that no interpretation of nature can be true but one which, like this, is in essential harmony with it. The force of the preposition in *συστενάζει* and *συνωδίνει* is not that *we* sigh and are in pain, and creation along with us; but that the whole frame of creation, all its parts together, *unite* in sighing and in pain. Weiss is right in saying that there is no reference to the *dolores Messiae*; but in *συνωδίνει* there is the suggestion of the travail out of which the new world is to be born. ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν means up till now, without stopping, ever since the moment of ὑπετάγη.

Ver. 23. Second testimony to the glorious future. οὐ μόνον δὲ sc. ἡ κτίσις—not only all creation, but we Christians: we ourselves, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τοῦ πνεύματος ἔχοντες. τοῦ πνεύματος is gen. of apposition: the spirit which Christians have received is itself the first fruits (elsewhere, the earnest: see on ver. 17) of this glory; and *because* we have it (not *although*: it is the foretaste of heaven, the heaven begun in the Christian, which intensifies his yearning, and makes him more vehemently than nature long for complete redemption), we also sigh in ourselves υἰοθεσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν. The key to these words is found in i. 4. Christ was Son of God always, but was only declared to be so in power ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, and so it is with

believers. They have already received adoption, and as led by the spirit are sons of God; but only when their mortal bodies have been quickened, and the corruptible has put on incorruption, will they possess all that sonship involves. For this they wait and sigh, and the inextinguishable hope, born of the spirit dwelling in them, guarantees its own fulfilment. Cf. Phil. iii. 21; 1 Cor. xv. 51; 2 Cor. v. 2; and for ἀπολύτρωσις in this sense, 1 Cor. i. 30.

Ver. 24 f. This sentence explains why Paul can speak of Christians as *waiting* for adoption, while they are nevertheless in the enjoyment of sonship. It is because salvation is essentially related to the future. "We wait for it: for we were saved in *hope*." The dat. τῇ ἐλπίδι is that of mode or respect. Our salvation was qualified from the beginning by reference to a good yet to be. Weiss argues that the sense of ἐλπίς in the second clause (*res sperata*) makes it "absolutely necessary" to take it so in the first, and that this leaves no alternative but to make τῇ ἐλπίδι *dat. comm.* and translate: "for, for this object of hope—eternal life and glory—were we delivered from eternal destruction". But the "absolute necessity" is imaginary; a word with the nuances of ἐλπίς in a mind with the speed of Paul's need not be treated so rigorously, especially as the resulting construction is in itself extremely dubious. Hope, the Apostle argues, is an essential characteristic of our salvation; but hope turned sight is hope no more, for who hopes for what he sees? We do *not* see all the Gospel held out to us, but it is the object of our Christian hope nevertheless; it is as true

δι' ὑπομονῆς ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. 26. Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα  
 "συναντιλαμβάνεται ταῖς ἀσθενείαις" <sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν· τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξώμεθα <sup>u</sup> Luke x. 40.  
 καθὼς δεῖ, οὐκ οἶδαμεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ Πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ <sup>v</sup> Here only  
 ἡμῶν στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις· 27. ὁ δὲ ἐρευνῶν τὰς καρδίας οἶδε τί <sup>in N.T.</sup>  
 τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ πνεύματος, ὅτι κατὰ Θεὸν ἐντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἁγίων.  
 28. Οἶδαμεν δὲ ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Θεὸν πάντα συνεργεῖ <sup>2</sup> εἰς ἀγαθόν,

<sup>1</sup> For ταῖς ἀσθενείαις **NA**BCD have τη ἀσθενείᾳ. **υπερ** ἡμῶν CKLP; but om. **NA**BD F.

<sup>2</sup> After συνεργεῖ, ο θεος is found in AB. W. and H. bracket it, but Lachm. and Weiss regard it as the true text. It was omitted as cumbrous and unnecessary. Cf. i. 28, where ο θεος is omitted in **NA** in much the same way; here it is wanting in **NA**CD FKL.

and sure as the love of God which in Christ Jesus reconciled us to Himself and gave us the spirit of adoption, and therefore we wait for it in patience. For διὰ cf. ii. 27. ὑπομονή: in 1 Thess. i. 3 we have ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὧν used of a suffering but steadfast Church: ὑπομονή is the constancy which belongs to and characterises hope in dark days. In the pastoral epistles (1 Tim. vi. 19; Tit. ii. 2) instead of the πίστις, ἀγάπη, ἐλπίς, of earlier letters, Paul writes πίστις, ἀγάπη, ὑπομονή, as if he had discovered by experience that in this life "hope" has mainly to be shown in the form of "patience".

Ver. 26. Third testimony to the glorious future: the sighing of creation, our own sighing, and this action of the Spirit, point consistently to one conclusion. συναντιλαμβάνεται, cf. Luke x. 40. The weakness which the Spirit helps is that due to our ignorance: τὸ γὰρ τί προσευξώμεθα καθὼς δεῖ οὐκ οἶδαμεν. The article makes the whole clause object of οἶδαμεν: Winer, p. 644. Broadly speaking, we do know what we are to pray for—the perfecting of salvation; but we do not know what we are to pray for καθὼς δεῖ—according as the need is at the moment; we know the end, which is common to all prayers, but not what is necessary at each crisis of need in order to enable us to attain this end. ἀλλὰ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερεντυγχάνει στεναγμοῖς ἀλαλήτοις. ὑπερεντυγχάνει is found here only in N.T., but ἐντυγχάνειν in this sense in vers. 27, 34, Heb. vii. 25. In Rom. xi. 2 with κατὰ = to make intercession against. ἀλαλήτοις does not mean "unspoken" but "unutterable". The στεναγμοὶ of believers find expression, adequate or inadequate, in their prayers, and in such utterances as this very passage of Romans, but there

is a testimony to the glory awaiting them more profound and passionate than even this. It is the intercession of the Spirit with στεναγμοὶ ἀλαλήτοι—groanings (or sighs) that baffle words. αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα is undoubtedly God's Spirit as distinguished from ours, yet what is here affirmed must fall within Christian experience, for Paul says in the next verse that He Who searches the hearts knows what is the mind of the Spirit in this unutterable intercession. It is in the heart, therefore, that it takes place. "The whole passage illustrates in even a startling manner the truth and reality of the 'coming' of the Holy Ghost—the extent to which, if I may venture to say it, He has separated Himself—as Christ did at His Incarnation—from His eternal glory and blessedness, and entered into the life of man. . . . His intercession for us—so intimately does He share all the evils of our condition—is a kind of agony" (R. W. Dale, *Christian Doctrine*, p. 140 f.).

Ver. 27. This intercession, with which our heart goes, though it is deeper than words, the Heart Searcher understands. τί τὸ φρόν. τοῦ πνεύματος: what the Spirit is set upon, the whole object of its thought and endeavour. ὅτι, viz., that He intercedes κατὰ θεὸν in agreement with God's will, see 2 Cor. vii. 9-11. ὑπὲρ ἁγίων on behalf of those who are God's. Both the intercession of Christ and the intercession of the Spirit are represented in the N.T. as made on behalf of those who are in Christ—saints, the Church, not mankind in general.

Vers. 28-39. Conclusion of the argument: the Apostle glories in the assurance of God's eternal and unchangeable love in Jesus Christ.

οἶδαμεν δὲ = further, we know: in a sense this is one ground more for be-



<sup>w</sup> Eph. i. 5, τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν. 29. ὅτι οὖς προέγνω, καὶ <sup>x</sup> προώρισε  
<sup>ii</sup> 7. <sup>x</sup> συμμόρφους τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον  
<sup>x</sup> Phil. iii. <sup>ai</sup> (10). ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς · 30. οὖς δὲ προώρισε, τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσε ·  
καὶ οὖς ἐκάλεσε, τούτους καὶ ἐδικαίωσεν · οὖς δὲ ἐδικαίωσε, τούτους  
καὶ ἐδόξασε. 31. τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ταῦτα; εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ὑπὲρ

lieving in the glorious future: God is ever with us, and will not abandon us at last. πάντα συνεργεῖ (ὁ Θεός): συνεργεῖ is naturally neuter, and if ὁ Θεός is the true reading, it is probably best to render "God co-operates for good in all things (πάντα accus. of ref. as in 1 Cor. ix. 25, x. 33) with those," etc. τοῖς ἀγαπ. τὸν Θεὸν describes the persons in question from the human side; τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν describes them from the Divine side. It is in pursuance of a purpose of God (for πρόθεσις with reference to the eternal purpose of redemption, see ix. 11, Eph. i. 11, iii. 11, 2 Tim. i. 9) that they are called. "Calling" in Paul never means "invitation"; it is always "effectual calling".

Ver. 29 f. These verses give the proof that God in all things co-operates for good with the called. They show how His gracious purpose, beginning with foreknowledge and foreordination perfects all that concerns them on to the final glory. οὖς προέγνω: those whom He foreknew—in what sense? as persons who would answer His love with love? This is at least irrelevant, and alien to Paul's general mode of thought. That salvation begins with God, and begins in eternity, are fundamental ideas with him, which he here applies to Christians, without raising any of the problems involved in the relation of the human will to the Divine. He comes upon these in chap. ix., but not here. Yet we may be sure that προέγνω has the pregnant sense that γινώσκω (γν) often has in Scripture: e.g., in Ps. i. 6, Amos iii. 2: hence we may render, "those of whom God took knowledge from eternity" (Eph. i. 4). καὶ προώρισε κ.τ.λ., "he also foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son". This conformity is the last stage in salvation, as προέγνω is the first. The image is in import not merely spiritual but eschatological. The Son of God is the Lord who appeared to Paul by Damascus: to be conformed to His image is to share His glory as well as His holiness. The Pauline Gospel is hopelessly distorted when this is forgotten. εἰς τὸ

εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς: the end in all this is the exaltation of Christ. It is implied in πρωτότοκον that He also is regarded as only having attained the fulness of His Sonship through the resurrection (cf. i. 4, and Col. i. 18 πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν). The idea of Christ's dignity as firstborn among many brethren who all owe their salvation to Him is sublimely interpreted in Heb. ii. 10-13. The Apostle now resumes the series of the Divine acts in our salvation. οὖς δὲ προώρισε, τούτους καὶ ἐκάλεσεν. The eternal foreordination appears in time as "calling," of course as effectual calling: where salvation is contemplated as the work of God alone (as here) there can be no breakdown in its processes. The next stages are summarily indicated. ἐδικαίωσεν: God in Jesus Christ forgave our sins, and accepted us as righteous in His sight; ungodly as we had been, He put us right with Himself. In that, everything else is included. The whole argument of chaps. vi.-viii. has been that justification and the new life of holiness in the Spirit are inseparable experiences. Hence Paul can take one step to the end, and write οὖς δὲ ἐδικαίωσεν, τούτους καὶ ἐδόξασεν. Yet the tense in the last word is amazing. It is the most daring anticipation of faith that even the N.T. contains: the life is not to be taken out of it by the philosophical consideration that with God there is neither before nor after.

Ver. 31. τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν πρὸς ταῦτα; the idea underlying all that precedes is that of the suffering to be endured by those who would share Christ's glory (ver. 17). The Apostle has disparaged the suffering in comparison with the glory (ver. 18); he has interpreted it (vers. 19-27) as in a manner prophetic of the glory; he has in these last verses asserted the presence through all the Christian's life of an eternal victorious purpose of love: all this is included in ταῦτα. For ὑπὲρ and κατὰ, cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 8.

Ver. 32. The Christian's faith in providence is an inference from redemption. The same God who did not spare His own Son will freely give us all things.

ἡμῶν, τίς καθ' ἡμῶν; 32. ὅς γε τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν ἡχαρίσεται; 33. τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν Θεοῦ; γ 1 Cor. ii. Θεὸς ὁ δικαίων· 34. τίς ὁ κατακρίνων; Χριστὸς<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἀποθανών,<sup>12; Gal. iii. 18.</sup> μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἐγερθεῖς, ὅς καὶ ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Χριστός alone BDEK, most cursives, and Treg. Χριστός Ἰησοῦς BACFL 17, vulg., etc. Weiss puts X. I. in text, thinking the omission in B, etc., accidental; W. and H., and Lachm. bracket Ἰησοῦς. The καὶ before ἐγερθεῖς is wanting in BAC. The καὶ before ἔστιν is wanting in BAC but is found in B<sup>3</sup>BDFKL. It is omitted by W. and H., and Tischdf., bracketed by Lachm., but retained by Weiss. After ἐγερθεῖς B<sup>1</sup>AC insert ἐκ νεκρῶν; W. and H. bracket this, but all other crit. edd. omit, with B<sup>2</sup>BDFGKL, etc.

οὐκ ἐφείσατο, cf. Gen. xxii. 12, οὐκ ἐφείσω τοῦ υἱοῦ σου τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ δι' ἐμέ. It vivifies the impression of God's love through the sense of the sacrifice it made. ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν: none were worthy of such a sacrifice (Weiss). παρέδωκεν sc. to death: iv. 25. πῶς οὐχὶ καί: the argument of selfishness is that he who has done so much need do no more; that of love, that he who has done so much is certain to do more. σὺν αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα: τὰ πάντα has a collective force. It is usually taken to mean the whole of what furthers the Christian's life, the whole of what contributes to the perfecting of his salvation; all this will be freely given to him by God. But why should it not mean "all things" without any such qualification? When God gives us His Son He gives us the world; there is nothing which does not work together for our good; all things are ours. Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 22 f.

Ver. 33 f. The punctuation here is a very difficult problem: see the text and margin of R.V. The reminiscence of Is. i. 8 f. in verse 33 makes it more difficult; for it suggests that the normal structure is that of an affirmation followed by a question, whereas Paul begins with a question to which the affirmation (with at least a trace of Isaiah's language in it) is an answer. It is even possible to read every clause interrogatively, though that is less effective. τίς ἐγκαλέσει κατὰ ἐκλεκτῶν Θεοῦ; who shall bring a charge against persons who are God's chosen? The absence of the article (cf. ὑπὲρ ἁγίων, ver. 27) brings out the character in which the persons in question figure, not their individual personality. For the word see Col. iii. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 10; Tit. i. 1; for the thing cf. 1 Thess. i. 4; Eph. i. 4; John xv. 16. It describes Christians as persons who owe their standing as such to the act of

God's grace. All Christians are conscious that this is the truth about their position: they belong to God, because He has taken them for His own. To say that the word designates "not those who are destined for final salvation, but those who are 'summoned' or 'selected' for the privilege of serving God and carrying out His will" (S. and H.), is to leave the rails of the Apostle's thought altogether. There is nothing here (vers. 28-30) about the privilege of serving God and carrying out His will; the one thing Paul is concerned with is the security given by the eternal love of God that the work of salvation will be carried through, in spite of all impediments, from foreknowledge to final glory. The ἐκλεκτοὶ Θεοῦ are those who ought to have such security: they should have a faith and an assurance proportioned to the love of God. Paul is one of them, and because he is, he is sure, not that he is called to serve God, but that nothing can ever separate him from God's love in Christ. The question τίς ἐγκαλέσει is best answered by taking both the following clauses together: "It is God that justifieth: who is he that shall condemn?" (cf. Is. i. 8 f.). But many make τίς ὁ κατακρίνων a new question, and find the answer in verse 34: Χριστὸς [Ἰησοῦς] ὁ ἀποθανών = the only person who can condemn is the Judge, viz., Christ, but He is so far from condemning that He has done everything to deliver us from condemnation. What Christian, Paul seems to ask, can speak of κατάκριμα with his eye on Christ, who died for our sins? μᾶλλον δὲ ἐγερθεῖς [ἐκ νεκρῶν]: cf. Gal. iv. 9; and chap. iv. 25. The correction in μᾶλλον is formal (Weiss): Paul does not mean that the resurrection is more important than the cross; he improves upon an expression which has not conveyed all that was in his mind.



z Ver. 27; Heb. vii. 25. ἔντυγχάνει ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν· 35. τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ<sup>1</sup>; θλίψις, ἡ στενοχωρία, ἡ διαγωγμός, ἡ λιμός, ἡ γυμνότης, ἡ κίνδυνος, ἡ μάχαιρα; 36. (καθὼς γέγραπται, “Ὅτι ἕνεκά σου θανατούμεθα ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν· ἐλογίσθημεν ὡς πρόβατα σφα-

<sup>1</sup> του Χριστου; so most MSS. But  $\aleph$ B, with some cursives and fathers, have του θεου. This is usually regarded as a change made to agree with ver. 39, because B, after του θεου, adds της εν Χριστω Ιησου. But this may have been added, as Weiss remarks, for the very reason that B already read του θεου; and as  $\aleph$  has του θεου without this addition, and it was very natural to change it (with an eye to vv. 34 and 37) into του Χριστου, it seems probable that του θεου is the original reading. Weiss adopts it, and W. and H. put it in marg.

Our position depends upon Jesus Christ who died, nay rather, over whom death no more has dominion (vi. 9), who is at God's right hand (this phrase, which describes Christ's exaltation as a sharing in the universal sovereignty of God, is borrowed from Ps. cx. 1, and is oftener used in the N.T. than any other words of the Old), who also makes intercession on our behalf.  $\delta\varsigma$  καὶ ἐντυγχάνει: a solemn climax is marked by the repetition of  $\delta\varsigma$ , and by the καὶ which deliberately adds the intercession to all that has gone before. The Christian consciousness, even in an apostle, cannot transcend this. This is Paul's final security—the last ground of his triumphant assurance: Jesus Christ, at God's right hand, with the virtue of His atoning death in Him, pleads His people's cause. Cf. Heb. ix. 24, vii. 25, 1 John ii. 1 f.

Ver. 35 f. τίς ἡμᾶς χωρίσει ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Χριστοῦ; If this verse is to be most closely connected with ver. 34, τοῦ Χριστοῦ will appear the more probable reading, for there Christ is the subject throughout; but at vers. 28, 31, 39 the love of God is the determining idea, and at this point it seems to be caught up again in view of the conclusion—facts which favour the reading τοῦ θεοῦ. In any case it is the Divine love for us which is meant. With the list of troubles cf. 2 Cor. vi. 4-10, xi. 26 f., xii. 10. They were those which had befallen Paul himself, and he knew that the love of God in Jesus Christ could reach and sustain the heart through them all. The quotation from Ps. xiv. 23 is peculiar. It exactly reproduces the LXX, even the  $\delta\tau\iota$  being simply transferred. The καθὼς implies that such experiences as those named in ver. 35 are in agreement with what Scripture holds out as the fortune of God's people. Possibly the mention of the sword recalled to the Apostle's memory the θανατούμεθα of the psalm,

and suggested the quotation. The point of it, both in the psalm and in the epistle, lies in ἕνεκεν σοῦ. This is what the Psalmist could not understand. That men should suffer for sin, for infidelity to God, was intelligible enough; but he and his countrymen were suffering because of their faithfulness, and the psalm is his despairing expostulation with God. But the Apostle understood it. To suffer for Christ's sake was to enter into the fellowship of Christ's sufferings, and that is the very situation in which the love of Christ is most real, near, and sure to the soul. Cf. chap. v. 3, 2 Cor. i. 5, Col. i. 24. Instead of despairing, he glories in tribulations.

Ver. 37. ὑπερνικῶμεν: a word probably coined by Paul, who loves compounds with ὑπέρ. The Vulg. gives *superamus*, with which Lipsius agrees (*obsiegen*, like *over-power*): but Cyprian *supervincimus*. Later Greek writers distinguish νικᾶν and ὑπερνικᾶν (see Grimm, s.v.), and justify the happy rendering “we are more than conquerors”. Perhaps it is a mistake to define in what the “more” consists; but if we do, the answer must be sought on the line indicated in the note on ἕνεκεν σοῦ: these trials not only do not cut us off from Christ's love, they actually give us more intimate and thrilling experiences of it. διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς: the aorist points to Christ's death as the great demonstration of His love: cf. Gal. ii. 20, also Rev. xii. 11.

Ver. 38 f. The Apostle's personal conviction given in confirmation of all that has been said, especially of ver. 37. πέπεισμαι cf. 2 Tim. i. 12. οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε  $\zeta\omega\eta$ : death is mentioned first, either with ver. 36 in mind, or as the most tremendous enemy the Apostle could conceive. If Christ's love can hold us in and through death, what is left for us to fear? Much of the N.T. bears on this

γῆς .") 37. ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις πᾶσιν ὑπερνικῶμεν διὰ τοῦ ἀγαπήσαντος ἡμᾶς. 38. πέπεισμαι γὰρ ὅτι οὔτε θάνατος οὔτε ζωὴ, οὔτε ἄγγελοι οὔτε ἀρχαὶ οὔτε δυνάμεις, οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα οὔτε μέλλοντα, 39. οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος, οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα δυνήσεται ἡμᾶς χωρῖσαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

very point, cf. John viii. 51, x. 28, xi. 25 f., 1 Thess. iv. 13-18, 1 Cor. xv., 2 Cor. iv. 16-v. 5, Rom. xiv. 8, Heb. ii. 14 f. The blank horror of dying is annihilated by the love of Christ. Neither death nor life is to be explained: explanations "only limit the flight of the Apostle's thoughts just when they would soar above all limitation" (Gifford). οὔτε ἄγγελοι οὔτε ἀρχαί: this, according to the best authorities, forms a second pair of forces conceivably hostile to the Christian. As in every pair there is a kind of contrast, some have sought one here also: either making ἄγγελοι good and ἀρχαί evil powers, though both spiritual; or ἄγγελοι heavenly, and ἀρχαί (as in Lc. xii. 11, Tit. iii. 1) earthly powers, in which case either might be either good or bad. But this is arbitrary: and a comparison of 1 Cor. xv. 24, Eph. i. 21 favours a suggestion in S. and H. that possibly in a very early copy οὔτε δυνάμεις had been accidentally omitted after οὔτε ἀρχαί, and then added in the margin, but reinserted in a wrong place. The T.R. "neither angels nor principalities nor powers" brings together all the conceptions with which the Apostle peopled the invisible spiritual world, whatever their character, and declares their inability to come between us and the love of Christ. οὔτε ἐνεστῶτα οὔτε μέλλοντα: cf. 1 Cor. iii. 22. οὔτε ὕψωμα οὔτε βάθος: no dimensions of space. Whether these words pictured something to Paul's imagination we cannot tell; the patristic attempts to give them definiteness are not happy. οὔτε τις κτίσις ἑτέρα: nor any created thing of different kind. All the things Paul has mentioned come under the head of κτίσις; if there is anything of a different kind which comes under the same head, he includes it too. The suggestions of "another world," or of "aspects of reality out of relation to our faculties," and therefore as yet unknown to us, are toys, remote from the seriousness and passion of the Apostle's mind. Nothing that God has made, whatever be its nature, shall be able to separate us ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Θεοῦ τῆς ἐν Χ. ἰ. τοῦ κ. ἡμῶν. The love of Christ is God's love.

manifested to us in Him; and it is only in Him that a Divine love is manifested which can inspire the triumphant assurance of this verse.

CHAPTERS IX.-XI. With the eighth chapter Paul concludes the positive exposition of his gospel. Starting with the theme of i. 16 f., he showed in i. 18-iii. 20 the universal sinfulness of men—Gentile and Jew; in iii. 21-v. 21 he explained, illustrated and glorified the gospel of justification by faith in Christ, set forth by God as a propitiation for sin; in vi. 1-viii. 39 he has vindicated this gospel from the charge of moral inefficiency, by showing that justification by faith is inseparably connected with a new life in the Spirit, a life over which sin has no dominion and in which the just demands of God's law are fulfilled. He has even carried this spiritual life on, in hope, to its consummation in glory: and no more remains to be said. With chap. ix. a new subject is introduced. There is no formal link of connection with what precedes. Structurally, the new division of the epistle stands quite apart from the earlier; it might have been written, and probably was written, after a break. But though no logical relation between the parts is expressed, a psychological connection between them is not hard to discover. The new section deals with a problem which presented great difficulty to the early Church, and especially to men of Jewish birth, a problem which haunted the Apostle's own mind and was no doubt thrust on his attention by his unbelieving countrymen, a problem all the more painful to him as he realised more completely the greatness and glory of the Christian salvation. This was the problem constituted by the fact that the Jews as a whole did not receive the Gospel. They were God's chosen people, but if the Christian Gospel brought salvation they had no share in it. The Messiah was to spring from them, but if Jesus was the Messiah this privilege meant not redemption but condemnation, for they rejected Him almost with one consent. In short, if the birth of the Christian Church and the gathering of



a 1 Tim. ii. 7. IX. 1. ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ λέγω ἐν Χριστῷ, οὐ \* ψεύδομαι, συμμαρτυροῦσης μοι τῆς συνειδήσεώς μου ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ, 2. ὅτι λύπη μοι ἐστὶ

Gentiles into it represented the carrying out of God's purpose to bless and save men, God must have turned His back upon Himself; He must have broken His promise to Israel, and cast off His chosen people. But as this must seem impossible, the Jewish inference would be that the Gospel preached by Paul could not be of God, nor the Gentile Churches, as Paul asserted, God's true Israel. This is the situation to which the Apostle addresses himself in the ninth and the two following chapters. It is a historical problem, in the first instance, he has to deal with, not a dogmatic one; and it is necessary to keep the historical situation in view, if we are to avoid illegitimate inferences from the arguments or illustrations of the Apostle. After the introductory statement (ix. 1-5), which shows how deeply his heart is pledged to his brethren after the flesh, he works out a solution of the problem—or an interpretation of the position—along three lines. In each of these there are many incidental points of view, but they can be broadly discriminated. (1) In the first, chap. ix. 6-29, Paul asserts the absolute freedom and sovereignty of God as against any claim, made as of right, on the part of man. The Jewish objection to the Gospel, to which reference is made above, really means that the Jewish nation had a claim of right upon God, giving them a title to salvation, which God must acknowledge; Paul argues that all God's action, as exhibited in Scripture, and especially in the history of Israel itself—to say nothing of the essential relations of Creator and creature—refutes such a claim. (2) In the second, chap. ix. 30-x. 21, Paul turns from this more speculative aspect of the situation to its moral character, and points out that the explanation of the present rejection of the Jews is to be found in the fact that they have wilfully and stubbornly rejected the Gospel. Their minds have been set on a righteousness of their own, and they have refused to submit themselves to the righteousness of God. (3) In the third, chap. xi., he rises again to an absolute or speculative point of view. The present unbelief of the Jews and incoming of the Gentiles are no doubt, to a Jew, disconcerting events; yet in spite of them, or rather—which is more wonderful still—by means of them, God's promises to

the fathers will be fulfilled, and all Israel saved. Gentile Christianity will provoke the unbelieving Jews to jealousy, and they too will enter the Messianic Kingdom. In the very events which seem to throw the pious Jewish mind out of its reckoning, there is a gracious providence, a depth of riches and wisdom and knowledge which no words can express. The present situation, which at the first glance is heart-breaking (ix. 2), is only one incident in the working out of a purpose which when completed reveals the whole glory of God's mercy, and evokes the loftiest and most heartfelt praise. "He shut up all unto disobedience that He might have mercy on all. . . . Of Him and through Him and to Him are all things. Unto Him be glory for ever." Since Baur's time several scholars have held that the mass of the Roman Church was Jewish-Christian, and that these three chapters, with their apologetic aim, are specially addressed to that community, as one which naturally felt the pressure of the difficulty with which they deal. But the Roman Church, as these very chapters show (*cf.* ix. 3, *my kinsmen*, not *our*; xi. 13, ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν), was certainly Gentile, whatever influence Jewish modes of thought and practice may have had in it; and it was quite natural for the Apostle, in writing what he evidently meant from the first should be both a systematic and a circular letter, to include in it a statement of his thoughts on one of the most difficult and importunate questions of the time. The extraordinary daring of chap. xi. *ad fin.* is not unrelated to the extraordinary passion of chap. ix. *ad init.* The whole discussion is a magnificent illustration of the aphorism, that great thoughts come from the heart.

CHAPTER IX.—Vv. 1-5. The intense pain with which Paul contemplates the unbelief of his countrymen.

Ver. 1. ἀλήθειαν λέγω ἐν Χριστῷ, οὐ ψεύδομαι. The solemn asseveration is meant to clear him of the suspicion that in preaching to the Gentiles he is animated by hostility or even indifference to the Jews. Yet *cf.* 2 Cor. xi. 31, Gal. i. 20. ἐν Χριστῷ means that he speaks in fellowship with Christ, so that falsehood is impossible. For συμμαρτ. *cf.* ii. 15, viii. 16. The μοι is governed by συν: conscience attests what he says, and that ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ—the spirit of

μεγάλη, καὶ ἀδιάλειπτος<sup>b</sup> ὁδύνη<sup>c</sup> τῇ καρδίᾳ μου, 3. ἡύχόμην γὰρ<sup>b 2 Tim. i. 3. c 1 Tim. vi. 10.</sup> αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι<sup>1</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, d Gal. iv. 24; Eph. ii. 12. τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα. 4. οἵτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραηλῖται, ὧν ἡ<sup>e</sup> υἰοθεσία, καὶ ἡ δόξα, καὶ αἱ διαθήκαι,<sup>2d</sup> καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία,<sup>c Cf. Heb. vii. 11, viii. 6.</sup> καὶ ἡ λατ-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτος ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι, so CKL; but in  $\aleph$ ABDF ἀνάθεμα εἶναι αὐτος ἐγὼ.

<sup>2</sup> αἱ διαθήκαι  $\aleph$ CK and versions; ἡ διαθήκη BDF; see note<sup>2</sup> (on πρῶτον), page 589. The plural is no doubt right here, and was mechanically changed as standing between two singulars. At the end of the verse DEFG also read ἡ ἐπαγγελία instead of αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι.

God, in which all the functions of the Christian life are carried on: so that assurance is made doubly and trebly sure.

Ver. 2. The fact of Paul's sorrow is stated here; the cause of it is revealed in ver. 3. Weiss remarks on the triple climax: λύπη being intensified in ὁδύνη, μεγάλη in ἀδιάλειπτος, and μοι in τῇ καρδίᾳ μου. Paul cannot find words strong enough to convey his feeling.

Ver. 3. ἡύχόμην γὰρ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι κ.τ.λ. For I could wish that I myself were anathema, etc. For the omission of ἂν see Acts xxv. 22, Gal. iv. 20. Paul could wish this if it were a wish that could be realised for the good of Israel. The form of expression implies that the wish had actually been conceived, but in such sentences "the context alone implies what the present state of mind is" (Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 33). ἀνάθεμα is to be construed with ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ: the idea of separation from Christ, final and fatal separation, is conveyed. For the construction cf. Gal. v. 4 (κατηργήθητε ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ). ἀνάθεμα Gal. i. 8 f., 1 Cor. xii. 3, xvi. 22 is the equivalent of the Hebrew  $\text{קִרְיָה}$ , Deut. vii. 26,

Josh. vii. 12—that which is put under the ban, and irrevocably devoted to destruction. It is beside the mark to speak of such an utterance as this as unethical. Rather might we call it with Dorner "a spark from the fire of Christ's substitutionary love". There is a passion in it more profound even than that of Moses' prayer in Ex. xxxii. 32. Moses identifies himself with his people, and if they cannot be saved would perish with them; Paul could find it in his heart, were it possible, to perish for them. τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα distinguishes these from his Christian brethren.

Ver. 4 f. The intensity of Paul's distress, and of his longing for the salvation of his countrymen, is partly explained in this verse. It is the greatness of his

people, their unique place of privilege in God's providence, the splendour of the inheritance and of the hopes which they forfeit by unbelief, that make their unbelief at once so painful, and so perplexing. οἵτινές εἰσιν Ἰσραηλῖται: being, as they are, Israelites. Israelites is not the national but the theocratic name; it expresses the spiritual prerogative of the nation, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 22, Gal. vi. 16. ὧν ἡ υἰοθεσία: this is not the Christian sonship, but that which is referred to in such passages as Ex. iv. 22, Hos. xi. 1. Yet it may be wrong to speak of it as if it were merely national; it seems to be distributed and applied to the individual members of the nation in Deut. xiv. 1, Hos. i. 10 (ii. 1 Heb.). ἡ δόξα: the glory must refer to something definite, like the pillar of cloud and fire, the יהוה יברך of the O.T., the

יְהוָה of later Jewish theology; there is probably reference to it in Acts vii. 2, Heb. ix. 5. αἱ διαθήκαι: in other places Paul speaks of the O.T. religion as one covenant, one (legal) administration of the relations between God and man (e.g. in 2 Cor. iii.); here, where αἱ διαθήκαι is expressly distinguished from ἡ νομοθεσία (the great Sinaitic legislation: 2 Macc. vi. 23), the various covenants God made with the patriarchs must be meant. Cf. Wisd. xviii. 22, Sir. xlii. 11, 2 Macc. viii. 15. ἡ λατρεία is the cultus of the tabernacle and the temple, the only legitimate cultus in the world. αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι are the Messianic promises: in the Israelitish religion "the best was yet to be," as all the highest minds knew. Ver. 5. ὧν οἱ πατέρες: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The greatness of its ancestry ennobled Israel, and made its position in Paul's time harder to understand and to endure. Who could think without the keenest pain of the sons of such fathers forfeiting everything for which the fathers had been called?



f Ch. xii. 1. ρεία,<sup>f</sup> καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι,<sup>f</sup> 5. ὧν οἱ πατέρες,<sup>h</sup> καὶ ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ  
 g Ch. xv. 8; κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς<sup>i</sup> εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.  
 Gal. iii. 16, 21; Heb.  
 vi. 12. h Ch. xi. 28. i Ch. i. 23; 2 Cor. xi. 31.

But the supreme distinction of Israel has yet to be mentioned. ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. The only point in the interpretation of this verse, in which it can be said that interpreters are wholly at one, is the statement that of Israel the Messiah came, according to the flesh. The words τὸ κατὰ σάρκα define the extent to which the Messiah can be explained by His descent from Israel; for anything going beyond σάρξ, or ordinary humanity, the explanation must be sought elsewhere. The limitation suggests an antithesis, and one in which the spiritual or Divine side of the Messiah's nature should find expression, this being the natural counterpart of σάρξ; and such an antithesis has been sought and found in the words which follow. He who, according to the flesh, is of Israel, is at the same time over all, God blessed for ever. This interpretation, which refers the whole of the words after ἐξ ὧν τὸ ὁ Χριστὸς, is adopted by many of the best scholars: Gifford, Sanday, Westcott (see *N.T.*, vol. iii., app., p. 110), Weiss, etc., and has much in its favour. (1) It *does* supply the complementary antithesis which τὸ κατὰ σάρκα suggests. (2) Grammatically it is simple, for ὁ ὧν naturally applies to what precedes: the person who is over all is naturally the person just mentioned, unless there is decisive reason to the contrary. (3) If we adopt another punctuation, and make the words ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας a doxology—"God Who is over all be blessed for ever"—there are grammatical objections. These are (a) the use of ὧν, which is at least abnormal. "God Who is over all" would naturally be expressed by ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς without ὧν: the ὧν suggests the inference to Christ. (b) The position of εὐλογητὸς is unparalleled in a doxology; it ought, as in Eph. i. 3 and the LXX., to stand first in the sentence. But these reasons are not decisive. As for (1), though a complementary antithesis to τὸ κατὰ σάρκα is suggested, it is not imperatively demanded here, as in i. 3 f. The greatness reflected upon Israel by the origin of the person in question is sufficiently conveyed by ὁ Χριστός, without any expansion. As for (2), it is true to say that ὁ ὧν naturally refers to what precedes: the only question is, whether

the natural reference may not in any given case be precluded. Many scholars think it is precluded here. Meyer, for instance, argues that "Paul has *never* used the express θεὸς of Christ, since he has not adopted, like John, the Alexandrian form of conceiving and setting forth the Divine essence of Christ, but has adhered to the popular concrete, strictly monotheistic terminology, not modified by philosophical speculation even for the designation of Christ; and he always accurately distinguishes God and Christ". To this he adds the more dubious reasons that in the genuine apostolic writings (he excludes 2 Tim. iv. 18, 2 Pet. iii. 18, Heb. xiii. 21, and Rev.) there is no doxology to Christ in the form usual in doxologies referring to God, and that by ἐπὶ πάντων the Son's subordination is denied. To these last arguments it may be answered that if the words in question do apply to Christ they are not a doxology at all (Gifford), but a declaration of deity, like 2 Cor. xi. 31, and that Christ's subordination is not affected by His being described as ὁ ὧν ἐπὶ πάντων any more than by His own claim to have all authority in heaven and on earth. But the first of Meyer's arguments has a weight which it is impossible not to feel, and it becomes the more decisive the more we realise Paul's whole habit of thought and speech. To say with Dr. Gifford, "When we review the history of the interpretation it cannot but be regarded as a remarkable fact that every objection urged against the ancient interpretation rests ultimately on dogmatic presuppositions," hardly covers such a position as Meyer represents. For the "dogmatic presuppositions" are not arbitrary, but merely sum up the whole impression made on the mind by the study of Paul's writings, an impression by which we cannot but be influenced, especially in deciding delicate and dubious questions like this. If we ask ourselves point blank, whether Paul, as we know his mind from his epistles, would express his sense of Christ's greatness by calling Him God blessed for ever, it seems to me almost impossible to answer in the affirmative. Such an assertion is not on the same plane with the conception of Christ which meets us everywhere in the Apostle's writings; and though there is some irregularity in the grammar, and perhaps some

6. Οὐχ οἶον δὲ ὅτι ἐκπέπτωκεν<sup>k</sup> ὁ λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ. οὐ γὰρ πάντες<sup>k</sup> Here only;  
οἱ ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ, οὗτοι Ἰσραὴλ. 7. οὐδ' ὅτι εἰσι σπέρμα<sup>l</sup> Ἀβραάμ, Jas. i. 12;  
πάντες τέκνα, ἀλλ' "ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα". 8. τοῦτ' ἰ 1 Pet. i.  
ἔστιν, οὐ τὰ τέκνα τῆς σαρκός, ταῦτα τέκνα τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ τὰ Ch. xi. 1; 2  
τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας<sup>m</sup> λογίζεται εἰς σπέρμα. 9. ἐπαγγελίας γὰρ Cor. xi. 22;  
ὁ λόγος οὗτος, "Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον" ἐλεύσομαι, καὶ ἔσται τῇ John viii.  
33; 37.  
n Gal. iv. 28.  
o Gal. xviii.  
10.

difficulty in seeing the point of a doxology, I agree with those who would put a colon or a period at *σάρκα*, and make the words that follow refer not to Christ but to the Father. This is the punctuation given in the margin by W. and H., and "alone seems adequate to account for the whole of the language employed, more especially when considered in relation to the context" (Hort, *N.T.*, vol. ii., app., p. 110). The doxology is, indeed, somewhat hard to comprehend; it seems at the first glance without a motive, and no psychological explanation of it yet offered is very satisfying. It is as if Paul, having carried the privileges of Israel to a climax by mentioning the origin of the Messiah as far as regards His humanity, suddenly felt himself face to face with the problem of the time, how to reconcile these extraordinary privileges with the rejection of the Jews; and before addressing himself to any study or solution of it expressed in this way his devout and adoring faith, even under the pressure of such a perplexity, in the sovereign providence of God. The use of *ὦν*, which is in itself unnecessary, emphasises *ἐπὶ πάντων*; and this emphasis is "fully justified if St. Paul's purpose is to suggest that the tragic apostasy of the Jews (vers. 2, 3) is itself part of the dispensations of Him Who is God over all, over Jew and Gentile alike, over past, present and future alike; so that the ascription of blessing to Him is a homage to His Divine purpose and power of bringing good out of evil in the course of the ages (xi. 13-16, 25-36)": W. and H., ii., app., p. 110. Full discussions of the passage are given in Meyer, S. and H., and Gifford; also by Dr. Ezra Abbot in the *Journal of the Society of Biblical Exegesis*, 1883. With this preface Paul proceeds to justify the ways of God to men: see the introductory remarks above. The first section of his argument (ix. 6-29) is in the narrower sense a theodicy—a vindication of God's right in dealing as He has dealt with Israel. In the first part of this (vers. 6-13) he shows that the rejection of the mass of Israel from the Messianic Kingdom involves no breach

or failure of the Divine promise. The promise is not given to all the natural descendants of Abraham, but only to a chosen seed, the Israel of God.

Ver. 6. *οὐχ οἶον δὲ ὅτι*: this unique expression is explained by Buttmann (*Grammar*, p. 372, Thayer's Transl.) as a blending of two formulas—*οὐχ οἶον* followed by a finite verb, and *οὐχ ὅτι*, which is common in the N.T. The meaning is, But, in spite of my grief, I do not mean to say any such thing as that the Word of God has come to nothing. For not all they that are of Israel, *i.e.*, born of the patriarch, are Israel, *i.e.*, the people of God. This is merely an application of our Lord's words, That which is born of the flesh is flesh. It is not what we get from our fathers and mothers that ensures our place in the family of God. For the use of *οὗτοι* in this verse to resume and define the subject see Gal. iii. 7.

Ver. 7. Nor because they are Abraham's seed, are they all τέκνα, *i.e.*, children in the sense which entitles them to the inheritance, iv. 11, viii. 17. God from the very first made a distinction here, and definitely announced that the seed of Abraham to which the promise belonged should come in the line of Isaac—not of Ishmael, though he also could call Abraham father. *Ἐν Ἰσαὰκ κληθήσεται σοι σπέρμα* = Gen. xxi. 12, LXX. The words literally mean that in the line of Isaac Abraham should have the posterity which would properly bear his name, and inherit the promises made to him by God. Isaac's descendants are the true Abrahamidae.

Ver. 8 f. *τοῦτ' ἔστιν*: the meaning of this action of God is now made clear. It signifies that not mere bodily descent from Abraham makes one a child of God—that was never the case, not even in Abraham's time; it is the children of the promise who are reckoned a seed to Abraham, for the word in virtue of which Isaac, the true son and heir, was born, was a word of promise. He was born, to use the language of the Gospel, from above; and something analogous to this is necessary, whenever a man (even a



ο Gen. xviii. Σάρρα υἱός \*· ΙΟ. οὐ μόνον δέ, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥεβέκκα ἐξ ἐνὸς κοίτην<sup>ρ</sup>  
 10.  
 ρ Ch. xiii. 13; ἔχουσα, Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν· ΙΙ. μήπω γὰρ γεννηθέντων, μηδὲ  
 Heb. xiii.  
 4; Luke πραξάντων τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν,<sup>1</sup> ἵνα ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν<sup>α</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόθεσις  
 xi. 7.  
 ρ Ch. xi. 5, μένη, οὐκ ἐξ ἔργων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦντος,<sup>ε</sup> 12. ἐρρήθη αὐτῇ, "Ὅτι  
 7, 28; Acts  
 ix. 15; 1 Th. i. 4. r Gal. v. 8.

<sup>1</sup> κακὸν DFKL; φαυλὸν ΞAB. τοῦ θεοῦ πρόθεσις; all the best MSS., ΞABDFKL and edd. read *πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ*.

descendant of Abraham) claims to be a child of God and an heir of His kingdom. From Gal. iv. 28 (Now we, brethren, like Isaac, are children of promise) we see that the relation to God in question here is one open to Gentiles as well as Jews: if we are Christ's, then we too are Abraham's seed, and heirs according to promise. The argumentative suggestion in vers. 6-9 is that just as God discriminated at the first between the children of Abraham, so He is discriminating still; the fact that many do not receive the Gospel no more proves that the promise has failed than the fact that God chose Isaac only and set aside Ishmael.

Ver. 10 ff. But the argument can be made more decisive. A Jewish opponent might say, "Ishmael was an illegitimate child, who naturally had no rights as against Isaac; we are the legitimate descendants of the patriarch, and our right to the inheritance is indefeasible". To this the Apostle replies in vers. 10-13. Not only did God make the distinction already referred to, but in the case of *Isaac's* children, where there seemed no ground for making any distinction whatever, He distinguished again, and said, The elder shall serve the younger. Jacob and Esau had one father, one mother, and were twin sons; the only ground on which either could have been preferred was that of priority of birth, and this was disregarded by God; Esau, the elder, was rejected, and Jacob, the younger, was made heir of the promises. Further, this was done by God of His sovereign freedom: the decisive word was spoken to their mother while they were as yet unborn and had achieved neither good nor evil. Claims as of right, therefore, made against God, are futile, whether they are based on descent or on works. There is no way in which they can be established; and, as we have just seen, God acts in entire disregard of them. God's purpose to save men, and make them heirs of His kingdom—a purpose which is characterised as κατ' ἐκλογὴν, or involving a choice—is not determined at all by consideration of

such claims as the Jews put forward. In forming it, and carrying it out, God acts with perfect freedom. In the case in question His action in regard to Jacob and Esau agrees with His word in the prophet Malachi: Jacob I loved but Esau I hated; and further than this we cannot go. To avoid misapprehending this, however, it is necessary to keep the Apostle's purpose in view. He wishes to show that God's promise has not broken down, though many of the children of Abraham have no part in its fulfilment in Christ. He does so by showing that there has always been a distinction, among the descendants of the patriarchs, between those who have merely the natural connection to boast of, and those who are the Israel of God; and, as against Jewish pretensions, he shows at the same time that this distinction can be traced to nothing but God's sovereignty. It is not of works, but of Him Who effectually calls men. We may say, if we please, that sovereignty in this sense is "just a name for what is *unrevealed* of God" (T. Erskine, *The Brazen Serpent*, p. 259), but though it is unrevealed we must not conceive of it as arbitrary—i.e., as non-rational or non-moral. It is the sovereignty of *God*, and God is not *exlex*; He is a law to Himself—a law all love and holiness and truth—in all His purposes towards men. So Calvin: "ubi mentionem gloriæ Dei audis, illic iustitiam cogita". Paul has mentioned in an earlier chapter, among the notes of true religion, the exclusion of boasting (iii. 27); and in substance that is the argument he is using here. No Jewish birth, no legal works, can give a man a claim which God is bound to honour; and no man urging such claims can say that God's word has become of no effect though his claims are disallowed, and he gets no part in the inheritance of God's people.

οὐ μόνον δέ: cf. v. 11, viii. 23 = Not only is this so, but a more striking and convincing illustration can be given. ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥεβέκκα: the sentence thus begun is never finished, but the sense is

δ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι.” 13. καθὼς<sup>1</sup> γέγραπται, “Τὸν Ἰακώβ ἡγάπησα, τὸν δὲ Ἡσαὺ ἐμίσησα”.

14. Τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; μὴ ἀδικία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ; μὴ γένοιτο. 15. \* Ch. ii. 11. τῷ γὰρ Μωσῇ λέγει, “Ἐλεήσω ὃν ἂν ἐλεῶ, καὶ οἰκτερήσω ὃν ἂν

<sup>1</sup> καθάπερ B, Orig. 1 (instead of καθως) is read by Weiss and W. and H., though the latter put καθως in marg. Cf. iii. 4, xi. 8, and 1 Cor. x. 10.

continued in ver. 12. Ἰσαὰκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν: Paul speaks here out of his own consciousness as a Jew, addressing himself to a problem which greatly exercised other Jews; and calls Isaac “father” as the person from whom the inheritance was to come. Ver. 11. μήπω γὰρ γεννηθέντων μηδὲ πραξάντων: “the conditional negatives (μήπω, μηδὲ) represent the circumstances not as mere facts of history, but as conditions entering into God’s counsel and plan. The time of the prediction was thus chosen, in order to make it clear that He Who calls men to be heirs of His salvation makes free choice of whom He will, unfettered by any claims of birth or merit” (Gifford). πρόθεσις in this theological sense is a specially Pauline word. The purpose it describes is universal in its bearings, for it is the purpose of One who works all things according to the counsel of His will, Eph. i. 11; it is eternal, a πρόθεσις τῶν αἰώνων, Eph. iii. 11; it is God’s ἰδίᾳ πρόθεσις, 2 Tim. i. 9, a purpose, the meaning, contents, and end of which find their explanation in God alone; it is a purpose κατ’ ἐκλογὴν, i.e., the carrying of it out involves choice and discrimination between man and man, and between race and race; and in spite of the side of mystery which belongs to such a conception, it is a perfectly intelligible purpose, for it is described as πρόθεσις ἣν ἐποίησεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, and what God means by Christ Jesus no one can doubt. God’s eternal purpose, the purpose carried out κατ’ ἐκλογὴν, yet embracing the universe, is clearly revealed in His Son. The permanent determining element, wherever this purpose is concerned, is not the works of men, but the will and call of God; and to make this plain was the intention of God in speaking as He did, and when He did, to Rebecca about her children. If we look to Gen. xxv. 23, it is indisputably the nations of Israel and Edom that are referred to: “Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of peoples shall be separated from thy bowels; and the one people shall be stronger than the other people, and the elder shall serve the younger”. The

same is true also of Mal. i. 2: “I loved Jacob, but Esau I hated, and made his mountains a desolation,” etc. Yet it would not be right to say that Paul is here considering merely the parts assigned by God to nations in the drama of providence; He is obviously thinking of Jacob and Esau as individuals, whose own relation to God’s promise and inheritance (involving no doubt that of their posterity) was determined by God before they were born or had done either good or ill. On the other hand, it would not be right to say that Paul here refers the eternal salvation or perdition of individuals to an absolute decree of God which has no relation to what they are or do, but rests simply on His inscrutable will. He is engaged in precluding the idea that man can have claims of right against God, and with it the idea that the exclusion of the mass of Israel from the Messiah’s kingdom convicts God of breach of faith toward the children of Abraham; and this He can do quite effectually, on the lines indicated, without consciously facing this tremendous hypothesis.

Vv. 14-21. In the second part of his theodicy Paul meets the objection that this sovereign freedom of God is essentially unjust.

Ver. 14. τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; cf. vi. 1, vii. 7, viii. 31. It is Paul who speaks, anticipating, as he cannot help doing, the objection which is sure to rise, not only in Jewish minds, though it is with them he is directly concerned, but in the mind of every human being who reads his words. Yet he states the objection as one in itself incredible. μὴ ἀδικία παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ; surely we cannot say that there is unrighteousness with God? This is the force of the μὴ, and Paul can answer at once μὴ γένοιτο: away with the thought! God says Himself that He shows mercy with that sovereign freedom which Paul has ascribed to Him; and the principle of action which God announces as His own cannot be unjust.

Ver. 15. τῷ Μωυσεῖ γὰρ λέγει. τῷ Μωυσεῖ is emphatic by position: the person to whom this declaration was



† Gal. v. 7. οἰκτεῖρω". 16. ἄρα οὖν οὐ τοῦ θέλοντος, οὐδὲ τοῦ τρέχοντος,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐλεοῦντος<sup>1</sup> Θεοῦ. 17. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή τῷ Φαραῶ, "Ὅτι εἰς  
 u i Tim. i. αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε, ὅπως ἐνδείξωμαι<sup>1</sup> ἐν σοὶ τὴν δύναμίν μου,  
 v Luke ix. 16. καὶ ὅπως διαγγελῇ<sup>1</sup> τὸ ὄνομα μου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ". 18. ἄρα οὖν ὃν  
 60; Acts xxi. 26. θέλει, ἐλεεῖ· ὃν δὲ θέλει, σκληρύνει. 19. Ἐρεῖς οὖν μοι,<sup>2</sup> τί ἔτι

<sup>1</sup> For ἐλεοῦντος read ἐλεωντος with NAB<sup>1</sup>DF.

<sup>2</sup> For οὖν μοι NABP 47 read μοι οὖν. τι ἐτι μεμφεται NAKLP, but τι οὖν ἐτι μεμφεται BDFG, Orig.-inter. This οὖν is inserted by Lachm. and Weiss, bracketed in marg. by Treg., simply omitted (on the principle of judging referred to in note <sup>2</sup>, page 589) by W. and H.

made, as well as the voice which made it, render it peculiarly significant to a Jew. The words (exactly as LXX, Exod. xxxiii. 19) occur in the answer to a prayer of Moses, and may have been regarded by Paul as having special reference to him; as if the point of the quotation were, Even one who had deserved so well as Moses experienced God's mercy solely because God willed that He should. But that is not necessary, and is not what the original means. The emphasis is on ὃν ἄν, and the point is that in showing mercy God is determined by nothing outside of His mercy itself. οἰκτεῖρειν is stronger than ἐλεεῖν; it suggests more strongly the emotion attendant on pity, and even its expression in voice or gesture.

Ver. 16. Conclusion from this word of God. It (namely, the experience of God's mercy) does not depend on man's resolve or effort (for τρέχειν cf. 1 Cor. ix. 24 ff.), but on God's merciful act. This, of course, merely repeats vers. 12, 13, buttressing the principle of God's sovereign freedom in the exercise of mercy by reference to His own word in Exod. xxxiii. 19.

Ver. 17 f. But Paul goes further, and explains the contrary phenomenon—that of a man who does not and cannot receive mercy—in the same way. λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή: it is on Scripture the burden of proof is laid here and at ver. 15. A Jew might answer the arguments Paul uses here if they were the Apostle's own; to Scripture he can make no reply; it must silence, even where it does not convince. τῷ Φαραῶ: All men, and not those only who are the objects of His mercy, come within the scope of God's sovereignty. Pharaoh as well as Moses can be quoted to illustrate it. He was the open adversary of God, an avowed, implacable adversary; yet a Divine purpose was fulfilled in his life, and that

purpose and nothing else is the explanation of his very being. εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐξήγειρά σε. The LXX in Exod. ix. 16 read: καὶ ἔνεκεν τούτου διετηρήθης, the last word, answering to the Hebrew

תִּתִּיךָ חַיָּה, being used in the sense of "thou wast kept alive"—the sense adopted by Dillmann for the Hebrew; probably Paul changed it intentionally to give the meaning, "for this reason I brought thee on the stage of history": cf. Hab. i. 6, Zec. xi. 16, Jer. xxvii. 41 (S. and H.). The purpose Pharaoh was designed to serve, and actually did serve, on this stage, was certainly not his own; as certainly it was God's. God's power was shown in the penal miracles by which Pharaoh and Egypt were visited, and his name is proclaimed to this day wherever the story of the Exodus is told.

Ver. 18. From the two instances just quoted Paul draws the comprehensive conclusion: So then on whom He will He has mercy, and whom He will He hardens. The whole emphasis is on θέλει. The two modes in which God acts upon man are showing mercy and hardening, and it depends upon God's will in which of these two modes He actually does act. The word σκληρύνει is borrowed from the history of Pharaoh, Ex. vii. 3, 22; viii. 19; ix. 12; xiv. 17. What precisely the hardening means, and in what relation God's hardening of Pharaoh's heart stood to Pharaoh's own hardening of it against God, are not unimportant questions, but they are questions which Paul does not here raise. He has one aim always in view here—to show that man has no claim as of right against God; and he finds a decisive proof of this (at least for a Jew) in the opposite examples of Moses and Pharaoh, interpreted as these are by unmistakable words of God Himself.

μέμφεται<sup>1</sup>; τῷ γὰρ βουλήματι<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῦ τίς ἀνθέστηκε; 20. μενούργε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε,<sup>3</sup> σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ Θεῷ; μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα<sup>4</sup> τῷ πλάσαντι, τί με ἐποίησας οὕτως; 21. ἡ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς<sup>5</sup> τοῦ πηλοῦ, ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος ποιήσαι ὁ μὲν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> Heb. viii. 8. <sup>2</sup> Acts xxvii. 43; 1 Pet. iv. 3. <sup>3</sup> y Ch. ii. 1-3. <sup>4</sup> Luke xiv. 6. <sup>5</sup> a Jer. c. 18; Isaiah xlv. 9; Sir. xxxvi. (xxxiii.) 13; Sap. xv. 7.

<sup>1</sup> ὦ ἄνθρωπε stands before μενούργε in B<sup>1</sup>AB (B omits γε), and so in all crit. edd.

It was through God, in the last resort, that Moses and Pharaoh were what they were, signal instances of the Divine mercy and the Divine wrath.

Ver. 19 ff. But human nature is not so easily silenced. This interpretation of all human life, with all its diversities of character and experience, through the will of God alone, as if that will by itself explained everything, is not adequate to the facts. If Moses and Pharaoh alike are to be explained by reference to that will—that is, are to be explained in precisely the same way—then the difference between Moses and Pharaoh disappears. The moral interpretation of the world is annulled by the religious one. If God is equally behind the most opposite moral phenomena, then it is open to any one to say, what Paul here anticipates will be said, τί ἐτι μέμφεται; why does he still find fault? For who withstands his resolve? To this objection there is really no answer, and it ought to be frankly admitted that the Apostle does not answer it. The attempt to understand the relation between the human will and the Divine seems to lead of necessity to an antinomy which thought has not as yet succeeded in transcending. To assert the absoluteness of God in the unexplained unqualified sense of verse 18 makes the moral life unintelligible; but to explain the moral life by ascribing to man a freedom which makes him stand in independence over against God reduces the universe to anarchy. Up to this point Paul has been insisting on the former point of view, and he insists on it still as against the human presumption which would plead its rights against God; but in the very act of doing so he passes over (in ver. 22) to an intermediate standpoint, showing that God has not in point of fact acted arbitrarily, in a freedom uncontrolled by moral law; and from that again he advances in the following chapter to do full justice to the other side of the antinomy—the liberty and responsibility of man. The act of Israel, as well as the will of God, lies behind the painful situation he is trying to understand.

Ver. 20. ὦ ἄνθρωπε is not used con-

temptuously, but it is set intentionally over against τῷ Θεῷ: the objector is reminded emphatically of what he is, and of the person to whom he is speaking. It is not for a *man* to adopt this tone toward *God*. For μενούργε cf. x. 18, Phil. iii. 8: the idea is, So far from *your* having the right to raise such objections, it is rather for me to ask, Who art thou? etc. Paul, as has been observed above, does not refuse, but repels the objection. It is inconsistent, he urges, with the relation of the creature to the Creator. μὴ ἐρεῖ κ.τ.λ. Surely the thing formed shall not say, etc. The first words of the quotation are from Isa. xxix. 16: μὴ ἐρεῖ τὸ πλάσμα τῷ πλάσαντι αὐτό Οὐ σὺ με ἔπλασας; ἡ τὸ ποίημα τῷ ποιήσαντι Οὐ συνετῶς με ἐποίησας; The fact that the words originally refer to Israel as a nation, and to God's shaping of its destiny, does not prove in the least that Paul is dealing with nations, and not with individuals, here. He never pays any attention to the original application of the O.T. words he uses; and neither Moses nor Pharaoh nor the person addressed as ὦ ἄνθρωπε is a nation. The person addressed is one who feels that the principle enunciated in ver. 18 must be qualified somehow, and so he makes the protest against it which Paul attempts in this summary fashion to repress. A man is not a thing, and if the whole explanation of his destiny is to be sought in the bare will of God, he *will* say, Why didst Thou make me thus? and not even the authority of Paul will silence him.

Ver. 21. ἡ οὐκ ἔχει ἐξουσίαν ὁ κεραμεὺς τοῦ πηλοῦ κ.τ.λ. The ἡ puts this as the alternative. *Either* you must recognise this absoluteness of God in silence, *or* you must make the preposterous assertion that the potter has not power over the clay, etc. The power of the potter over the clay is of course undoubted: he takes the same lump, and makes one vessel for noble and another for ignoble uses; it is not the quality of the clay, but the will of the potter, that decides to what use each part of the lump is to be put. True, the objector might say, but irrelevant. For man is



b 2 Tim. ii. 20 f. τιμὴν σκευῶς, ὃ δὲ εἰς ἀτιμίαν; <sup>b</sup> 22. εἰ δὲ θέλων ὁ Θεὸς ἐνδείξασθαι  
 c Verse 17. τὴν ὀργήν, καὶ γνωρίσαι τὸ δυνατόν <sup>d</sup> αὐτοῦ, ἤνεγκεν <sup>e</sup> ἐν πολλῇ μακρο-  
 d Here only; cf. θυμία σκευὴ ὀργῆς κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν. <sup>f</sup> 23. καὶ <sup>g</sup> ἵνα γνωρίση  
 ch. viii. 3. τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σκευῇ ἐλέους, ἃ προητοίμασεν <sup>h</sup> εἰς  
 e Heb. xii. 20.  
 f Matt. vii. 13; John xvii. 12; Phil. iii. 19. g Eph. ii. 10.

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἵνα γνωρίση; the καὶ is omitted by W. and H. following B 37, 39, 47, vulg., Copt., etc. Treg. brackets it in marg. Weiss thinks it was omitted because the transcriber could not see the point of it, and felt it easy to connect ἵνα with the principal verb.

not clay, and the relation of God to man is not that of the potter to dead matter. To say that it is, is just to concede the objector's point—the moral significance is taken out of life, and God has no room any longer to pronounce moral judgments, or to speak of man in terms of praise or blame.

Vv. 22-29. Paul's argument, to speak plainly, has got into an *impasse*. He is not able to carry it through, and to maintain the sovereign freedom of God as the whole and sole explanation of human destiny, whether in men or nations. He does, indeed, assert that freedom to the last, against the presumptuousness of man; but in this third section of his theodicy, he begins to withdraw from the ground of speculation to that of fact, and to exhibit God's action, not as a bare unintelligible exercise of will, which inevitably provokes rebellion, but as an exercise of will of such a character that man can have nothing to urge against it. εἰ δὲ: the δὲ marks the transition to the new point of view. It is as if Paul said: You may find this abstract presentation of God's relations to man a hard doctrine, but if His actual treatment of men, even of those who are σκευὴ ὀργῆς κατ. εἰς ἀπώλειαν, is distinguished by longsuffering and patience, what can you say against that? θέλων has been rendered (1) because it is His will; (2) although it is His will. In the former case, God bears long with the vessels of wrath in order that the display of His wrath and power may be more tremendous at last. But (a) such an idea is inconsistent with the contrast implied in δὲ: it is an aggravation of the very difficulty from which the Apostle is making his escape; (b) it is inconsistent with the words ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ; it is not longsuffering if the end in view is a more awful display of wrath; there is no real longsuffering unless the end in view is to give the sinner place for repentance. Hence the other view (2) is substantially right. Although it is

God's will to display His wrath and to show what He can do, still He does not proceed precipitately, but gives ample opportunity to the sinner to repent and escape. We are entitled to say "the sinner," though Paul does not say so explicitly, for ἡ ὀργή, the wrath of God, is relative to sin, and to nothing else: except as against sin, there is no such thing as wrath in God. In σκευὴ ὀργῆς the word σκευὴ is perhaps prompted by the previous verse, but the whole associations of the potter and the clay are not to be carried over: they are expressly precluded by ἤνεγκεν ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ. Paul does not say how the σκευὴ ὀργῆς came to be what they are, the objects upon which the wrath and power of God are to be revealed; he only says that such as they are, God has shown great patience with them. It seems a mistake in W. and H. to print σκευὴ ὀργῆς as a quotation from Jer. i. (LXX xxvii.) 25; for there the words mean "the instruments by which God executes His wrath," *les armes de sa colère* (Reuss). κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν: ἀπώλεια (Phil. i. 28, iii. 19) means perdition, final ruin; by what agency the persons referred to have been fitted for it Paul does not say; what he does say is, that fitted for such a doom as they are, God has nevertheless endured them in much longsuffering, so that they at least cannot say, Why dost thou find fault? For κατηρτισμένος = perfected, made quite fit or ripe, see Luke vi. 40, 1 Cor. i. 10: cf. also 2 Tim. iii. 17.

Ver. 23 f. The sentence beginning with εἰ δὲ θέλων is not grammatically completed, but ver. 23 is an irregular parallel to ver. 22. God's purpose is regarded as twofold. It is on the one hand to show His wrath and make known His power; it is on the other hand to make known the riches of His glory (cf. Eph. iii. 16). The first part of it is carried out on those who are σκευὴ ὀργῆς, the latter on those who are σκευὴ ἐλέους; but, in carrying out both parts

δόξαν· 24. οὗς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον ἐξ Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἐθνῶν· 25. (ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὠσηῇ λέγει, “Καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου, λαόν μου· καὶ τὴν οὐκ ἡγαπημένην, ἡγαπημένην”. 26. “Καὶ ἔσται, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρήθη αὐτοῖς,<sup>1</sup> Οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ Θεοῦ ζώντος.” 27. Ἡσαΐας<sup>h</sup> δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, <sup>h Is. x. 22 f.</sup> “Ἐὰν ᾗ ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, το<sup>i 2 Cor. i. 6</sup> (end).

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς is wanting in BFG and the best MSS. of the vulg. As no reason can be suggested for its omission, if it were original, Weiss supposes it was added in conformity with the LXX. He therefore omits it altogether; W. and H. bracket.

alike, God acts in a way which is so far from giving man room to complain that it commands his wonder and adoration; for the σκευὴ ὀργῆς there is much long-suffering, for the σκευὴ ἐλέους a preparation and a calling in which God's free unmerited mercy is conspicuous. καὶ ἵνα γνωρίσῃ: This is mentioned as a principal purpose of God. ἐπὶ σκευὴ ἐλέους: the glory is conceived as something shed upon the persons concerned; they are irradiated with the Divine brightness. Cf. 2 Thess. i. 10. δόξα in such connections has usually a super-sensible eschatological meaning; its content was fixed for Paul by his vision of Christ as Lord of Glory. The end of God's ways with the vessels of mercy is to conform them to the image of His exalted Son. ἃ προητοίμασεν εἰς δόξαν: Paul does not shrink from introducing God as subject here. The vessels of mercy, in whom the Divine glory is to be revealed, are such as God prepared before for that destiny. That Paul is not speaking here abstractly, as in his discussion of the relations of creature and Creator in ver. 21 f., but on the basis of experience, is shown by the words which immediately follow: οὗς καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς = whom he also called *in us*. The σκευὴ ἐλέους, in other words, are not a mere theological conception = “God's elect”: they are the actual members of the Christian Church, Jew and Gentile; and it is not a deduction from the necessities of the Divine nature, but an account of real experiences of God's goodness, which is given both in προητοίμασεν and in ἐκάλεσεν. How much is covered by προητοίμασεν is not clear, but the text presents no ground whatever for importing into it the idea of an unconditional eternal decree. Those who are called know that the antecedents of their calling, the processes which lead up to and prepare for it, are of God. They know that in all these processes, even in the

remote initial stages of them, to the significance of which they were blind at the time, glory was in view. The fact that both Jews and Gentiles are called shows that this preparation is not limited to any one nation; the fact that the called are *from among* both Jews and Gentiles shows that no one can claim God's mercy as a right in virtue of his birth in some particular race.

Ver. 25 f. This result of God's ways with man—His calling not only from the Jews but from the Gentiles—agrees with His own declarations in Scripture. Ver. 25 answers roughly to Hos. ii. 23, LXX: I will love her who was not beloved, and will say to that which was not My people, Thou art My people. Not My people (= Lo-ammi) and Not beloved (= Lo-ruhamah) were the names of a son and a daughter of Hosea, who symbolised the kingdom of Israel, rejected of God but destined to share again in His favour. Paul here applies to the calling of the Gentiles words which spoke originally of the restoration of Israel—an instance which shows how misleading it may be to press the context of the other passages quoted in this chapter. Ver. 26 is also a quotation from Hos. i. 10 (LXX): the ἐκεῖ is supplied by Paul. The application of it is similar to that of ver. 25. In Hosea the promise is that the Israelites who had lost their standing as God's people should have it given back to them, in all its dignity. This also Paul reads of the calling of the Gentiles. They were once no people of God's, but now have their part in the adoption. But what is the meaning of “in the place where . . . there shall they be called”? It is not certain that in Hosea there is any reference to a place at all (see margin of R.V.), and it is not easy to see what Paul can mean by the emphatic ἐκεῖ. The ordinary explanation—the Gentile lands—is as good as any, but seems hardly equal to the stress laid on ἐκεῖ.



<sup>k</sup> Here only **κατάλειμμα** <sup>1k</sup> σωθήσεται · 28. λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ συντέμων<sup>m</sup> ἐν (and so also of **δικαιοσύνη** · ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον<sup>2</sup> ποιήσει Κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς". 29. Καὶ καθὼς προεῖρηκεν Ἡσαΐας, "Εἰ μὴ Κύριος Σαβαὼθ ἐγκατέ- <sup>Mark xiii.</sup> λιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα, ὡς Σόδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν, καὶ ὡς Γόμορρα ἂν <sup>4; Luke</sup> <sup>iv. 2, 13.</sup> m Here only in N. T.

<sup>1</sup> For **καταλειμμα** (which is the reading of the LXX) DFKLP, read with **Ν<sup>1</sup>AB** **υπολειμμα**.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν δικαιοσυνῇ ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον om. **Ν<sup>1</sup>AB** 47. "Western and Syrian" authorities have the words, in agreement with the LXX. But the γὰρ after the first λόγον makes the whole sentence, in this case, untranslatable; and though Weiss and Alford defend the received text, and Treg. brackets the words in question in marg., most edd. omit them.

Ver. 27 f. From the calling of the Gentiles, as foretold in prophecy, Paul passes now to the partial, but only partial, calling of Israel, as announced by the same authority. The Jews cannot quarrel with the situation in which they find themselves when it answers so exactly to the Word of God. ὑπὲρ is here indistinguishable from περί: it is not a loud intercession on Israel's behalf, but a solemn declaration concerning Israel, that the prophet makes; see Grimm, s.v., i., 5. The quotation in ver. 27 is from Isa. x. 22 f., but the opening words are modified by recollection of Hos. i. 10 just quoted. The LXX reads καὶ ἂν γένηται ὁ λαὸς Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης, τὸ κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν σωθήσεται. λόγον συντελῶν καὶ συντέμων [ἐν δικαιοσυνῇ, ὅτι λόγον συντετμημένον] κύριος ποιήσει ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὅλη. The words bracketed are omitted by most editors, but the sense is not affected. τὸ ὑπόλειμμα has the emphasis: *only* the remnant shall be saved. This doctrine Paul apparently finds confirmed by the words λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμων ποιήσει κύριος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. It is doubtful whether any one could assign meaning to these words unless he had an idea beforehand of what they ought to or must mean. Cheyne renders the Hebrew to which they answer, "For a final work and a decisive doth the Lord execute within all the land"; and there is the same general idea in Sanday and Headlam's version of Paul: "For a word, accomplishing and abridging it, that is, a sentence conclusive and concise, will the Lord do upon the earth". Weiss, who retains the words bracketed, makes λόγον = God's promise: God fulfils it indeed (συντελῶν), but He at the same time limits or contracts it (συντέμων), i.e., fulfils it to some of Israel, not to all. This, no doubt, is the sense required, but can any

one say that the words convey it? We should rather say that Paul put his own thought into the words of the LXX, in which a difficult passage of Isaiah was translated almost at haphazard, and in doing so lent them a meaning which they could not be said to have of themselves.

Ver. 29. But his last quotation is in verbal agreement with the LXX Isa. i. 9, and transparently clear. The σπέρμα or seed which God leaves is the same as the ὑπόλειμμα. The figure is not to be pressed. The remnant is not the germ of a new people; Paul expects Israel as a whole to be restored.

With this the theodicy proper closes. The unbelief of the Jews was a great problem to the Apostolic age, and one which easily led to scepticism concerning the Gospel. The chosen people without a part in the kingdom of God—impossible. This chapter is Paul's attempt to explain this situation as one not involving any unrighteousness or breach of faith on the part of God. It is not necessary to resume the various stages of the argument as they have been elucidated in the notes. The point of greatest difficulty is no doubt that presented by vers. 22 and 23. Many good scholars, Meyer and Lipsius for example, hold that Paul in these verses is not withdrawing from, but carrying through, the argument from God's absoluteness stated so emphatically in ver. 21. They hold that the σκευὴ ὀργῆς κατηρτισμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν would not be σκευὴ ὀργῆς at all, if their repentance and amendment were conceivable; and although God bears long with them—that is, defers their destruction—it is only in order that He may have time and opportunity to manifest the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy. But the answer to this is plain. It assumes that human life, in its relation to God, *can* be inter-

ὡμοιωθῆμεν.”) 30. τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; ὅτι ἔθνη τὰ μὴ<sup>a</sup> διώκοντα<sup>o</sup> π Ch. ii. 14.  
 δικαιοσύνην κατέλαβε<sup>p</sup> δικαιοσύνην, δικαιοσύνην δὲ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως<sup>xiv. 19; 1</sup>  
 31. Ἰσραὴλ δὲ διώκων νόμον δικαιοσύνης εἰς νόμον δικαιοσύνης<sup>1</sup> οὐκ<sup>xiv. 19; 1</sup>  
 ἔφθασε.<sup>q</sup> 32. διατί; ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἀλλ’ ὡς<sup>r</sup> ἐξ ἔργων νόμου<sup>2</sup>.<sup>1 Tim. ii. 22.</sup>  
 24; Phil. iii. 12, 17. q Phil. iii. 16. r Phil. iii. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Om. second δικαιοσύνης N<sup>1</sup>ABDG, all edd.

<sup>2</sup> νόμου om. N<sup>1</sup>ABF 47, vulg., and most edd. Alf. is doubtful.

preted by the analogy of clay in its relation to the potter; in other words, that moral and spiritual experiences can be construed and made intelligible through what are merely physical categories. But this is not the case. And if it be said that justice is not done, by the interpretation given in this commentary, to the expression σκευὴ ὀργῆς, it may also be said that justice is not done, by the interpretation of Meyer and Lipsius, to the expression ἐν πολλῇ μακροθυμίᾳ. Each of these allegations may be said to neutralise the other—that is, neither is decisive for the interpretation of the passage; and the Apostle's meaning remains to be determined by the general movement of his thought. In spite of the great difficulties of the section as a whole, I cannot hesitate to read it as above.

CHAPTER IX.—Ver. 30-X. 21. We come now to the second main division of that part of the epistle in which Paul discusses the problem raised by the relation of the Jews to the Gospel. He has shown in chap. ix. 6-29 that they have no claim as of right to salvation: their whole history, as recorded and interpreted in the Scriptures, exhibited God acting on quite a different principle; he now proceeds to show more definitely that it was owing to their own guilt that they were rejected. They followed, and persisted in following, a path on which salvation was not to be found; and they were inexcusable in doing so, inasmuch as God had made *His* way of salvation plain and accessible to all.

Ver. 30 f. τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν; usually, as in ver. 14, this question is followed by another, but here by an assertion. The conclusion of the foregoing discussion is—not that God has been faithless or unjust, but—this paradoxical position: Gentiles (ἔθνη, not τὰ ἔθνη) that did not follow after righteousness attained righteousness, the righteousness which comes of faith; while Israel, which followed after a law of righteousness, did not attain that law. διώκειν and καταλαμβάνειν are correlative terms: see

Wetstein. The repetition of δικαιοσύνη is striking: it is the one fundamental conception on which Paul's gospel rests; the questions at issue between him and the Jews were questions as to what it was, and how it was to be attained. τὰ μὴ διώκοντα δικαιοσύνην is not an unfair description of the pagan races as contrasted with the Jews; how to be right with God was not their main interest. δικαιοσύνην δὲ τὴν ἐκ πίστεως for the form of the explanatory clause with δὲ cf. iii. 22, 1 Cor. ii. 6. It is not surprising that a righteousness of this sort should be found even by those who are not in quest of it; its nature is that it is brought and offered to men, and faith is simply the act of appropriating it. Ἰσραὴλ δὲ κ.τ.λ.: this is the astonishing thing which does need explanation. διώκων νόμον δικαιοσύνης. The idea is not that Israel was in quest of a law of righteousness, in the sense of a rule by the observance of which righteousness would be attained: every Israelite believed himself to be, and already was, in possession of such a law. It must rather be that Israel aimed incessantly at bringing its conduct up to the standard of a law in which righteousness was certainly held out, but was never able to achieve its purpose. The νόμος δικαιοσύνης, the unattained goal of Israel's efforts, is of course the Mosaic law; but it is referred to, not definitely, but in its characteristic qualities, as law, and as exhibiting and enjoining (not bestowing) righteousness. εἰς νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν: did not attain to, arrive at, that law—it remained out of their reach. Legal religion proved a failure.

Ver. 32. διὰ τί; Why? A result so confounding needs explanation. ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐξ ἔργων: it seems too precise to supply with Weiss ἐδίωξεν νόμον δικαιοσύνης. The reason of Israel's religious failure was that its whole religious effort and attitude was not of faith, but (so they conceived the case) of works. By inserting ὡς Paul dissociates himself from this conception, and leaves it to Israel; he does not believe (having



προσέκοψαν γὰρ <sup>1</sup> τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος, 33. καθὼς γέγραπται,  
 “Ἰδοὺ, τίθημι ἐν Σιών λίθον προσκόμματος, καὶ πέτραν σκανδάλου·  
 καὶ πᾶς <sup>2</sup> ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυθήσεται”.

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ N<sup>3</sup>D<sup>3</sup>KLP; om. N<sup>1</sup>ABD<sup>1</sup>F.

<sup>2</sup> πᾶς om. NABDF 47 and all edd.

learned the contrary by bitter experience) that there is any outlet along this road. Everything in religion depends on the nature of the start. You may start ἐκ πίστεως, from an utter abandonment to God, and an entire dependence on Him, and in this case a righteousness is possible which you will recognise as δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, God's own gift and work in you; or you may start ἐξ ἔργων, which really means in independence of God, and try to work out, without coming under obligation to God, a righteousness of your own, for which you may subsequently claim His approval, and in this case, like the Jews, all your efforts will be baffled. Your starting-point is unreal, impossible; it is not truly ἐξ ἔργων, but only ὡς ἐξ ἔργων; it is an idea of your own, not a truth on which life can be carried out, that you are in any sense independent of God. Such an idea, however, rooted in the mind, may effectually pervert and wreck the soul, by making the Divine way of attaining righteousness and life offensive to it; and this is what happened to the Jews. Because of that profoundly false relation to God προσέκοψαν τῷ λίθῳ τοῦ προσκόμματος. The stone on which they stumbled was Christ, and especially His Cross. The σκάνδαλον of the Cross, at which they stumbled, is not simply the fact that it is a cross, whereas they expected a Messianic throne; the Cross offended them because, as interpreted by Paul, it summoned them to begin their religious life, from the very beginning, at the foot of the Crucified, and with the sense upon their hearts of an infinite debt to Him, which no “works” could ever repay.

Ver. 33. Yet paradoxical as this may seem, it agrees with the words of Scripture. The quotation is a mixture of Isa. xxviii. 16 and viii. 14: and it is interesting to remark that the same passages are quoted in conjunction, though they are not mixed as here, in 1 Pet. ii. 6-8. The original reference of them is not exactly Messianic. The stone laid in Zion (Isa. xxviii. 16) is indeed interpreted by Delitzsch of the kingdom of promise as identified with its Sovereign Head, but the stone of

stumbling (Isa. viii. 14) is unequivocally God Himself: all who do not give Him honour are broken against His government as on a stone, or caught in it as in a snare. Paul inserts ἐπ’ αὐτῷ after ὁ πιστεύων (as Peter also does), and applies the figure of the stone in both cases to Christ, and to the contrary relations which men may assume to Him. Some stumble over Him (as the Jews, for the reasons just given); others build on Him and find Him a sure foundation, or (without a figure) put their trust in Him and are not put to shame. Cf. Ps. cxviii. 22, Mt. xxi. 42, 1 Cor. iii. 11, Acts. iv. 12, Eph. ii. 20.

CHAPTER X.—Ver. 1. The Apostle cannot enlarge on this melancholy situation without expressing once more the deep grief which it causes him. Since the Jews are referred to in the third person (ὕπὲρ αὐτῶν) it is clear that the persons addressed are a Gentile Church. ἀδελφοί: Paul's heart seems drawn to his spiritual kindred as he feels the deep gulf which separates him meanwhile from his kinsmen according to the flesh. ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἡμῆς καρδίας: the meaning of εὐδοκία must be gathered from such examples as Mt. xi. 26, Eph. i. 5, 9, Phil. i. 15, ii. 13, 2 Thess. i. 11. His heart's εὐδοκία is that in which his heart could rest with complacency; that which would be a perfect satisfaction to it. This is virtually the same as “desire,” and an “Etymologicum ineditum” quoted in Schleusner explains it by βούλημα, γνώμη, προαίρεσις, ἐπιθυμία. His inmost desire and his supplication to God are in their interest, with a view to their salvation. The μὲν has no corresponding δέ; the sad reality which answers to it does not need again to be expressed.

Ver. 2. Their good qualities compel his affection. ζῆλον θεοῦ ἔχουσιν: they have a zeal for God, are intensely (though mistakenly) religious. Cf. Gal. i. 14. An unbelieving Jew could interpret his opposition to the lawless gospel of Paul as zeal for the divinely-given rule of life, and his opposition to the crucified Messiah as zeal for the divinely-given promises. It was God's honour for which he stood in refusing the Gos-

X. 1. ἈΔΕΛΦΟΙ, ἡ μὲν εὐδοκία τῆς ἐμῆς καρδίας, καὶ ἡ δέησις ἡ <sup>1</sup> <sup>a</sup> Cor. xi. 2.  
 πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν. 2. μαρτυρῶ <sup>b</sup> Acts xvii. 23; 1  
 γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὅτι ζῆλον Θεοῦ\* ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν. 3. <sup>c</sup> Tim. i. 13  
 ἀγνοοῦντες <sup>d</sup> γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην, καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν\* δικαιοσύνην <sup>e</sup> Gal. vi. 5.  
 ζητοῦντες στήσαι, τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐχ ὑπετάγησαν. 4. τέλος\* <sup>f</sup> Phil. iii. 9.  
<sup>g</sup> Mark iii. 26; Heb. vii. 3.

<sup>1</sup> η before πρὸς τὸν θεὸν om. **ABDF**. For τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ἐστὶν read αὐτῶν with **ABDF** 47, etc.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἰδίαν δικαιοσύνην **NFGKL** and most cursives, is adopted by Tischdfl, but most edd. with **ABDP** 47, vulg. omit δικαιοσύνην.

pel. ἀλλ' οὐ κατ' ἐπίγνωσιν: this religious earnestness is not regulated by adequate knowledge. For ἐπίγνωσις see Eph. iv. 13, Phil. i. 9, Col. i. 9, 10, ii. 2, 1 Tim. ii. 4, 2 Tim. ii. 25; it is especially used of religious knowledge, and suggests attainment in it (ἀρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσσομαι, 1 Cor. xiii. 12).

Ver. 3. This verse goes to the root of the matter, and explains the failure of the Gospel among the Jews. It was due to their ignorance of the righteousness of God. All men need and crave righteousness, and the Jews, in their ignorance of God's, sought to establish a righteousness of their own. *Their own* is the key to the situation. Their idea was that they could be good men without becoming God's debtors, or owing anything at all to Him. Such an idea, of course, shows complete ignorance of the essential relations of God and man, and when acted on fatally perverts life. It did so with the Jews. When the Gospel came, revealing the righteousness of God—that for which man must be absolutely indebted to God's grace, and which he can never boast of as "his own"—it cut right across all the habits and prejudices of the Jews, and they did not submit themselves to it. Paul interprets the position of his nation through the recollection of his own experience as a Pharisee—no doubt rightly on the whole. For ὑπετάγησαν in middle sense see viii. 7, xiii. 1, Heb. xii. 9, Jas. iv. 7, 1 Pet. ii. 13.

Ver 4. Further proof that the pursuit of a righteousness of one's own by legal observances is a mistake, the act of men "in ignorance". τέλος γὰρ νόμου χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι: For Christ is law's end, etc. The sense required—a sense which the words very naturally yield—is that with Christ in the field law as a means of attaining righteousness has ceased and

determined. The moment a man sees Christ and understands what He is and what He has done, he feels that legal religion is a thing of the past: the way to righteousness is not the observance of statutes, no matter though they have been promulgated by God Himself; it is faith, the abandonment of the soul to the redeeming judgment and mercy of God in His Son. The meaning is virtually the same as that of our Lord's words in Luke xvi. 16. νόμον without the article is "law" in the widest sense; the Mosaic law is only one of the most important instances which come under this description; and it, with all statutory conceptions of religion, ends when Christ appears. It is quite true to say that Christ consummates or fulfils the law (hence Calvin would prefer *complementum* or *perfectio* to *finis* as a rendering of τέλος); quite true also that He is the goal of the O.T. dispensation, and that it is designed to lead to Him (cf. Mt. v. 17, Gal. iii. 24); but though both true and Pauline, these ideas are irrelevant here, where Paul is insisting, not on the connection, but on the incompatibility, of law and faith, of one's own righteousness and the righteousness of God. Besides, in limiting νόμος to the Mosaic O.T. law, this interpretation does less than justice to the language, and misses the point of παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι: there is no believer, *Gentile* or *Jew*, for whom law, *Mosaic* or *other*, retains validity or significance as a way to δικαιοσύνη, after the revelation of the righteousness of God in Christ.

In ver. 5 ff. Paul describes more fully, and in O.T. terms, the two ways of attaining δικαιοσύνη—law and faith. His aim is to show that they are mutually exclusive, but that the latter is open and accessible to all.

Ver. 5. Μωσὴς γὰρ γράφει: Moses' authority is unimpeachable on this point. The righteousness that comes from law



γὰρ νόμου Χριστὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην παντὶ τῷ πιστεύοντι. 5. Μωσῆς γὰρ γράφει τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου,<sup>1</sup> “Ὅτι ὁ ποιήσας αὐτὰ f Ch. ix. 30; ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτοῖς”. 6. ἡ δὲ ἐκ<sup>2</sup> πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτω Gal. iii. 8. λέγει, “Μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου, Τίς ἀναβήσεται<sup>3</sup> εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν;” g Cf. Eph. iv. 8 f. h Ch. ix. 8. τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ<sup>4</sup> Χριστὸν καταγαγεῖν. 7. “ἢ, Τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου DFKLP; om. τοῦ ΝΒ (Α). οτι stands after γράφει, not before ὁ ποιήσας, in Ν<sup>1</sup>AD<sup>1</sup> 17, vulg. It stands as in the received text in Ν<sup>3</sup>BD<sup>3</sup>FGKL, etc. Most edd. put it after γράφει, but not Weiss, who argues that it was removed from its proper place after νομον in order to provide an object for ποιήσας after αὐτα had been dropped. He reads Μ. γὰρ γράφει τὴν δ. τ. ἐκ νόμου οτι ο π. αὐτα α. ζ. ἐν αὐτῇ. According to W. and H. the original text was οτι τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου ὁ ποιήσας ἄνθρωπος ζήσεται ἐν αὐτῇ. Possibly this best explains the variants, but it strikes one as too artificially grammatical for Paul. αὐτα om. Ν<sup>1</sup>AD-gr., vulg. For ἐν αὐτοῖς (from LXX), which is found in DFKLP, Ν<sup>1</sup>AB 17, 47, vulg. read ἐν αὐτῇ; and so all edd.

must be an achievement: the man who has *done* it shall live in it, Lev. xviii. 5. Paul writes ἐν αὐτῇ with reference to δικαιοσύνην: the ἐν αὐτοῖς of the LXX refers to πάντα τὰ κρίματα which precedes. Moses, of course, in writing this did not mock his people; the O.T. religion, though an imperfect, was a real religion, under which men could be right with God. To keep the law of God and live by doing so (Mt. xix. 17) was the natural aim and hope of a true Israelite; only, in this case, the law was not a collection of statutes, but a revelation of God's character and will, and he who sought to keep it did so not alone, but in conscious dependence on God whose grace was shown above all things else by His gift of such a revelation. Paul, however, is writing with Pharisees and legalists in his eye, and with the remembrance of his own experience as a Pharisee in his heart; and *his* idea no doubt is that this road leads nowhere. Cf. Gal. iii. 10-12. To keep the law thus is an impossibility.

Ver. 6 f. ἡ δὲ ἐκ πίστεως δικαιοσύνη οὕτως λέγει. It is remarkable that Paul does not make Moses his authority here, though he is about to express himself in words which certainly go back to Deut. xxx. 12-14. It is the righteousness of faith itself which speaks, describing its own character and accessibility in words with a fine flavour of inspiration about them. But it is not so much a quotation we find here, as a free reproduction and still freer application of a very familiar passage of the O.T. It is irrelevant to point out that what the writer in Deuteronomy means is that the law (ἡ ἐντολὴ αὕτη ἣν ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι σοι σήμερον) is not oppressive nor imprac-

ticable (as Paul in ver. 5 tacitly assumes it to be); the Apostle is not thinking in the least what the writer of Deuteronomy meant; as the representative of the righteousness of faith, he is putting his own thoughts—his inspired conviction and experience of the Gospel—into a free reproduction of these ancient inspired words. μὴ εἴπῃς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου: = do not think, especially thoughts you would be ashamed to utter. τίς ἀναβήσεται εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν; . . . ἢ τίς καταβήσεται εἰς τὴν ἀβυσσον; There is no impossible preliminary to be accomplished before the true religion is got under way; we have neither to scale heaven nor descend into the abyss. ἀβυσσος (in N.T.) only in Lc. viii. 31 and seven times in Rev. But cf. Ps. cvi. 26, lxx. 20. The passage in Deuteronomy has εἰς τὸ πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης. These two indefinite proverbial expressions for the impossible are interpreted by Paul. With τοῦτ’ ἐστίν (vers. 6, 7), he introduces a *midrash* upon each. The first means (in his mind) bringing Christ down; the second, bringing Christ up from the dead. Evidently the righteousness of faith is concerned with a Christ of whom both these things are true—a descent from heaven, and a rising from the dead, Incarnation and Resurrection. We could not bring about either by any effort, but we do not need to; Christ incarnate and risen is here already, God's gift to faith.

Ver. 8. ἐγγὺς σου τὸ ῥῆμα ἐστίν . . . τοῦτ’ ἐστίν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν. What is in the lips of the preacher is near to all who hear. In Deut. the word is of course the Mosaic law; here it is the Gospel, the word which deals with that πίστις on which

ἄβυσσον;” τοῦτ’ ἔστι Χριστὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναγαγεῖν.<sup>1</sup> 8. ἀλλὰ τί<sup>i</sup> λέγει; “Ἐγγύς σου τὸ ῥήμα<sup>k</sup> ἔστιν, ἐν τῷ στόματί σου καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου.” τοῦτ’ ἔστι τὸ ῥήμα<sup>1</sup> τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν. 9. ὅτι ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματί σου Κύριον Ἰησοῦν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ πιστεύσῃς ἐν<sup>1</sup> τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν, σωθήσῃ. 10. καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν. 11. Λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή, “Πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ’ αὐτῷ οὐ

Heb. xlii.  
20.  
Acts x. 37  
verse 17  
Eph. v.  
26, vi. 17.  
Acts x. 37;  
1 Pet. i. 23.

<sup>1</sup> ὁμολογήσῃς ἐν τῷ στόματι σου Κύριον Ἰησοῦν: this is the reading of most MSS., and is retained by Weiss and on the marg. by W. and H. For Κύριον Ἰησοῦν B and Clem. Alex. have ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς, which W. and H. put in their text, and Lachm. and Treg. on margin. But B. and Clem. Alex. also insert τὸ ῥημα before ἐν τῷ στόματι σου, and this also W. and H. put in text. Weiss regards it as a thoughtless repetition from ver. 8, to give an object to ὁμολογήσῃς; whether the further change of Κύριον Ἰησοῦν into ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς (to conform to the parallel clause) took place before or after this can hardly be decided.

the righteousness of God depends. τῆς πίστεως is objt. gen. The whole idea of the verses is that righteousness has not to be achieved, but only appropriated.

Ver. 9. Apparently this verse gives the content of what the Apostle describes as “the word of faith which we preach”. ὅτι = viz. The reference both to heart and mouth in Deut. suits his purpose, and he utilises it; the closing words in the LXX (καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου ποιεῖν αὐτό) he disregards. ἐὰν ὁμολογήσῃς τὸ ῥήμα . . . ὅτι Κύριος Ἰησοῦς: the putting of the confession before the faith which inspires it, and of which it is the confession, seems to be due simply to the fact that in the O.T. passage present to the Apostle’s mind ἐν τῷ στόματί σου precedes ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου. τὸ ῥήμα is virtually = the Gospel, as God’s word concerning His Son and faith in Him. We confess it when we say, Jesus is Lord. Cf. 1 Cor. xii. 3, Phil. ii. 11. The exaltation of Jesus is the fundamental Christian confession, and presupposes the resurrection; and it is this exaltation which here (as in the other passages referred to) is meant by His Lordship. It is mechanical to say that the first part of ver. 9 (Jesus is Lord) refers to the doubting question in ver. 6, and therefore means a confession of the incarnation; and the second part of it (God raised Him from the dead) to the doubting question of ver. 7. Paul nowhere connects the Lordship of Christ with His incarnation, and there is certainly no reference to His Divine nature here. The confession of the first part of the verse answers to the faith in the second; he who believes in his heart that God raised Christ from the dead can

confess with his mouth (on that ground and in that sense) that Jesus is Lord. On the basis of such mutually interpreting faith and confession he is saved. This does not deprive the death of Christ of the significance which Paul ascribes to it elsewhere. Christ could not be raised unless He had first died, and when He is raised it is with the virtue of His sin-atonement death in Him. His exaltation is that of one who has borne our sins, and the sense of this gives passion to the love with which believers confess Him Lord.

Ver. 10. καρδίᾳ γὰρ πιστεύεται εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς σωτηρίαν. The parallelism is like that in the previous verse, though the order of the clauses is reversed. To be saved one must attain δικαιοσύνην, and this depends on heart-faith; such faith, again, leading to salvation, must confess itself. To separate the two clauses, and look for an independent meaning in each, is a mistake; a heart believing unto righteousness, and a mouth making confession unto salvation, are not really two things, but two sides of the same thing. The formalism which seems to contrast them is merely a mental (perhaps only a literary) idiosyncrasy of the writer. It is true to say that such a confession as is meant here was made at baptism; but to limit it to baptism, or to use this verse to prove baptism essential to salvation, is, as Weiss says, unerhörter Dogmatismus.

Ver. 11. This verse proves from Scripture the main idea in the preceding, viz., that faith saves. It is a quotation from Is. xxviii. 16 (see ix. 33) with the addition of πᾶς, to which nothing corre-



<sup>m</sup> Ch. iii. 22. κατασυνθήσεται". 12. οὐ γάρ ἐστι διαστολή <sup>m</sup> Ἰουδαίου τε καὶ Ἰ Cor. xiv. 7. "Ἕλληρος· ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς Κύριος πάντων, πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν. 13. "Πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσῃται τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου, σωθήσεται." 14. Πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσονται <sup>1</sup> εἰς ὃν οὐκ ἐπίσ-  
τευσαν; πῶς δὲ πιστεύουσιν οὐ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; πῶς δὲ ἀκούσουσι

<sup>1</sup> ἐπικαλέσονται KLP; ἐπικαλεσῶνται <sup>2</sup> ABDF, all edd. So for πιστεύουσιν AKL, read πιστευσῶσιν with <sup>2</sup> BDF. The received ακουσουσι of L has been corrected into the classical ακουσονται in <sup>2</sup> DFK; the true reading ακουσωσι is preserved only in B (with correctors of <sup>2</sup> S and A) and some cursives.

sponds either in Hebr. or LXX. Yet oddly enough it is on this πᾶς that the rest of the Apostle's argument turns. The way of righteousness and salvation by faith, he goes on to show, is meant for all.

Ver. 12. οὐ γάρ ἐστι διαστολή Ἰουδαίου τε καὶ Ἕλληρος: this has been proved in one sense in chap. iii.—there is no distinction between them in point of sin; it is now asserted in another sense—there is no distinction between them in that the same Lord is waiting to save all on the same conditions. κύριος πάντων is best taken as predicate: the same Lord is Lord of all: cf. Acts x. 36, Phil. ii. 10 f. Christ is undoubtedly meant: in His presence, in view of His work and His present relation to men, all differences disappear; there can be only one religion. πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας: abounding in wealth toward all. Christ can impart to all men what all men need—the righteousness of God. Cf. v. 15-17, Eph. iii. 8, τὸ ἀνεξιχνίαστον πλοῦτος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν: cf. 1 C. i. 2 where Christians are described as οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τ. Κ. ἡμῶν Ι. Χ. The formula, as the next verse shows, is borrowed from the Old Testament; and as Weiss remarks, verse 13 sets aside every idea of a distinction between the invocation of God and that of Christ. To a Christian, as Paul conceives him, Christ has at least the religious value of God; the Christian soul has that adoring attitude to Christ which (when shown in relation to Jehovah) was characteristic of O.T. religion. See Acts ix. 14, 21, Acts xxii. 16 (Paul's conversion), 2 Tim. ii. 22. It is a fair paraphrase of the words to say that salvation depends on this: whether a sinful man will make appeal for it to Christ in prayer, as to One in whom all God's saving judgment and mercy dwell bodily. It rests with Christ, so appealed to, to make a man partaker in the righteousness of God and eternal life.

Ver. 13. For every one who invokes the name of the Lord shall be saved. The words are from Joel iii. 5 (= ii. 32 LXX). "The Lord" in the original is Jehovah; here, manifestly, Christ—a proof how completely Christ stands in God's place in all that concerns salvation.

Ver. 14 f. It is difficult to trace very clearly the line of the Apostle's thought here. Many scholars (including W. and H. and Lipsius) connect vers. 14 and 15 closely with what precedes, and mark a break between ver. 15 and ver. 16. It is as if Paul were expanding the πᾶς of ver. 13 and justifying that universal preaching of the Gospel which was itself a stumbling-block to the Jews. *Every one* who invokes the name of the Lord shall be saved, and therefore the conditions of such invocation must be put within reach of *every one*. It is no argument against this interpretation that the ideas it introduces are not essential to the main purpose of the chapter, which is to prove the culpability of the Jews: the eager fulness of Paul's mind often carries him on thus. Others read vers. 14-21 continuously, and mark a break at vers. 13 (e.g., Weiss, Sanday and Headlam). They lay stress on the οὖν in ver. 14 (cf. ix. 14, ix. 30, xi. 1, 11) as indicating that a paragraph has ended, and that the writer is facing the consequences which flow from it, the objections which can be made to it, etc. In this case the connection would be something like this. Salvation depends upon invoking Christ; but to invoke Christ depends upon certain conditions which *the Jews* may say it has been beyond their power to fulfil; let us inquire into the conditions, and see whether such a plea holds good. The first of these connections seems to me much the simpler, and it has the advantage of covering the second. For if the invocation of Christ, which is the sole and universal condition of salvation, has been made possible for *all* men, it

χωρὶς κηρύσσοντος; 15. πῶς δὲ κηρύξουσιν,<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσι; καθὼς γέγραπται, “Ὡς ὥрайοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην,<sup>2</sup> τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων τὰ ἀγαθὰ”. 16. Ἄλλ’ οὐ πάντες <sup>2</sup> ὑπήκουσαν <sup>n</sup> Acts vi. 7. τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Ἦσατας γὰρ λέγει, “Κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσε τῇ <sup>ο</sup> ἀκοῇ <sup>ο</sup> i Thess. ii. 13; Heb. ἡμῶν;” 17. Ἄρα ἡ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Θεοῦ.<sup>3</sup> iv. 2.

<sup>1</sup> For κηρυξουσιν read κηρυξωσιν with **NABDKLP**. For καθὼς read καθάπερ with B. See note <sup>1</sup>, page 598.

<sup>2</sup> εὐαγγελιζομένων εἰρήνην τῶν om. **N<sup>1</sup>ABC 47**; ins. **N<sup>2</sup>DFKLP**. The omission may be due to homœoteleuton. Weiss thinks it is, and keeps these words in the text; Treg. thinks it possible, and brackets them in margin. On the other hand, they may have been inserted to make the quotation agree better (it does not even then agree closely) with the LXX. The MSS. authority by itself is decisive for the omission. τα ἀγαθὰ **N<sup>1</sup>D<sup>2</sup>KL**; om. τα **N<sup>2</sup>ABCD<sup>1</sup>F** (and LXX). W. and H. read ὡς ῥайοι οἱ πόδες τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων ἀγαθὰ.

<sup>3</sup> Θεοῦ **AD<sup>2</sup>3** (gr.) **KL**; Χριστοῦ **N<sup>1</sup>BCD 47** and all edd.

has been made possible for the Jews. The special application to them, in which the argument of the chapter is clinched, is not made till ver. 19; here they are only involved with the rest of the world which has heard the Gospel. πῶς οὖν ἐπικαλέσονται: sc. τοῦτον. πῶς δὲ πιστεύσωσιν οὐ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; It is simplest to render, How are they to believe on Him Whom they have not heard? identifying the voice of the preachers with that of Christ. Winer, p. 249. Cf. Eph. ii. 17. The rendering, *Him of Whom* they have not heard, would be legitimate in poetry. πῶς δὲ ἀκούσωσιν: this deliberative form is in all probability right: see critical note and Blass, *Gramm. des Neut. Griech.*, 205. ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν: viz., by the Lord Whom they preach, and Who is heard speaking when they speak. Cf. 1 Cor. i. 17, ἀπέστειλὲν με Χριστὸς . . . εὐαγγέλιζεσθαι. To find here the idea of an official ministry, as something belonging essentially to the constitution of the Church, is grotesque. “St. Paul argues back from effect to cause, through the series of Prayer, Faith, Hearing, Preaching, Sending; thus the last link in his argument must be the first in the realisation from which the rest follow; this one therefore he confirms by the prophetic announcement in Isa. lii. 7” (Gifford). ὡς ὥрайοι: the true text of Romans greatly abbreviates the prophet’s words, but the joy with which the deliverance from Babylon was foreseen is in keeping with that with which Paul contemplates the universal preaching of the Gospel.

Ver. 16. The fact remains, however, in spite of this universal preaching, that

there has not been a universal surrender to the Gospel. οὐ πάντες: the Jews are present to the writer’s mind here, though the words might apply more widely; hence the compassionate mode of statement. Cf. iii. 3: εἰ ἡπίστησάν τινας. Yet this quantum of unbelief does not discomfit the Apostle; for it also, as well as the proclamation of the Gospel, is included in the prophecy. τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν is a lament over practically universal unbelief. ἡ ἀκοὴ ἡμῶν in Isaiah means “that which we heard,” but who the “we” are is not clear. If a representative prophet speaks, ἀκοὴ will mean that which he and other prophets heard from God: = Who hath believed the revelation made to us? Cf. Isa. xxviii. 9, 19. If a representative of repenting Israel speaks, ἀκοὴ will mean that which he and his countrymen have heard from the prophets: = Who hath believed the message delivered to us? Assuming that Paul as a preacher instinctively used the words to express his own thought and experience in his vocation, they will mean here, Who has believed the message delivered by us Apostles?

Ver. 17. This verse is really parenthetic: Paul’s logical mind cannot let slip the chance of showing how this quotation confirms the connection of ideas in ver. 14. ἄρα suits a rapid passing inference better than the more deliberate ἄρα οὖν which is much more frequent in Romans. Cf. 1 Cor. xv. 18, 2 Cor. v. 14, Gal. ii. 17. So then faith comes from a message (that which is received by the hearer of the Gospel), and the message διὰ ῥήματος Χριστοῦ through the Word concerning Christ.



18. ἀλλὰ λέγω, Μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν; μενούγγε "εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ ῥήματα αὐτῶν". 19. Ἀλλὰ λέγω, Μὴ οὐκ ἔγνω Ἰσραὴλ<sup>1</sup>; πρῶτος Μωσῆς λέγει, "Ἐγὼ ἠ παραζηλώσω ὑμᾶς ἐπ' οὐκ ἔθνει, ἐπὶ ἔθνει

<sup>1</sup> Ἰσραὴλ before οὐκ εἶπε AB<sup>1</sup>CD<sup>1</sup>EF.

That which when heard is ἀκοή is when spoken ῥῆμα, and it is the condition of faith. The construction in ῥῆμα Χριστοῦ is the same as in τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως in ver. 8. The words could not signify Christ's command.

Ver. 18. The process of convicting the Jews is now under way, and ἀλλὰ λέγω introduces a plea on their behalf. It is Paul who speaks; hence the form of the question μὴ οὐκ ἤκουσαν suggests his opinion as to the answer. To *hear* is necessary in order to believe; you do not mean to say they did *not* hear? Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 4, 5, xi. 22. μενούγγε is *immo vero*. The contrary is so clearly the case that there is a touch of derision in the word with which Paul introduces the proof of it. Cf. ix. 20. The Gospel has been preached in all the world: the words of Ps. xix. 4 (exactly as in LXX) are at once the expression and the proof of this. Of course they refer to the revelation of God in nature, but their use will seem legitimate enough if we remember that Paul *knew* the extent to which the Gospel had been proclaimed in his day. Cf. Col. i. 6, 23. It was as widely diffused as the Diaspora, and the poetic inspired expression for this had a charm of its own.

Ver. 19. ἀλλὰ λέγω: another attempt to introduce a plea on behalf of Israel. You cannot say, "they did not hear"; surely you do not mean to say, then, *Israel did not understand*? At first sight there seems an unnatural emphasis here on *Israel*, but this is not the case. The generality of the argument must be abandoned now, for the passages next to be quoted, which are already present to Paul's mind, contrast Israel with the Gentiles, and so bring it into prominence; and it is in the case of Israel, of all nations, that the plea of not understanding is most out of place. Above all nations Israel ought to have understood a message from God: Israel, and in-

ability to understand God's Word, ought to be incompatible ideas. πρῶτος Μωσῆς λέγει, Deut. xxxii. 21. πρῶτος suggests the beginning of a line of witnesses to this effect: virtually it means, even Moses, at the very beginning of their history. The point of the citation is not very clear. Like the passages quoted in ix. 25, 26, it might have been adduced by Paul as a proof that the Gentiles were to be called into God's kingdom, and called in order to rouse the Jews to jealousy; but to be in place here, there must be also the latent idea that if peoples beyond the covenant (who were not peoples at all), and unintelligent peoples (*i.e.*, idol worshippers) could understand the Gospel, a privileged and religiously gifted people like the Jews was surely inexcusable if it failed to understand it. The same idea seems to be enforced again in ver. 20. Ἡσαίας δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ: "breaks out boldly" (Gifford). It was an act of great daring to speak thus to a nation with the exclusive temper of Israel, and Paul who needed the same courage in carrying the Gospel to the Gentiles was the man to see this. οἱ ἐμὲ μὴ ἐπερωτῶντες means those who put no question to me, *sc.*, about the way of salvation. In Isa. lxxv. 1 the clauses occur in reverse order. What the prophet has in view is God's spontaneous unmerited goodness, which takes the initiative, unsolicited, in showing mercy to faithless Jews who made no appeal to Him and never sought Him; the Apostle applies this, like the similar passages in ix. 25 f., to the reception of the Gospel by the Gentiles.\* If God was found and recognised in His character and purposes, where all the conditions seemed so much against it, surely Israel must be inexcusable if it has missed the meaning of the Gospel. The very calling of the Gentiles, predicted and interpreted as it is in the passages quoted, should itself

\* The part of Isa. lxxv. 1 which is not quoted here (I said, Behold Me, behold Me, unto a nation that was not called by My name) is meant, as usually pointed, to refer to the Gentiles, and this tradition of its application Paul may have learned from Gamaliel (Cheyne); but the pointing is wrong: see Cheyne.

ἀσυνέτῳ παροργιστῇ ὑμᾶς". 20. Ἦσαίτας δὲ ἡ ἀποτολμᾷ καὶ λέγει, ὡς Here only.  
 "Εὐρέθην τοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἐμὲ μὴ ζητοῦσιν, ἐμφανῆς ἐγενόμην τοῖς ἐμὲ μὴ  
 ἐπερωτῶσι". 21. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει, "Ὀλὴν τὴν ἡμέραν<sup>r</sup> Luke ii.  
 ἐξεπέτασα τὰς χεῖράς μου πρὸς λαὸν ἀπειθοῦντα καὶ ἄντιλέγοντα".<sup>34; Acts</sup>  
<sup>xiii. 45;</sup>  
<sup>xxviii. 22.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> εὐρεθην τοῖς B<sup>1</sup>ACD<sup>2</sup> LP; but εν τοῖς BD<sup>1</sup>FG. Sanday and Headlam call this  
 "a Western reading which has found its way into B". W. and H. put εν in marg.

have been a message to the Jews, which they could not misunderstand; it should have opened their eyes as with a lightning flash to the position in which they stood—that of men who had forfeited their place among the people of God—and provoked them, out of jealousy, to vie with these outsiders in welcoming the righteousness of faith.

Ver. 21. πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ἰσραὴλ λέγει: That is what he says of the Gentiles, but as for Israel, he says, etc., Isa. lxx. 2. For πρὸς = with reference to, see Heb. i. 7 f., Luke xii. 41. The arms outstretched all the day long are the symbol of that incessant pleading love which Israel through all its history has consistently despised. It is not want of knowledge, then, nor want of intelligence, but wilful and stubborn disobedience, that explains the exclusion of Israel (meanwhile) from the Kingdom of Christ and all its blessings. This is not inconsistent with ver. 3, if we go to the root of the matter. For the ignorance there spoken of is one which has its root in the will, in the pride of a heart which is determined to have a righteousness of its own without coming under any obligation to God for it, and which therefore cannot assume the attitude to which the Gospel becomes credibly Divine; while the ignorance suggested as a plea for unbelief is that of men to whom the Gospel has never been presented at all. The latter ignorance might annul responsibility; the former gives its full significance to guilt.

CHAPTER XI. On the place of this chapter in the argument, see introduction to chap. ix. above. Briefly, the ninth chapter means, God is sovereign, and the tenth chapter means, Israel has sinned. Both of these are presented in relative independence as explanations of the perplexing fact which confronted the Apostle, namely, that the Jews did not receive the Gospel, while the Gentiles did; in this chapter, the two are brought into relation to each other, and we are shown (to some extent) how in the sovereign providence of God even the sin of Israel is made to contribute to the

working out of a universal purpose of redemption—a redemption in which Israel also shares, in accordance with the inviolable promise of God. The chapter can be naturally divided into three sections: (1) vers. 1-10, in which the question immediately arising out of chap. x. is discussed, viz., whether the unbelief of which Israel as a whole has been convicted involves God's rejection of the chosen people; (2) vers. 11-24, in which the result to be attained by the partial and temporary exclusion of the Jews from the Messianic kingdom is enlarged upon, and the Gentiles warned against self-exaltation; and (3) vers. 25-36, in which Paul magnifies the unsearchable wisdom, love and faithfulness of God, as revealed in securing by a common method the salvation alike of Israel and the Gentiles.

(1) Vv. 1-10. λέγω οὖν: the οὖν intimates that it is with the conclusion reached in chap. x. before his mind that Paul puts the following question: the unbelief of Israel naturally suggested it. μὴ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ; For the words, cf. Ps. xciv. 14 (xciii. LXX), 1 Sam. xii. 22. In both places the promise is given οὐκ ἀπώσεται ὁ Κ. τ. λ. αὐτοῦ, and the familiar words give the effect of asking, Has God broken His express and repeated promise? μὴ suggests the negative answer, which is expressed more passionately in μὴ γένοιτο. Cf. iii. 6, ix. 14. Israel may be faithless to Him, but He abides faithful. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Ἰσραηλῆτης εἰμί: This is often read as if it were an argument in favour of the negative answer; as if Paul meant, God has not cast off His people, I myself am a living proof to the contrary. But this is hardly conciliatory, to say the least; and it is better to take the words as explaining why Paul puts the question with μὴ (suggesting the negative answer), and why he then gives the denial with such vehemence. "I, too, am an Israelite, to whom the very idea of God's rejection of His people is an impious and incredible idea, to be repelled with horror." ἐκ σπέρ. Ἀβραάμ:



XI. 1. ΛΕΓΩ οὖν, Μὴ ἀπώσατο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῖς; μὴ γένοιτο.

<sup>a</sup> Phil. iii. 5. καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Ἰσραηλίτης εἰμὶ, ἐκ σπέρματος Ἀβραάμ, φυλῆς Ἀβενιαμίν.

2. οὐκ ἀπώσατο ὁ Θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ, ὃν προέγνω. ἡ οὐκ οἶδατε

ἐν Ἠλίᾳ τί λέγει ἡ γραφή; ὡς ἐντυγχάνει τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ,

λέγων,<sup>1</sup> 3. “Κύριε, τοὺς προφήτας σου ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ <sup>2</sup> τὰ θυσιασ-

τήριά σου κατέσκαψαν· ἀγὼ ὑπελείφθην μόνος, καὶ ζητοῦσι τὴν

ψυχὴν μου”. 4. ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ χρηματισμός; “Κατέλιπον

<sup>b</sup> Ch. iii. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Ch. ix. xi.

ἑμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ.”

<sup>1</sup> λεγων ἡ<sup>1</sup>L; om. ἡ<sup>3</sup>ABCDF.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ before τὰ θυσιαστήρια ἡ<sup>3</sup>DL; om. ἡ<sup>1</sup>ABCF 17.

no proselyte. φυλῆς Βενιαμίν: the one tribe which with Judah mainly represented the post-exilic theocratic people.

Ver. 2 f. οὐκ ἀπώσατο: formal denial of what the heart has indignantly protested against in ver. 1. ὃν προέγνω must contain a reason which makes the rejection incredible or impossible. This excludes the interpretation of Weiss, who thinks that Paul means to say that God *knew* what Israel was *before* He chose it, and therefore cannot cast it off as if its unbelief had disappointed Him; He knew from the first what it would be. To plead thus for God is too paltry. We must take προέγνω as in viii. 29: the meaning is, Israel stood before God's eyes from eternity as His people, and in the immutableness of the sovereign love with which He made it His lies the impossibility of its rejection. The idea is the same as in ver. 29 below. ἡ οὐκ οἶδατε: this is the alternative. He who says, God *has* cast off Israel, must be ignorant of what Scripture says ἐν Ἠλίᾳ in the passage which gives the history of Elijah. The sections of the Bible were designated, not as now by chapter and verse, but by some descriptive phrase: cf. ἐπὶ τῆς βάρου, Mark xii. 26: and in Philo ἐν ταῖς ἀραῖς = Gen. iii. 15. Many references are made in this form by Hebrew writers. For ἐντυγχάνειν κατὰ cf. 1 Macc. viii. 32: it means to plead (not intercede) with God against Israel. τὰ θυσιαστήρια is one of the indications that in Elijah's time there was no law requiring only one altar for Jehovah. The words are quoted from 1 Kings xix. ver. 10 or 14. In Elijah's mood, Paul might have said something similar of his own time, for their circumstances were not alike. The Apostle, like the prophet, was lonely and perse-

cuted, and Israel as a whole seemed to have abandoned God or been abandoned by Him. But he understands God's way (and His faithfulness) better.

Ver. 4. ὁ χρηματισμός: the word is related to χρηματίζω (Mt. ii. 12, 22, Acts x. 22, Heb. viii. 5) as χρησμός to χρῶς: it means the oracle, or answer of God. Here only in N.T., but see 2 Macc. ii. 4, xi. 17. The quotation is from 1 Kings xix. 18 with ἑμαυτῷ added, by which Paul suggests God's interest in this remnant, and the fact that He has a purpose of His own identified with them. God has reserved the seven thousand; He has reserved them for *Himself*; it is on this the proof depends that He has not cast off His people. The seven thousand are Israel to Him. Yet His unchanging faithfulness in keeping a people is not represented as a merely unconditional decree, having no relation to anything but His own will, for the seven thousand are described by their character: οἵτινες οὐκ ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ Βάαλ. οἵτινες is qualitative: *such* were those whom God reserved for Himself, men who never bowed knee to Baal. Βάαλ takes the fem. art. because it was often replaced in reading by  $\text{נָּבַל}$  (LXX αἰσχύνη).

Ver. 5. Application of the principle of ver. 4 to the present. ὁ νῦν καιρὸς is the present regarded not merely as a date, but as in some sense a crisis. λείμμα γέγονεν: a remnant has come to be—this is the fact which has emerged from the general unbelief of Israel. κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος: on these words the emphasis lies. The existence of the remnant is due to an election of grace, a choice on the part of God the motive of which is to be sought in His unmerited

γέγονεν. 6. εἰ δὲ χάριτι, οὐκ ἔτι ἐξ ἔργων· ἐπεὶ ἡ χάρις οὐκ ἔτι γίνεται χάρις. εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων, οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶ χάρις· ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶν ἔργον.<sup>1</sup> 7. Τί οὖν; δὲ ἐπιζητεῖ Ἰσραὴλ, τούτου<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἐπέτυχεν, ἡ δὲ ἐκλογὴ ἐπέτυχεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐπωρώθησαν 8. (καθὼς<sup>3</sup> γέγραπται, “Ἐδωκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Θεὸς πνεῦμα κατανύξεως, ὀφθαλμοὺς τοῖς μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ ὦτα τοῦ μὴ ἀκοῦειν”), ἕως τῆς σήμερον<sup>d</sup> ἡμέρας. d 2 Cor. iii. 9. καὶ Δαβὶδ λέγει, “Γενηθήτω ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν εἰς παγίδα καὶ εἰς <sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἔργων οὐκ ἐστὶ χάρις ἐπεὶ τὸ ἔργον οὐκ ἐστὶν ἔργον. All this is omitted in  $\aleph^1$ ACDEFG, vulg., Egypt. verss., Orig. lat. and Latin fathers; inserted with some variations (for the last ἔργον B has χάρις, by a slip, surely) in  $\aleph^3$ BL and later MSS. According to Sanday and Headlam, there can be no doubt that the addition is a gloss; B is not sufficient to justify a Western addition of this kind against such preponderating authority. The words are omitted by most edd., but Alf. brackets them, and Weiss retains them in the text; the χάρις in B for ἔργον at end only makes the omission by homœot. easier.

<sup>2</sup> For τούτου read τούτο with  $\aleph$ ABCDLF.

<sup>3</sup> καθὼς; read with  $\aleph$ B καθαπερ. See note <sup>1</sup>, page 673.

love alone. The idea is the same as in chap. ix. 6-13: but cf. note on ver. 4.

Ver. 6. Expansion of χάριτος in ver. 5: grace and works are mutually exclusive. Nothing a man can do gives him a claim as of right against God to be included in the remnant. ἐπεὶ: otherwise. Cf. ver. 22, iii. 6. *Gratia nisi gratis sit gratia non est.* Aug. The fact that there is a remnant, and one owing its existence to God's grace, is the proof that (in spite of the wholesale defection of Israel) God has not cast off His people.

Ver. 7. τί οὖν; What then? How are we to describe the present situation, if not in the painful language of verse 1? Thus: δὲ ἐπιζητεῖ Ἰσραὴλ κ.τ.λ. What Israel is in quest of is δικαιοσύνη: the present conveys more sympathetically than the impft. of some MSS. the Apostle's sense of the ceaseless and noble (though misdirected) efforts of his countrymen. ἐπέτυχεν: Jas. iv. 2, Heb. vi. 15. ἡ δὲ ἐκλογὴ· οἱ ἐκλεκτοὶ = τὸ λείμμα. ἐπωρώθησαν: were hardened, 2 Cor. iii. 14, John xii. 40, Mc. vi. 52, viii. 17. Paul does not say how they were hardened or by whom: there is the same indefiniteness here as in κατηγορησμένα εἰς ἀπώλειαν in ix. 22. It may be quite possible to give a true sense to the assertion that they were hardened by God (cf. the following verse), although the hardening in this case is always regarded as a punishment for sin, that is, as a confirming in an obduracy which originally was not of God, but their own; as if the idea were, first they would not, and then, in

God's just reaction against their sin, they could not; but it is a mistake to import into the text a definiteness which does not belong to it. It is rather essential to Paul's argument that he should not be bound down to one-sided interpretations of what he has intentionally left vague.

Ver. 8 ff. This hardening (at the present day ver. 5) agrees with God's action toward Israel in the past, as exhibited in Scripture. The words from the O.T. can hardly be called a quotation; Deut. xxix. 4, Is. xxix. 10, Is. vi. 9, 10, all contributed something to them. The πνεῦμα κατανύξεως is from Is. xxix. 10, and answers to the Heb.

רוּחַ תְּרִדָּה, a spirit of deep sleep or torpor. Virtually it is defined by what follows—unseeing eyes, unhearing ears: a spirit which produces a condition of insensibility, to which every appeal is vain. κατανύξις only occurs in LXX, Is. xxix. 10, Ps. lix. 4 (οἶνον κατανύξεως); but the verb κατανύσσομαι is used by Theod. in Dan. x. 15 to translate דַּמְדָּמָה

(cognate to תְּרִדָּה), and in other places of any overpowering emotion: see Fritzsche *ad loc.* Winer, p. 117. It is God Who sends this spirit of stupor, but He does not send it arbitrarily nor at random: it is always a judgment. ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας: in Deut. xxix. 4 ἕως τῆς ἡ. ταύτης. The change emphasises the fact that what Israel had been from the beginning it was when Paul wrote,



θήραν, καὶ εἰς σκάνδαλον καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδομα αὐτοῖς· 10. σκοτισ-  
θήτωσαν οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν  
e Ps. lxxviii. δια παντὸς "σύγκαμψον". 11. Λέγω οὖν, Μὴ ἔπταισαν ἵνα πέσωσι;  
22 f. (LXX). μὴ γένοιτο· ἀλλὰ τῷ αὐτῶν ἡ παραπτώματι ἢ σωτηρίᾳ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν,  
f Ch. iv. 25. εἰς τὸ ἡ παραζηλώσαι αὐτούς. 12. εἰ δὲ τὸ παράπτωμα αὐτῶν πλούτος  
g Ch. x. 19. κόσμου, καὶ τὸ ἥττημα αὐτῶν πλούτος ἐθνῶν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον τὸ πλήρ-

and that God had acted toward it from the beginning on the same principle on which He was acting then. Cf. Acts vii. 51 f. καὶ Δαυεὶδ λέγει: another proof of ἐπωρώθησαν, though strictly speaking a wish or an imprecation cannot prove anything, unless it be assumed that it has been fulfilled, and so can be taken as the description of a fact. Paul takes it for granted that the doom invoked in these words has come upon the Jews. γεννηθῶ ἡ τράπεζα αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. Their table in the psalm is that in which they delight, and it is this which is to prove their ruin. παγίς, θῆρα, and σκάνδαλον are all variations of the same idea, that of snare or trap—i.e., sudden destruction. What the Jews delighted in was the law, and the law misunderstood proved their ruin. In seeking a righteousness of their own based upon it they missed and forfeited the righteousness of God which is given to faith in Christ. καὶ εἰς ἀνταπόδομα αὐτοῖς: this does not exactly reproduce either the Heb. or the LXX, but it involves the idea that the fate of the Jews is the recompense of their sin—not a result to be simply referred to a decree of God. Their perverse attitude to the law is avenged in their incapacity to understand and receive the Gospel. τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν: for this Gen. both in ver. 8 and ver. 10, see Buttman, *Gram. of N.T. Greek*, p. 267 (E. tr.). τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντὸς σύγκαμψον: keep them continually in spiritual bondage, stooping under a load too heavy to be borne: cf. Acts xv. 10.

This is the condition in which by God's act, requiring their own sins, and especially their self-righteous adherence to the law as a way of salvation, the Jews find themselves. It is a condition so grievous, and so remote from what one anticipates for a people chosen by God, that it confronts Paul again with the difficulty of ver. 1, and obliges him to state it once more—this time in a way which mitigates its severity, and hints that the fall of Israel is not the last thing concerning them to be taken into account. What if God's purpose includes and uses their fall? What if it is not final? It is

with new ideas of this sort, introduced to take the edge from the stern utterances of vers. 8-10, that Paul deals in vers. 11-24.

Ver. 11. λέγω οὖν: I say then, taking up the problem again. μὴ ἔπταισαν ἵνα πέσωσιν; surely they did not stumble so as to fall? The subject is the mass of the Jewish nation, all but the elect remnant. The contrast here between stumbling and falling shows that the latter is meant of an irremediable fall, from which there is no rising. This is one of the cases in which ἵνα is loosely used; it cannot possibly be translated "in order that". For similar examples cf. 1 Thess. v. 4, 1 Cor. vii. 29, Gal. v. 17. ἀλλὰ: on the contrary, by their (moral) fall salvation has come to the Gentiles to provoke them (the unbelieving Israelites) to jealousy. The fact stated here is illustrated at every point in Paul's own ministry; he turned to the Gentiles because the Jews would not hear him. See Acts xiii. 46 ff., xviii. 6, xxviii. 25-28. The end in view in it (cf. x. 19) is his proof that the stumbling of the Jews is not to be interpreted in the sense of a final fall. A recovery is in prospect.

Ver. 12. Both ἥττημα and πλήρωμα are difficult words, but it is not necessary to suppose that they answer mathematically to one another, though Wetstein explains them by — and +. ἥττημα may mean (as in Is. xxxi. 8) defeat, or (as in 1 Cor. vi. 7) loss; it can hardly mean *diminutio eorum*, or *paucitas Judæorum credentium*; τὸ πλήρωμα αὐτῶν must mean the making up of them to their full numbers. There is an exhaustive study of the word πλήρωμα by Prof. J. Armitage Robinson in *The Expositor*, April, 1898. His paraphrase of this verse is very good. "If the Gentiles have been enriched in a sense through the very miscarriage and disaster of Israel, what wealth is in store for them in the great Return, when all Israel shall be saved—'when God hath made the pile complete!'" The enrichment referred to is in both cases that which comes through participating in the blessings of the Gospel.

ρωμα αὐτῶν; 13. Ὑμῖν γὰρ<sup>1</sup> λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν εἰμι ἐγὼ ἔθνων ἀπόστολος, τὴν διακονίαν μου δοξάζω, 14. εἴ πως παραζηλώσω μου τὴν σάρκα, καὶ σώσω τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν. 15. εἰ γὰρ ἡ<sup>h</sup> ἀποβολὴ αὐτῶν καταλλαγὴ κόσμου, τίς ἡ πρόσληψις, εἰ μὴ ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν; 16. εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἁγία, καὶ τὸ φύραμα· καὶ εἰ ἡ ρίζα<sup>22</sup> i Ch. xiv. 3.

<sup>1</sup> ὑμῖν γὰρ DFL; ὑμῖν οὖν C; ὑμῖν δὲ ΞABP 47, all edd. ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν L, vulg., D<sup>3</sup> lat. For μὲν ΞABCP have μὲν οὖν, and so all edd.

Ver. 13 f. ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Paul does not here address a new class of readers. He has been speaking all along to a Gentile church, and speaking to it in that character (see above, pp. 561 ff.); and he feels it necessary to show the relevance, in such circumstances, of bestowing so much attention on the condition and prospects of the Jews. His mission to the Gentiles has an indirect bearing on his own countrymen; the more successful he can make it, the greater is the prospect that some of the Jews also may be provoked to jealousy and saved. Every Jew, again, who is saved, goes to make up the πλήρωμα of ver. 12, and so to bring on a time of unimaginable blessing for the Gentile world. ἐφ' ὅσον Mt. xxv. 40. μὲν οὖν is printed in all the critical editions, but Sanday and Headlam would read μενοῦν as one word, and discount the restrictive force of the μὲν, which suggests that apostleship to Gentiles was but one part of Paul's mission. ἐγὼ: the pronoun expresses not merely a noble consciousness of vocation, but Paul's feeling that in his particular case at all events a mission to the Gentiles could not but include this ulterior reference to the Jews. His devotion, accordingly, to his Gentile ministry, never let them fall out of view. "As far then as apostleship to Gentiles is represented by με (as no doubt it is) I glorify my ministry (by faithful discharge of it), if by any means I may save some of the Jews." For the interpretation of δοξάζω see 2 Thess. iii. 1, John xvii. 4. For εἴ πως see Buttmann, p. 255 f. τινὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν: disenchanting experience taught him to speak thus. Cf. 1 Cor. ix. 22.

Ver. 15 f. From the personal explanation of ver. 13 f., which interrupts the argument, Paul reverts to the ideas of ver. 12. To save any Jew was a great object, even with an apostle of the Gentiles: εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἀποβολὴ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. Their ἀποβολὴ is their rejection by God on the ground of unbelief. καταλλαγὴ κόσμου: a world's reconciliation. In 2

Cor. v. 19 the world's reconciliation is the act of God in Christ; but it was an act which for the mass of mankind only took effect when Jewish unbelief diverted the Gospel to the Gentiles. ἡ πρόσληψις: the assumption of the Jews into God's favour. ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν. Modern expositors almost all find in these words a reference to the resurrection; the restoration of the Jews at once brings on the end; the dead are raised, and the Messiah's kingdom is set up, glorious and incorruptible. It is quite true that in Jewish apocalyptic literature the resurrection introduces the new era, and that Paul shared in the apocalyptic ideas current in his time; but it does not follow that he was thinking of the resurrection here. ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν would certainly be a singular way to describe it, and it is not enough to say with Weiss that Paul used this expression instead of ἀνάστασις in order to carry the mind beyond the fact of resurrection to the state which it introduced. It seems better to leave it undefined (cf. ἀπειρα ἀγαθὰ Theophyl.), and to regard it as an ordinary English reader regards "life from the dead," as a description of unimaginable blessing. This is more impressive than to bind the original and daring speculation of a passage like this by reference to apocalyptic ideas, with which Paul was no doubt familiar, but which are not suggested here, and could least of all control his thoughts when they were working on a line so entirely his own. "Words fail him, and he employs the strongest he can find, thinking rather of their general force than of their precise signification" (Jowett). εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἁγία, καὶ τὸ φύραμα. This explains Paul's assurance that Israel has a future. For ἀπ. and φύρ. see Num. xv. 19-21. By the offering of the first fruits the whole mass, and the whole produce of the land, were consecrated. Both this figure, and that of the root and the branches, signify the same thing. As the application in ver. 28 proves, what is presented in both is the relation of the



ἀγία, καὶ οἱ κλάδοι. 17. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν κλάδων ἐξεκλάσθησαν, σὺ  
 k Ver. 24 δὲ ἁγριέλαιος ὢν<sup>1</sup> ἐνεκεντρίσθης ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συγκοινωνὸς τῆς ῥίζης  
 only in N.T. καὶ τῆς πίότητος<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἐλαίας ἐγένου, 18. μὴ κατακαυχῶ τῶν κλάδων.  
 1 Sep. xvi. εἰ δὲ κατακαυχᾶσαι, οὐ σὺ τὴν ῥίζαν βαστάξεις, ἀλλ' ἡ ῥίζα σέ.  
 11. 19. Ἐρεῖς οὖν, Ἐξεκλάσθησαν οἱ<sup>2</sup> κλάδοι, ἵνα ἐγὼ ἐγκεντρισθῶ. 20.  
 m Jas. ii. 13, iii. 14. καλῶς τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ ἐξεκλάσθησαν,<sup>3</sup> σὺ δὲ τῇ πίστει ἔσθηκας. μὴ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῆς πίότητος N<sup>3</sup>ALD<sup>2</sup>3P; om. καὶ N<sup>1</sup>BCD<sup>1</sup>F. It is om. by W. and H., Weiss, Alf. and Tischdf.

<sup>2</sup> Om. οἱ before κλαδοι with N<sup>3</sup>ABCD<sup>3</sup>FLP.

<sup>3</sup> ἐξεκλασθησαν N<sup>3</sup>ACD<sup>3</sup>LP; εκλασθησαν BD<sup>1</sup>F. Lachm. and Treg. prefer the latter, but all other edd. the former. Weiss (*Textkritik*, S. 34) gives many similar examples in which the preposition in compounds is dropped by oversight. For *υψηλοφρονει* N<sup>3</sup>AB read *υψηλα φρονει*; and so most edd.

patriarchs to the people as a whole. As chosen by God, the fathers were ἅγιοι, i.e., God's people, and this standing (in spite of the arguments in chap. ix., and in spite of the hard facts of the situation when Paul wrote) belongs inalienably to their children. They are God's, and it will yet become apparent that they are.

Vers. 17-24. In these verses, which in a sense are a long parenthesis, Paul anticipates an objection which Gentile readers might take to his use of the last figure, the root and the branches; and he draws from it two special lessons—one, of humility, for the objectors; the other, of hope, for Israel.

Ver. 17. A Gentile Christian might feel that the very fact that Jews were rejected and Gentiles accepted qualified the assurance with which Paul had just spoken of the future of Israel. It is the disposition to think so, and to presume on one's own favoured position, which the Apostle rebukes in μὴ κατακαυχῶ τῶν κλάδων. εἰ δέ τινες τῶν κ. ἐξεκλάσθησαν: τινες puts the case mildly: cf. iii. 3. ἐξεκλάσθησαν, sc., as fruitless. σὺ δὲ ἁγριέλαιος ὢν: σὺ is the presumptuous individual before the Apostle's mind, not the Gentile Church collectively. The ἁγριέλαιος is the olive in its natural uncultivated state. ἐνεκεντρίσθης ἐν αὐτοῖς, sc., among the native branches of the cultivated olive. The process here supposed is one that in horticulture is never performed. The cultivated branch is always engrafted upon the wild stock, and not *vice versa*. This Paul knew quite well (see παρὰ φύσιν, ver. 24), and the force of his reproof to the presuming Gentile turns on the fact that the process was an unnatural one. [*Ordine comutato res magis causis quam causas*

*rebus aptavit* (Origen).] It gave the Gentile no room to boast over the rejected Jews. συγκοινωνὸς τῆς ῥίζης τῆς πίότη. τῆς ἐλαίας: there is an argument in συν. At the best, the Gentile only shares with Jews in the virtues of a root which is not Gentile, but Jewish: he has his part in the consecration of the patriarchs, the one historical root of the people of God, and in the blessings God attached to it. For πίότης cf. Jud. ix. 7. The accumulation of genitives is apparently an imitation of such Hebrew constructions as Isa. xxviii. 1, 16: the meaning is, a partaker in the root of the fat olive tree.

Ver. 18. μὴ κατακαυχῶ τῶν κλάδων: for the genitive see Buttm., 185. Between "if thou boastest," and "thou bearest not the root," there is no formal connection: for such breviloquence, which requires us to supply "consider" or "remember," see Winer, p. 773. The sense is, You owe all you are proud of to an (artificially formed) relation to the race you would despise.

Ver. 19. ἐρεῖς οὖν: the presumptuous Gentile persists. "It is not to the root I compare myself, but branches were broken off that I might be engrafted: that surely involves some superiority in me."

Ver. 20. καλῶς: "a form of partial and often ironical assent" (Gifford). Paul does not think it worth while to dispute the assertion of ver. 19, though as it stands it is by no means indisputable; he prefers to point out what it overlooks—the moral conditions of being broken off and of standing secure—and to urge them on the conscience. τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ: an account of unbelief, cf. Gal. vi. 12, Winer, p. 270. τῇ πίστει

ὕψηλοφρόνει, ἀλλὰ φοβοῦ· 21. εἰ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν κλάδων οὐκ ἐφείσατο· μή πως<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ σου φείσεται. 22. Ἴδε οὖν χρηστότητα καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἀποτομίαν Θεοῦ· ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πεσόντας ἀποτομίαν· ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ<sup>n</sup> Here only in N.T. χρηστότητα,<sup>2</sup> ἂν ἐπιμεινῇς τῇ χρηστότητι· ἐπεὶ καὶ σὺ ἐκκοπήσῃ· 23. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δὲ, ἂν μὴ ἐπιμείνωσι<sup>3</sup> τῇ ἀπιστίᾳ, ἐγκεντρισθήσονται· δυνατὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς πάλιν ἐγκεντρίσαι αὐτούς. 24. εἰ γὰρ σὺ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐξεκόπης ἀγριελαίου, καὶ παρὰ<sup>o</sup> φύσιν ἐνεκεν- o Ch. I 24. τρίσθης εἰς<sup>p</sup> καλλιέλαιον, πόσῃ μᾶλλον οὗτοι οἱ κατὰ φύσιν ἐγκεν- p Here only.

<sup>1</sup> Om. *μηπως* NABCP 47. For *φείσεται* NBCDFL read *φείσεται*. All crit. edd. read *φείσεται*, but while most edd. omit *μηπως* it is retained by Weiss (with DEFGI, most majusc. and fathers) and bracketed by Alford. Weiss finds it impossible to regard it as an insertion, since it makes an easy text irregular and difficult; but its omission, he thinks, need not have been intentional; it may be a mere overlook of the transcriber's.

<sup>2</sup> *χρηστοτητα* the second time D<sup>3</sup>FL; but *χρηστοτης* θεου ABCD<sup>1</sup>, and so all edd. For *επιμεινῇς* NBD<sup>1</sup> read *επιμενῇς*, and so most edd. but not AIF.

<sup>3</sup> For *επιμεινωσιν* N<sup>1</sup>BD<sup>1</sup> read *επιμενωσιν*; see also last verse.

ἔσθηκας: the security of the Gentiles depended on faith, and it is the most elementary principle of a religion of faith (iii. 27) that it excludes boasting. *μη ὑψηλὰ φρόνει*: cf. xii. 16. i Tim. vi. 17 has *μη ὑψηλοφρονεῖν*. Neither is classical. φοβοῦ: consistent with *πίστις*. *Timor opponitur non fiducia sed supercilio et securitati* (Bengel).

Ver. 21. As far as comparisons can be made at all in such things, the Jews had been more securely invested in the kingdom than the Gentiles. They were, in the language of the figure, not artificially grafted, but native branches, on the tree of God's people; yet even that did not prevent Him from cutting off those who did not believe. And if He did not spare them, He will not spare Gentiles either, if in pride they fall from faith. On εἰ . . . οὐκ ἐφείσατο see Winer, 599 f. The true reading of the last word is *φείσεται* (not *φείσεται*), but Weiss would retain *μήπως* (see crit. note) even with this future, and supply the missing link of thought from φοβοῦ: one may fear that he will not, etc. The ironical reserve of this (though the future makes the thing to be feared as certain as possible) is quite Pauline, and the *μήπως* (DFGL) may be genuine.

Ver. 22. Behold then God's goodness and severity, sc., in the case of the Gentiles and Jews as now before us. ἀποτομία: here only in N.T. The moral idea is that of peremptoriness, inexorableness; in Greek writers it is contrasted with ἡμερότης, τὸ ἐπιεικές, πραγότης.

Cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 10. *ἂν ἐπιμεινῇς τῇ χρηστότητι*: if you remain on in the goodness, i.e., continue to be indebted to it, and to it alone, for your religious position. This excludes presumption, and in general all such temper as is betrayed in taking an attitude of superiority to the Jews. The Jews lost their standing because they had come to believe that it was indefectible, and independent of moral conditions; and if the Gentiles commit the same mistake they will incur the same doom. It is not to Israel only God may say, The kingdom is taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. ἐπεὶ, otherwise: see ver. 6.

Ver. 23. *καὶ ἐκεῖνοι δέ*: and they too, they on the other hand, viz., the unbelieving Jews. *ἂν μὴ κ.τ.λ.*, unless they remain on in their unbelief. It is assumed that they need not do this. The hardening spoken of in vers. 7-10, though it is a judgment upon sin, and may seem from the nature of the case to be irremediable, is not to be so absolutely taken. Even in the most hardened rejector of the Gospel we are not to limit either the resources of God's power, or the possibilities of change in a self-conscious, self-determining creature. All things are possible to him that believeth, and we are not to say that in this man or that, Jew or Gentile, unbelief is final, and belief an impossibility. If the Jews give up their unbelief *ἐγκεντρισθήσονται* they will be incorporated again in the true people of God. δυνατὸς γάρ ἐστιν



τρισθήσονται τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐλαίᾳ; 25. Οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν,  
α Ch. xv. 15, ἀδελφοί, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο (ἵνα μὴ ᾗτε παρ' ἑαυτοῖς<sup>1</sup> φρόνιμοι), ὅτι  
 24; 2 Cor.  
 1. 14; ii. 5. πῶρως ἀπὸ α' μέρους τῷ Ἰσραὴλ γέγονεν, ἀχρὶς οὐ τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν

<sup>1</sup> παρ' εαυτοῖς ᾤCDL; εν εαυτοῖς AB. Weiss, W. and H., Treg. and Alf. put εν in text, apparently on the ground that παρ' has been conformed to xii. 16; but W. and H. give παρ' a place in marg.

ὁ θεός κ.τ.λ. The phrase implies not only the possibility but the difficulty of the operation. Cf. xiv. 4. With man it is impossible, but not with God. Nothing less than the thought of God could keep Paul from despairing of the future of Israel.

Ver. 24. God's power to engraft the Jews again into the stock of His people proved *a fortiori* by comparison with what He has done for the Gentiles. To restore His own is more natural, conceivable, and one may even say easy, than to call those who are not His own. The Gentile Christian (1) was cut ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἀγριελαίου, from what is in its own nature an uncultivated olive, with no suitableness for the uses which the olive is intended to subserve, and (2) παρὰ φύσιν in violation of nature was engrafted into a good olive; in comparison with this doubly unnatural process one may well argue πόσῳ μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ. how much more shall these, the Jews who κατὰ φύσιν (in their own nature) belong to the good tree, have their connection with it re-established? Weiss takes ἐγκεντρισθήσονται as a logical future, and it may be so; but Paul believes in his logic, and has probably in view in the word that actual restoration of the Jews of which he now proceeds to speak.

Vv. 25-32. In this concluding section Paul abandons the ground of argument for that of revelation. He has discussed the problems arising out of the rejection of Israel and the calling of the Gentiles, when taken in connection with the promises of God to His people; and he has tried to make it clear that in all His dealings with His people, God has acted righteously, that for all that has befallen them the Jews have full responsibility, and that a Divine purpose, with blessing in it to both Jew and Gentile, has indirectly been getting itself carried into effect through this perplexing history. The rejection of the Jews has led to the calling of the Gentiles, and the calling of the Gentiles, by provoking the Jews to jealousy, is eventually to lead to their conversion too. All this, it may be said, is matter of argument; it is more or less

convincing as the argument appeals with less or greater force to our minds. It is Paul's construction and interpretation of the facts before him, and his anticipation of the result in which they are likely to issue; but it has no greater authority than the reasoning by which he supports it, or the motives which suggest one line of reasoning upon the facts rather than another. We can understand how patriotism, and religious faith in God's promise, and insight into the psychological influences which determine human conduct, all contribute some weight to his argument; but he is not content to rest upon argument alone the central truth he has been expounding—that the hardening of Israel is temporary as well as partial, and that when "the fulness of the Gentiles" has come in the hardening will cease, and all Israel be saved. He expressly puts this truth forward as a revelation (μυστήριον, ver. 25). What this means psychologically we cannot tell, but it is clear that for Paul it was an essential part of the true religion, so far as he could make out the manner of its working in the world. He might try to lead the mind up to it along various lines of argument, or to confirm it by considerations of various kinds; but for him it had a Divine authority, antecedent to argument and independent of it. He sought arguments to make it credible and intelligible, not for his own sake, but for the sake of others. How much a revelation of this kind will weigh with the modern reader depends on the extent to which on general grounds he can recognise in Paul an inspired interpreter of Christianity. History, it must be admitted, throws no light on his words. The Gentiles are not fully gathered in; the time to say whether Israel as a whole is to have any distinct or decisive place in the final fulfilment of God's gracious purpose is therefore not yet. One feels as if the nationalism of the passage fell short of Paul's great word, There is neither Greek nor Jew; but there the Jews are, a problem to unbelief as well as to faith; think what we will of it, it is

ἐθνῶν εἰσελθῇ· 26. καὶ οὕτω πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ σωθήσεται, καθὼς γέγραπται, “Ἦξει ἐκ Σιών ὁ ῥυόμενος, καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ before ἀποστρέψει om.  $\aleph$  ABCD<sup>1</sup> F.

of them salvation comes; and it is at least as credible as the reverse (without considering Paul's arguments at all) that Providence is not preserving them for nothing, and that in some such way as is here indicated there is a close connection between their salvation and the salvation of the world.

Ver. 25. οὐ γὰρ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν: cf. i. 13, 1 Cor. x. 1, xii. 1, 2 Cor. i. 8, but especially 1 Thess. iv. 13, where as here it is used to introduce a revelation. An often-repeated phrase tends to be formal, but the thing of which Paul would not have his readers ignorant is usually important. As the phrase is invariably followed by ἀδελφοί, the latter also tends to be formal: it is at least a mistake to see anything of peculiar intimacy or affection in it in such connections. As ver. 28 and ver. 30 prove, in which they are contrasted with the Jews, the ἀδελφοί are Gentiles, and they are practically identical with the Roman Church. τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο: the word μυστήριον only occurs once in the Synoptical Gospels (Mark iv. 11 and parallels) and not at all in John; but Paul uses it often (twenty-one times, including two in 1 Tim.). It always refers to something which though once hidden, or in its nature a secret, is now revealed. In some passages it is applied to the Christian revelation as a whole (e.g., in Rom. xvi. 25, 1 Cor. ii. 1, Eph. i. 9, Col. ii. 2: in the last it is identified *simpliciter* with Christ). In others it is applied to the Christian revelation as a whole, but with some special aspect of it in view: thus in Eph. iii. 3 the special aspect of “revelation” or “mystery”—for it is all one—in the Gospel is the destined inclusion of the Gentiles among the people of God, while in Col. i. 26 f. it is the indwelling Christ, as the pledge of immortality. In others, again, any particular element in the great revelation is called a “mystery”. Thus in 1 Cor. xv. 51 the truth communicated about those who live to see the second advent is described by this name, and it might have been used in the similar passage in 1 Thess. iv. 15, where Paul says instead that he speaks ἐν λόγῳ κυρίου. This is merely to claim for his words the authority of revelation in

another way. The passage before us comes under this last head. It is a piece of revelation—something which has been communicated to Paul ἐν ἀποκαλύψει for the good of the Church—that hardening in part has come upon Israel until the fulness of the Gentiles has come in. The *new* ideas in this revelation are the limits in extent (ἀπὸ μέρους) and in time (ἄχρι οὗ). ἵνα μὴ ᾗτε ἐν ἑαυτοῖς φρόνιμοι: it would tend to self-conceit if the Gentiles in ignorance of this Divine appointment concluded off-hand that the Jews could never be converted as a whole, and that they themselves therefore were in a place of permanent and exclusive privilege. For ἐν ἑαυτοῖς (AB) παρ' ἑαυτοῖς is found in  $\aleph$  CDL, etc. Both occur in LXX but the former is much more likely to have been changed. τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν ἐθνῶν = the full number, totality, of the Gentiles. It does not mean a number pre-determined beforehand, which has to be made up, whether to answer to the blanks in Israel or to the demands of a Divine decree, but the Gentiles in their full strength. When the Gentiles in their full strength have come in, the power which is to provoke Israel to jealousy will be fully felt, with the result described in ver. 26.

Ver. 26. καὶ οὕτως = and thus; not merely temporal, but = under the influence of the jealousy so excited—under the impression produced on the Jews by the sight of the Gentiles in their fulness peopling the kingdom—all Israel shall be saved. This is an independent sentence. For πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ see 1 Kings xii. 1, 2 Chron. xii. 1. It means Israel as a whole. Paul is thinking of the historical people, as the contrast with Gentiles shows, but he is not thinking of them one by one. Israel a Christian nation, Israel as a nation a part of the Messianic kingdom, is the content of his thought. To make πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ refer to a “spiritual” Israel, or to the elect, is to miss the mark: it foretells a “conversion of the Jews so universal that the separation into an ‘elect remnant’ and ‘the rest who were hardened’ shall disappear” (Gifford). καθὼς γέγραπται Isa. lix. 20 f., but the last words ὅταν ἀφέλῳμαι κ.τ.λ. from Isa. xxvii. 9. The prophet says ἐνεκεν



Ἰακώβ· 27. καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη, ὅταν ἀφελῶμαι  
 r Ch. v. 10. τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν". 28. Κατὰ μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἔχθροὶ δι'  
 s Ch. ix. 5. ὑμᾶς· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκλογὴν, ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας. 29.  
 ἀμεταμέλητα γὰρ τὰ χαρίσματα καὶ ἡ κλήσις τοῦ Θεοῦ. 30. Ὡσπερ  
 γὰρ καὶ <sup>1</sup> ὑμεῖς ποτε ἠπειθήσατε τῷ Θεῷ, νῦν δὲ ἠλεήθητε τῇ τούτων

<sup>1</sup> καὶ before υμεῖς om. <sup>h</sup>corr. ABCD<sup>1</sup>F. For νυν, which is found in ACDEFG<sup>1</sup>L, νυνι is read in B. W. and H. put νυν in text, νυνι in marg. Weiss puts νυνι in text, thinking that the double νυν in ver. 31 may have induced the dropping of the ι. For other cases, see *Textkritik*, S. 62.

Σίων: Paul's ἐκ Σιὼν is probably a lapse of memory, due to the impression of passages like Ps. xiv. 7, liii. 7, Isa. ii. 3, though Philippi thinks it intentional—the object being to emphasise the title of the Jews, as against the Gentiles, to a share in the kingdom. It is then as if he said: Salvation is of the Jews, and surely therefore for them. It is impossible to say that ἡξεῖ refers to the first or to the second advent: the distinction is not present to Paul's mind as he writes; all he is concerned with is the fact that in prophetic scripture language is used which implies that Israel as a people is to inherit the Messianic salvation. ὁ ῥυόμενος, Hebrew מָשִׁיחַ is the Messiah. ἀποστρέψει ἀσεβείας. Cf. Bar. iii. 7, 1 Macc. iv. 58.

Ver. 27. καὶ αὕτη κ.τ.λ. This is My covenant with them = this is the constitution which I give them to live under. Weiss interprets this by what follows, making the αὕτη prospective, but this is somewhat forced. The διαθήκη is not equivalent to the removal of sins, though it is based upon it: it covers the whole condition introduced by that removal. Cf. Jer. xxxi. 31 ff. The deliverance referred to in vers. 26 and 27, though promised to Israel as a whole, is a religious and ethical one. It has no political significance, and nothing to do with any assumed restoration of the Jews to Canaan. This is obvious even apart from the argument of Weiss that the deliverance in question is to be immediately followed by the resurrection; an argument which depends on a doubtful interpretation of ζωὴ ἐκ νεκρῶν ver. 15.

Ver. 28. κατὰ μὲν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. In both clauses κατὰ defines the rule by which God's relation to Israel is determined. When He looks at the Gospel, which they have rejected, they are ἐχθροί, objects of His hostility, and that δι' ὑμᾶς, for the sake of the Gentiles, to whom the

Gospel in this way comes; when He looks at the ἐκλογὴ, the choice which He made of Israel to be His people, they are ἀγαπητοί, objects of His love, and that διὰ τοὺς πατέρας, on account of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, with whom He made an everlasting covenant (cf. Gen. xvii. 19, Luke i. 54 f.). The passive meaning of ἐχθροί is fixed by the contrast with ἀγαπητοί, as well as by the logic of the passage: cf. v. 10.

Ver. 29. Proof that the Israelites, in virtue of their relation to the fathers, are objects of God's love. ἀμεταμέλητα cf. 2 Cor. vii. 10: it may mean either what is not or what cannot be repented of: here the latter. God's gifts of grace, and His calling, are things upon which there is no going back. The χαρίσματα are not the moral and intellectual qualifications with which Israel was endowed for its mission in the world (Godet), but the privileges of grace enumerated in chap. ix. 4 f. Neither is the κλήσις of God a "calling" in the modern sense of a vocation or career assigned to any one by Him; it is His authoritative invitation to a part in the Messianic kingdom. From Israel these things can never be withdrawn.

Vv. 30-32. There is the less need, too, that they should be withdrawn, because God makes the very misuse of them contribute to the working out of His universal purpose of redemption. The past unbelief of the Gentiles and the mercy they presently enjoy, the present unbelief of the Jews and the mercy they are destined to enjoy in the future—these things not only correspond to each other, but they are interwoven with each other; they are parts of a system which God controls, and in which every element conditions and is conditioned by all the rest: there is a Divine necessity pervading and controlling all the freedom of men—a Divine purpose mastering all the random activity of human wills; a purpose which is read

ἀπειθεία· 31. οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι νῦν ἠπειθήσαν, τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλέει ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐλεηθῶσι· 32. συνέκλεισε γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπείθειαν, ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ. 33. Ὁ βάθος πλούτου καὶ σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως Θεοῦ! ὥς ἀνεξερεύνητα τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> After αὐτοὶ  $\aleph$ BD<sup>1</sup> ins. νῦν; and so Tischdf. and W. and H., not Weiss, who regards it as a mere mechanical repetition. Some cursives have ὑστέρον.

out by the Apostle in verse 32: God shut them all up into disobedience that He might have mercy upon them all. Ver. 30. ποτὲ: once, in the past, chap. i. 18-32. τῇ τούτων ἀπειθείᾳ = owing to their disobedience. Cf. vers. 11, 15. Ver. 31. τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἐλέει is to be construed with ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ νῦν ἐλεηθῶσιν. For the order cf. Gal. ii. 10, 2 Cor. xii. 7. It seems pedantic to make the construction strictly parallel to τῇ τούτων ἀπειθείᾳ, and to translate: "that owing to the mercy shown to you—i.e., owing to the jealousy to which the Jews would be stirred at seeing the Gentiles the objects of Divine mercy—they also may obtain mercy"; the simpler construction is to take the dative as explanatory of the verb, and to translate: "that they may be made the objects of the very same mercy which has been shown to you". This is really the point which the Apostle wishes to be at; though the idea brought out in the former rendering is essential in the passage, it is not essential, nor obvious, in these particular words. The second νῦν (wanting in AD\*\*FGL) is probably genuine ( $\aleph$ B), but cannot be forced to mean more than "now in their turn". The imminence of the result is not in view. Ver. 32. συνέκλεισεν γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπείθειαν: this is the nearest approach made in the N.T. to putting the sin of man into a direct and positive relation to the act and purpose of God. But it would be a mistake to draw inferences from the concrete historical problem before the Apostle—viz., God's dealings with Jew and Gentile, and the mutual relations and influence of Jew and Gentile in the evolution of God's purpose—and to apply them to the general abstract question of the relation of the human will to the Divine. Paul is not thinking of this question at all, and his authority could not be claimed for such inferences. Salvation, he sees, as he looks at the world before him, is to come to Jew and Gentile alike by the way of free grace; and it answers to this, that in the providence of God, Jew and Gentile alike have been made to feel the need of

grace by being shut up under disobedience. It is within Paul's thought to say that the sin of Jews and Gentiles, to whom he preached the Gospel, did not lie outside the control, or outside the redeeming purpose, of God; but it does not seem to me to be within his thought to say that God ordains sin in general for the sake of, or with a view to, redemption. This is a fancy question which an apostle would hardly discuss. God subordinates sin to His purpose, but it is not a subordinate element in His purpose. The same order of considerations ought to guide us in the interpretation of τοὺς πάντας. "Them all" certainly refers in the first instance to Jews and Gentiles. It is not the same as τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους, "both parties"; but it differs from it in its present connection only by giving emphasis to the fact that both parties consist of numbers, to all of whom the truth here stated applies. To find here a doctrine of universal salvation—a dogmatic assertion that every man will at last receive mercy—is simply to desert the ground on which the Apostle is standing. It is to leave off thinking about the concrete problem before his mind, and to start thinking about something quite different. It is gratuitous to contrast, as, e.g., is done by Lipsius, this passage with others in which Paul speaks of ἀπολλύμενοι as well as σωζόμενοι, and to say that they represent irreconcilable view-points—the Apostle speaking in the present instance from the standpoint of Divine teleology; in the other, from that of actual experience. The truth is, as Weiss puts it, there is not a word here to show how far, when the history of man has reached its term, Paul conceived God's saving purpose to be realised. συνέκλεισεν answering to ἡρῶν is frequent in LXX: the συν does not refer to the fact that Jews and Gentiles are shut up *together*, but indicates that those who are shut up are shut up on all sides, so that they cannot escape: cf. *con-cludo* and examples in Gal. iii. 22, Ps. xxx. 9 LXX. ἐλεήσῃ:



† Eph. iii. 2. ἀνεξίχνιαστοι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ. 34. “τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου; ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο;” 35. ἢ “τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ;” 36. ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι’ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

“to have mercy upon” means “to make partakers of that ‘common salvation’ (Jude 3) which is emphatically a dispensation of mercy” (Gifford).

Ver. 33. ὁ βάθος πλοῦτου κ.τ.λ. In ver. 32 the content of the chapter is no doubt condensed, but it is more natural to regard the doxology as prompted by the view of God’s Providence which pervades the whole discussion than by the one sentence in which it is summed up. **βάθος**: a universal figure for what is immeasurable or incalculable: cf. 1 Cor. ii. 10, Apoc. ii. 24, Eph. iii. 18. The genitives **πλοῦτου**, **σοφίας** and **γνώσεως** are most simply construed as co-ordinate. For **πλοῦτος** used thus absolutely see Eph. iii. 8, Phil. iv. 19. Perhaps the key to the meaning here is to be found in x. 12: what Paul adores is the unsearchable wealth of love that enables God to meet and far more than meet the appalling necessities of the world; love less deep would soon be bankrupt at the task. In **σοφία** and **γνώσις** the intellectual resources are brought into view with which God has ordered, disposed and controlled all the forces of the world and of man’s history so as to make them subservient to His love. The world, with its conflict of races, religions, passions and even vices, may seem to be a realm of chaos; but when we see it in the light of God as Paul did, we see the signs of wisdom and knowledge, of a conscious purpose transcending human thought, and calling forth adoring praise. For the distinction of **σοφία** and **γνώσις**, which especially in relation to God is to be felt rather than defined, see Trench, *N.T. Synonyms*, § lxxv. τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ: except 1 Cor. vi. 7 which is different, this is the only example of **κρίματα** (plural) in the N.T. It is probably used not in the narrower sense (which would be illustrated by reference, e.g., to the “hardening” of Israel), but in the wider sense of the Hebrew עֲוֹנוֹתָי, to which it often answers in the LXX. In Ps. xxxvi. 6 we have τὰ κρίματά σου ἄβυσσος πολλή: where Cheyne’s note is, “Thy judgments—in their various effects of destruction and salvation”. This is Paul’s thought; hence τὰ κρίματα αὐτοῦ and αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ are prac-

tically the same. As Moses says (Deut. xxxii. 4), *All His ways are judgment.*

Ver. 34. Proof from Scripture of the unsearchableness of God’s ways: He has had no confidant. Isa. xl. 13, 1 Cor. ii. 16. It is mere pedantry to refer half the verse to **σοφία** and the other half to **γνώσις**.

Ver. 35. ἢ τίς προέδωκεν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἀνταποδοθήσεται αὐτῷ; see Job xli. 11 (A.V.). The translation of Job xli. 3, Hebrew, is perhaps Paul’s own, as the LXX is entirely different and wrong. The point of the quotation has been variously explained. If it continues the proof of ver. 33, the underlying assumption is that God’s ways *would* be finite and comprehensible if they were determined by what men had done, so as merely to requite that. It seems better, however, to read the words in the largest sense, and then they express the fundamental truth of religion as Paul understood it—*viz.*, that the initiative in religion belongs to God; or as he puts it elsewhere, that we have nothing we did not receive, and that boasting is excluded. The relation of man to God in these conditions is one which naturally expresses itself in doxology.

Ver. 36. ὅτι ἐξ αὐτοῦ κ.τ.λ. Strictly speaking, the ὅτι confirms the last truth—man’s absolute dependence on God—by making it part of a wider generalisation. ἐξ αὐτοῦ: from Him, as their source; δι’ αὐτοῦ: through Him, as the power by whose continuous energy the world is sustained and ruled; εἰς αὐτὸν: unto Him, as their goal, for whose glory they exist. A reference of any kind to the Trinity is out of the question. It is a question, however, whether τὰ πάντα means “all things” in the sense of the universe (cf. 1 Cor. viii. 6, Col. i. 16, Heb. ii. 10) or whether it is not limited by the article to all the things which have just been in contemplation, the whole marvellous action of God’s riches and wisdom and knowledge, as interpreted by the Apostle in regard to the work of redemption (for an example of τὰ πάντα in this sense see 2 Cor. v. 18). I incline to the last view. The universe of grace, with all that goes on in it for the common salvation of Jew and Gentile, is of God and through God and to

XII. 1. ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, \* διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζῶσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον Ch. xv. 30;  
2 Cor. x. 1.

God. To Him be the glory which such a display of wisdom and love demands.

CHAPTER XII. The distinction of doctrinal and practical is not one that can be pressed anywhere in the N.T., and as little in Paul as in any other writer. It is under practical compulsion of some kind that he develops most of his characteristic doctrines, and he has no doctrines which do not imply a corresponding practice. Yet the distinction does exist, and the remainder of this epistle, especially chaps. xii. 1-xv. 13, may be properly described as the practical part of it. Not that it is independent of the other. On the contrary, it is nothing but the application of it. (οὖν ver. 1.) Christian ethics are relative to the Christian revelation. It is the relations in which we stand that determine our duties, and the new relations in which we are set both to God and to other men by faith in Jesus Christ have a new morality corresponding to them. There is such a thing as a Christian ethic with a range, a delicacy, a flavour, all its own. There is no formal exposition of it here, though perhaps the nearest approach to such a thing that we have in the N.T., but a comprehensive illustration of it in a variety of bearings. Paul starts (xii. 1 f.) with a general exhortation, covering the whole Christian life. From this he proceeds to the spirit and temper which ought to characterise Christians as members of the same society, dwelling especially on the graces of humility and love (xii. 3-21). In the following chapter he discusses the duties of the individual to his legal superiors (xiii. 1-7); his duties to his neighbour, as comprehended in the love which fulfils the law (xiii. 8-10); and the urgent duty of sanctification in view of the Parousia. With chap. xiv. he comes to a different subject, and one apparently of peculiar interest in Rome at the time. It is one of those questions in which the claim of Christian liberty has to accommodate itself to the social necessity created by the weakness of brethren, and the discussion of it extends from xiv. 1-xv. 13, and concludes the "practical" part of the epistle.

Ver. 1. παρακαλῶ οὖν: the reference is to all that has been said since i. 16, but especially to what more closely precedes. Cf. Eph. iv. 1, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 1 Cor. iv. 16. The οὖν connects the two

parts of the epistle, not formally but really, and shows the dependence of the "practical" upon the "doctrinal". It is the new world of realities to which the soul is introduced by the Christian revelation on which Christian morality depends. It is relative to that world, and would become unreal along with it. διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν: for the substantive see 2 Cor.

i. 3 (= ἱμῶν, which has no singular). διὰ in such expressions (cf. 1 Cor. i. 10, 2 Cor. x. 1) indicates that in which the motive is found: Winer, p. 477. The mercies are those which God has shown in the work of redemption through Christ. παραστήσαι is not *per se* sacrificial: in chap. vi. 13, 16, 19 it is used of putting the body at the disposal of God or of sin: see also 2 Cor. iv. 14, xi. 2, Col. i. 22, 28, Eph. v. 27. τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν is not exactly the same as ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, yet no stress is to be laid on the words as though Paul were requiring the sanctification of the body as opposed to the spirit: the body is in view here as the instrument by which all human service is rendered to God, and the service which it does render, in the manner supposed, is not a bodily but a spiritual service. θυσίαν ζῶσαν: "living," as opposed to the slain animals offered by the Jews. This seems to be the only case in which the new life as a whole is spoken of by Paul as a sacrifice—a thank offering—to God. A more limited use of the idea of θυσία is seen in Phil. ii. 17, iv. 18; cf. also Heb. xiii. 15 f., 1 Pet. ii. 5. ἁγίαν: contrast i. 24. εὐάρεστον according to all analogy (see concordance) should go with τῷ θεῷ, and this is secured by the order of the words in A<sup>95</sup> vulg. τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ὑμῶν: in apposition not to τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν but to the presenting of the body as a living sacrifice. For other examples see Winer, 669. λατρεία (ix. 4, Heb. ix. 1, 6, John xvi. 2) is *cultus*, ritual service, worship; and such a presentation of the body, as the organ of all moral action, to God, is the only thing that can be characterised as λογικὴ λατρεία, spiritual worship. Any other worship, any retention of Jewish or pagan rites, anything coming under the description of *opus operatum*, is foreign to the Christian θυσία; it is λατρεία which is *not* λογικὴ, not appropriate to a being whose essence is λόγος, i.e., reason or spirit.



b<sup>1</sup> Pet. ii. 1. τῷ Θεῷ,<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἡ λογικὴν ἡ λατρείαν ὑμῶν. 2. καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε τῷ  
 c Ch. ix. 4.  
 d Matt. xvii. αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ ἡ μεταμορφοῦσθε<sup>2</sup> τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς ὑμῶν, εἰς  
 2; 2 Cor.  
 iii. 18. τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τί τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον  
 καὶ τέλειον. 3. Λέγω γάρ, διὰ τῆς χάριτος τῆς δοθείσης μοι, παντὶ  
 τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν, μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς

<sup>1</sup> τῷ θεῷ before εὐαρεστον R<sup>1</sup>AP, vulg. So W. and H. text, but marg. as rec. Weiss. on the ground that τῷ θεῷ is to be construed with παραστήσαι, keeps these words to the end.

<sup>2</sup> συσχηματίζεσθε . . . μεταμορφοῦσθε; so BLP, W. and H. text; but συσχηματίζεσθαι and μεταμορφοῦσθαι in AB<sup>2</sup>D<sup>1</sup> (gr.) F. The infin. is read by Lachm. and in marg. by Treg. and W. and H., but is obviously an alteration of the imperative to have it construed with παρακαλῶ (Weiss). ὑμῶν after νοὸς is om. by ABD<sup>1</sup> (gr.) F 47 and all edd.

Ver. 2. καὶ μὴ συσχηματίζεσθε: the imperative is better supported (BLP) than the infinitive (ADFG). For the word cf. 1 Pet. i. 14. The distinctions that have been drawn between συσχηματίζεσθε and μεταμορφοῦσθε—on the ground of other distinctions assumed between σχῆμα and μορφή—though supported by distinguished scholars, remind one of the shrewd remark of Jowett, that there is a more dangerous deficiency for the commentator than ignorance of Greek, namely, ignorance of language. In the face of such examples as are quoted by Weiss (Plut., *Mor.*, p. 719 B: τὸ μεμorfωμένον καὶ ἐσχηματισμένον: Eur., *Iph. T.*, 292, μορφῆς σχήματα) and Wetstein (Sext. Emp., ἡ μένει μὲν ἐν τῇ οἰκειᾷ ὑποστάσει, εἰς ἄλλο δὲ εἶδος ἀντ' ἄλλον μεταλαμβάνον γεννᾶται, ὡς ὁ μετασχηματιζόμενος κηρός, καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλην μορφήν ἀναδεχόμενος) it is impossible not to regard the distinctions in question as very arbitrary. For the best supported and most relevant, reflected in Sanday and Headlam's paraphrase ("do not adopt the external and fleeting fashion of this world, but be ye transformed in your inmost nature"), see Lightfoot on Phil. ii. 7, or Gifford on the same passage (*The Incarnation*, pp. 22 ff., 88 ff.). τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ: "This world" or "age" is opposed to that which is to come; it is an evil world (Gal. i. 4) of which Satan is the God (2 Cor. iv. 4). Even apparent or superficial conformity to a system controlled by such a spirit, much more an actual accommodation to its ways, would be fatal to the Christian life. By nature, the Christian is at home in this world (cf. Eph. ii. 2); such as it is, its life and his life are one; and his deliverance is accomplished as he is transformed τῇ ἀνακαινώσει τοῦ νοὸς, by the renewing

of his mind. νοὺς in the Apostle's usage (see chap. vii.) is both intellectual and moral—the practical reason, or moral consciousness. This is corrupted and atrophied in the natural man, and renewed by the action of the Holy Spirit. The process would in modern language be described rather as sanctification than regeneration, but regeneration is assumed (Tit. iii. 5). εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν: this is the purpose of the transforming renewal of the mind. It is that Christians may prove, i.e., discern in their experience, what the will of God is. Cf. ii. 18. An unrenewed mind cannot do this; it is destitute of moral discernment—has no proper moral faculty. τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐάρεστον καὶ τέλειον: these words may either qualify τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ as in A.V., or be in apposition to it, as in R.V. margin. The last agrees better with the rhythm of the sentence. The will of God is identified with what is ἀγαθόν, good in the moral sense; εὐάρεστον well pleasing, sc., to God (so in all the nine cases of the adjective and three of the verb εὐαρεστεῖν which are found in the N.T.); and τέλειον ethically adequate or complete: Dt. xviii. 13, Mt. v. 48. No one discovers the line of action which from possessing these characteristics can be identified as the will of God unless he is transformed from his native affinity to the world by the renewing of his mind by the Holy Spirit.

Vers. 3-8. The duties of members of the Church as such: avoidance of self-exaltation, and mutual service in the measure of the gift bestowed on each. λέγω γάρ: the γάρ indicates that "humility is the immediate effect of self-surrender to God" (Gifford). διὰ τῆς χάριτος κ.τ.λ. Paul illustrates in his own person, in giving this advice, the

τὸ ὁσφρονεῖν, ἐκάστω ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἐμέρισε<sup>1</sup> μέτρον πίστεως. 4. Καθάπερ <sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. v. 13;  
Tit. ii. 6;  
Eph. iv. 7,  
13, 16. γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ σώματι μέλη πολλὰ<sup>1</sup> ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ μέλη πάντα οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει πρᾶξιν. 5. οὕτως οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν σώμα ἔσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ, ὁ δὲ καθ' εἰς ἀλλήλων μέλη, 6. ἔχοντες δὲ χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθείσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα. ἐξ ἑκαστοῦ προφητείας, κατὰ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> For μέλη πολλὰ ALP read πολλὰ μέλη with  $\Sigma$ BDF latt. and most edd; but W. and H. give μέλη πολλὰ a place in marg.

<sup>2</sup> For  $\alpha\epsilon$  (altered to agree with  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ?) read  $\tau\omicron$   $\delta\epsilon$   $\Sigma$ ABD<sup>1</sup>F gr. P. 47.

rule he is laying down for the Church. He speaks "through the grace given him," and therefore without presumption; but he does speak, and so puts his wisdom and love at the service of the Church. παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν: everybody in the Church needed this word. To himself, every man is in a sense the most important person in the world, and it always needs much grace to see what other people are, and to keep a sense of moral proportion. μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν: ὑπερφρονεῖν here only in N.T., but a common word. παρ' ὃ δεῖ φρονεῖν: beyond the mind or habit of thought one ought to have. For this use of παρὰ see xiv. 5, Lc. xiii. 2, Heb. i. 9. φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σφρονεῖν: to cherish a habit of thought tending to sobriety of mind. σφροσύνη is described by Jos., *Macc.* 2 f., as giving man dominion not only over bodily ἐπιθυμίας but also over those of the soul, such as φιλαρχία, κενοδοξία, ἀλαζονεία, μεγαλευχία, βασκανία. These are precisely the qualities to which Paul opposes it here. φρονεῖν and its cognates are favourite words with Paul: what they all suggest is the importance to character, especially to Christian character, of the prevailing mood of the mind—the moral temper, as it might be called. It should always tend to sobriety; but he gives a special rule for it in ἐκάστω ὡς ὁ Θεὸς ἐμέρισεν μέτρον πίστεως. ἐκάστω is governed by ἐμέρισεν: its place makes it emphatic. Cf. 1 Cor. iii. 5. Whatever the character-istic of any individual may be, it is due to the discriminating act of God in measuring out faith to him in greater or less degree. Taken in connection with what precedes, the idea seems to be: There are various degrees of self-estimation proper, for God gives one more and another less; but all are fundamentally regulated by humility, for no one has anything that he has not received. 1 Cor. iv. 7.

Ver. 4 f. καθάπερ γὰρ: For language

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and figure cf. 1 Cor. xii. 12. Also Eph. iv. 15 f., Col. i. 18. The comparison of the community to a body—the social organism—is very common in classical writers: see Wetstein and Jowett here. πρᾶξιν: viii. 13. It is that at which the member works—in modern language, its function. Every member has its gift, but it is limited by the fact that it is no more than a member: it is not the whole body. 1 Cor. xii. 17. οἱ πολλοὶ ἐν σώμα ἔσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ: many as we are, we are one body in Christ; it is the common relation to Him which unites us. In the later passages in which Paul uses this figure (Eph., Col.), Christ is spoken of as the Head of the body; but both here and in 1 Cor. xii. it would agree better with our instinctive use of the figure to speak of Him as its soul. His own figure of the vine and the branches combines the advantages of both. τὸ δὲ καθ' εἰς ἀλλήλων μέλη: this qualifies the unity asserted in ἐν σώμα ἔσμεν. It is not a unity in which individuality is lost; on the contrary, the individuals retain their value, only not as independent wholes, but as members one of another. Each and all exist only in each other. 1 Cor. xii. 27. For τὸ καθ' εἰς see Winer, 312.

Ver. 6 ff. At this point an application, apparently, is made of what has been said in vers. 4 and 5, but the grammar is very difficult. Both A.V. and R.V. supply what is needed in order to read the verses as an exhortation; thus in ver. 6, "let us prophesy"; in ver. 7, "let us wait"; and in ver. 8, answering to the change of construction in the Greek, "let him do it". This is the simplest way out of the difficulty, and is followed by many scholars (Meyer, Lipsius, Gifford). But it is not beyond doubt, and there is something to say for the more rigorous construction adopted by Weiss and others, who put only a comma after μέλη at the end of ver. 5, and construe ἔχοντες with ἔσμεν. In either case, there is an apo-



g Here only. ἡ ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως · 7. εἴτε διακονίαν, ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ. εἴτε ὁ διδάσκων, ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ · 8. εἴτε ὁ παρακαλῶν, ἐν τῇ παρακλήσει · ὁ μεταδιδούς, ἐν ἀπλότῃ · ὁ προϊστάμενος, ἐν σπουδῇ · ὁ ἐλεῶν, ἐν ἰλαρότῃ.

dosis to be supplied; but while in the former case it is hinted at in the second half of every clause (as is seen in our English Bibles), in the latter it is simply forgotten. It is as if Paul had said, "We are members one of another, and have gifts differing according to the grace given to us; our gift may be prophecy, prophecy in the proportion of our faith; it may be διακονία in the sphere appropriate for that; another instance would be that of the teacher in *his* department, or of the exhorter in *his*; or again you may have the distributor, whose gift is in the form of ἀπλότης; or the ruler, who is divinely qualified for his function by the gift of σπουδή, moral earnestness; or the man who to show mercy is endowed with a cheerful disposition". All this *requires* an apodosis, but partly because of its length, partly because of the changes in construction as the Apostle proceeds, the apodosis is overlooked. Its import, however, would not vary, as in the A.V., from clause to clause, but would be the same for all the clauses together. Even with the ordinary punctuation, which puts a period at the end of ver. 5, I prefer this reading of the passage. The varying apodoses supplied in the English Bible to the separate clauses are really irrelevant; what is wanted is a common apodosis to the whole conception. "Now having gifts differing according to the grace given to us—as one may see by glancing at the phenomena of church life—let us use them with humility (remembering that they *are* gifts) and with love (inasmuch as we are members one of another)." It is easier to suppose that the construction was suspended, and gradually changed, with some general conclusion like this before the mind from the beginning, than that it broke down, so to speak, as soon as it began; which we must suppose if we insert προφητεύμεν in ver. 6. But it is not a question which can be infallibly decided. It ought to be observed that there is no hint of anything official in this passage; *all* ministry is a function of membership in the body, and *every* member has the function of ministry to some intent or other. χάρισματα: i. 11, i Cor. i. 7, xii. 4, 9, 31, i P. iv. 10.

With the exception of i P. iv. 10 (which is not without relation to this passage) Paul alone uses χάρισμα in the N.T. Every χάρισμα is a gift of the Holy Spirit given to the believer for the good of the Church. Some were supernatural (gifts of healings, etc.), others spiritual in the narrower sense: this passage is the best illustration of the word. τὴν δοθεῖσαν, *sc.*, when we believed. προφητείαν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως. προφητεία is the highest of χάρισματα, i Cor. xiv. 1 ff. When one has it, he has it κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως = in the proportion of his faith. The faith meant is that referred to in ver. 3, the measure of which is assigned by God: and since this is the case, it is obviously absurd for a man to give himself airs—ὑπερφρονεῖν—on the strength of being a προφήτης: this would amount to forgetting that in whatever degree he has the gift, he owes it absolutely to God. The expression προφητείαν κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως implies that the more faith one has—the more completely Christian he is—the greater the prophetic endowment will be. [In theology, "the analogy of the faith" is used in quite a different sense, though it was supposed to be justified by this passage. To interpret Scripture, *e.g.*, according to the analogy of the faith meant to interpret the parts, especially difficult or obscure parts, in consistency with the whole. The scope of the whole, again, was supposed to be represented in the creed or rule of faith; and to interpret κατὰ τ. ἃ τ. πίστεως meant simply not to run counter to the creed. In the passage before us this is an anachronism as well as an irrelevance. There was no rule of faith when the Apostle was thinking out the original interpretation of Christianity contained in this epistle; and there is no exhortation or warning, but only a description of fact, in the words.] διακονία as opposed to προφητεία and the other functions mentioned here probably refers to such services as were material rather than spiritual: they were spiritual however (though connected only with helping the poor, or with the place or forms of worship) because prompted by the Spirit and done in it. One who has this

9. Ἡ ἀγάπη ἡ ἀνυπόκριτος. ἀποστυγούντες τὸ πονηρὸν, κολλώμενοι ἡ 2 Cor. vi. τῷ ἀγαθῷ. 10. τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι. τῇ τιμῇ 6: 1 Tim. i. 5; Jas. iii. 17.

gift has it ἐν τῇ διακονίᾳ, i.e., in the qualities and in the sphere proper to it: it is in its own nature limited; it is what it is, and nothing else, and fits a man for this function and no other. This is not "otiose," and it provides a good meaning without importing anything. ὁ διδάσκων ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ: it is in his teaching that the διδάσκαλος possesses the gift peculiar to him: 1 Cor. xiv. 26. ὁ παρακαλῶν ἐν τῇ παρακλησίᾳ: so again with the exhorter, the man who speaks words of encouragement: cf. xv. 4, 5; Acts iv. 36, ix. 31, xiii. 15. It is in his παράκλησις, and not in something else, that his χάρισμα lies. Thus far Paul has not defined the quality of the χάρισμα, or shown in what they consist; the functionary is merely said to have his gift in his function—teaching, exhorting, or service. But in the cases which follow, he tells us what the gift, proper to the special functions in view, is; in other words, what is the spiritual quality which, when divinely bestowed, capacitates a man to do this or that for the Church. Thus there is ὁ μεταδιδούς (cf. Eph. iv. 28, Luc. iii. 11), the man who imparts of his means to those who need; he has his χάρισμα in ἀπλότης. Cf. 2 Cor. ix. 11, 13; James i. 5. It is not exactly "liberality," though in these passages it approaches that sense: it is the quality of a mind which has no *arrière-pensée* in what it does; when it gives, it does so because it sees and feels the need, and for no other reason; this is the sort of mind which is liberal, and God assigns a man the function of μεταδιδόναι when He bestows this mind on him by His Spirit. ὁ προϊστάμενος is the person who takes the lead in any way. He might or might not be an official (1 Thess. v. 12, 1 Tim. v. 17, 1 Tim. iii. 4, 5, 12: cf. also πρόστασις xvi. 2, and Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, p. 126 f.); but in any case he had the χάρισμα which fitted him for his special function in σπουδῇ, moral earnestness or vigour. A serious masculine type of character is the pre-supposition for this gift. Finally ὁ ἐλεῶν, he who does deeds of kindness, has his *charisma* in ἱλαρότητι. A person of a grudging or despondent mood has not the endowment for showing mercy. He who is to visit the poor, the sick, the sorrowful, will be marked out by God for His special ministry by this endowment

of brightness and good cheer. Cf. 2 Cor. ix. 7 = Prov. xxii. 8 and Sir. xxxii. (xxxv.) 11: ἐν πάσῃ δόσει ἱλαρώσον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, καὶ ἐν εὐφροσύνῃ ἁγιάσον δεκάτην.

Vv. 9-21. As far as any single idea pervades the rest of the chapter it is that of the first words in ver. 9: ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος. The passage as a whole has a strong affinity to 1 Cor. xiii., and along with what may be a reminiscence of our Lord's words, it has something intensely and characteristically Christian. Whatever the grammatical construction may be—and all through the chapter Paul displays an indifference in this respect which is singular even in him—the intention must be supposed to be hortatory, so that it is most natural to supply imperatives (ἔστω or ἐστέ) with the numerous participles.

Ver. 9. ἡ ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος: see 2 Cor. vi. 6, 1 Pet. i. 22. Probably the following clauses ἀποστυγούντες . . . κολλώμενοι κ.τ.λ. are meant to explain this. Love is undissembled, it is the unaffected Christian grace, when it shrinks, as with a physical horror, from that which is evil (even in those whom it loves), and cleaves to that which is good. στυγεῖν according to Eustath. in *Il.* α. p. 58 (quoted by Wetstein) adds the idea of φρίσσειν to that of μισεῖν: the ἀπο intensifies the idea of aversion or repulsion. Love is not a principle of mutual indulgence; in the Gospel it is a moral principle, and like Christ Who is the only perfect example of love, it has always something inextorable about it. *He* never condoned evil. τῷ ἀγαθῷ is neuter, like τὸ πονηρὸν, though κολλᾶσθαι can be used of persons (1 Cor. vi. 16 f.) as well as things.

Ver. 10. τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ = in point of brotherly love, i.e., your love to each other as children in the one family of God. Cf. 1 Thess. iv. 9, Heb. xiii. 9, 1 Pet. i. 22, 2 Pet. i. 7, 1 Pet. iii. 8. ἀδελφὸς in the apostolic writings does not mean fellow-man, but fellow-Christian; and φιλαδελφία is the mutual affection of the members of the Christian community. In this they are to be φιλόστοργοι, "tenderly affectioned". The moral purity required in ver. 9 is not to be the only mark of Christian love; since they are members of one family, their love is to have the characters of strong natural



i Here only. ἀλλήλους <sup>1</sup> προηγούμενοι · 11. τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ <sup>2</sup> ὀκνηροί, τῷ πνεύματι  
 k Matt. xxv.  
 26. ζέοντες, τῷ Κυρίῳ <sup>1</sup> δουλεύοντες · 12. τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες, τῇ θλίψει  
 ὑπομένοντες, τῇ προσευχῇ προσκατερούντες · 13. ταῖς χρείαις <sup>2</sup> τῶν

<sup>1</sup> For κυρίῳ  $\Sigma$ ABD<sup>3</sup>LP, etc., some Western authorities (D<sup>1</sup>F gr. G lat.) read καίρω, and this appears in the received text, though not in the A.V. The confusion may have arisen from a contraction of the one word being mistaken for that of the other; but was "probably supported by a sense of the difficulty of so comprehensive a clause as τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες in the midst of a series of clauses of limited sense" (W. and H., Appendix, p. 110).

<sup>2</sup> ταῖς χρείαις  $\Sigma$ ABD<sup>3</sup>LP is no doubt the correct reading, but there is a curious variant ταῖς μνείαις in DFG, some MSS. known to Theod. Mops., and in the Lat. transl. of Origen, where, after *usibus* (= χρείαις) *sanctorum communicantes*, we read *Memini in latinis exemplaribus magis haberi, memoris sanctorum communicantes*. Evidently, as S. and H. remark, this must have arisen at a time when the *αἱγίοι* were no longer the members of the community and fellow-Christians whose bodily wants required to be relieved, but the "saints" of the past whose lives were to be commemorated.

affection (στοργή); it is to be warm, spontaneous, constant. τῇ τιμῇ ἀλλήλους προηγούμενοι: "in honour preferring one another". This, which is the rendering of both our English versions, is a good Pauline idea (Phil. ii. 3), but gives προηγούμενοι a meaning not found elsewhere. Hence others render: "in showing honour—i.e., to those whose χαρίσματα entitle them to respect in the Church—giving each other a lead": each, so to speak, being readier than the other to recognise and honour God's gifts in a brother. In this sense, however, προηγούμενοι would rather take the genitive (see Liddell and Scott, who seem, nevertheless, to adopt this rendering); and probably the former, which involves only a natural extension of the meaning of the word, is to be preferred.

Ver. 11. τῇ σπουδῇ μὴ ὀκνηροί: σπουδῇ occurs twelve times in the N.T., and is translated in our A.V. seven different ways. It denotes the moral earnestness with which one should give himself to his vocation. In this Christians are not to be backward: Acts ix. 38. τῷ πνεύματι ζέοντες: the same figure is frequent in the classics, and we still speak of the blood "boiling". The spiritual temperature is to be high in the Christian community: cf. 1 Thess. v. 20, Acts xviii. 25. If we are to distinguish at all, the πνεῦμα meant is the Spirit of God, though it is that spirit as bestowed upon man. τῷ κυρίῳ δουλεύοντες: we can point to no special connection for this clause. Perhaps the thought is on the same lines as in 1 Cor. xii. 4 f.: there are spiritual gifts of all kinds, but one service in which they are all ex-

hausted—the service of Christ—and in that we must be constantly engaged.

Ver. 12. τῇ ἐλπίδι χαίροντες: the hope in which they are to rejoice is that of Christians: cf. v. 2. The meaning is practically the same as in that passage, but the mental representation is not. τῇ ἐλπίδι is not = ἐπ' ἐλπίδι there, but in a line with the other datives here: in point of hope, rejoicing. τῇ θλίψει ὑπομένοντες: ὑπομ. might have been construed with the accusative (τὴν θλίψιν), but the absolute use of it, as here, is common (see Mt. x. 22, Jas. v. 11, 1 Pet. ii. 20), and its employment in this instance enables the writer to conform the clause grammatically to the others. τῇ προσευχῇ προσκατερούντες: cf. Col. iv. 2, Acts i. 14, ii. 42. The strong word suggests not only the constancy with which they are to pray, but the effort that is needed to maintain a habit so much above nature.

Ver. 13. ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες: "the saints" as in viii. 27, 1 Tim. v. 10 are Christians generally. The curious variant ταῖς μνείαις—"taking part in the commemorations of the saints"—dates from an age at which "the saints" were no longer Christians in general, but a select few, as a rule martyrs or confessors in the technical sense. Weiss asserts that the active sense of κοινωνεῖν, to communicate or impart, is foreign to the N.T., but it is difficult to maintain this if we look to such examples as this and Gal. vi. 6, and also to the use of κοινωνία in 2 Cor. ix. 13 (where ἀπλόστητι τῆς κοινωνίας εἰς αὐτοὺς means the liberality of your contribution to them), and Heb. xiii. 16, where κοινωνία is a synonym of εὐποιία,

ἀγίων κοινωνοῦντες, τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες. 14. εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας ὑμᾶς· εὐλογεῖτε, καὶ μὴ<sup>1</sup> καταρᾶσθε. 15. Χαίρειν μετὰ<sup>28</sup> 1 Luke vi. χαιρόντων, καὶ<sup>1</sup> κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων. 16. τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες· μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι. μὴ γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι παρ' ἑαυτοῖς· 17. μηδεὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδιδόντες. προνοούμενοι καλὰ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων·

<sup>1</sup> καὶ before κλαίειν om. ΞBD<sup>3</sup>F; ins. AD<sup>3</sup>LP 47. W. and H. put in marg.; Weiss in text, regarding its omission as merely accidental.

and certainly active. τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες: to devote oneself to entertaining them when they were strangers was one chief way of distributing to the needs of the saints. Hospitality, in the sense of the N.T. (Heb. xiii. 2, 1 Pet. iv. 9), is not akin to "keeping company," or "open house"; it is a form of charity much needed by travelling, exiled, or persecuted Christians. The terms in which it is spoken of in Clem. Rom. (quoted in S. and H.: διὰ πίστιν καὶ φιλοξενίαν ἐδόθη αὐτῷ—i.e., Abraham—νῖος ἐν γῆρᾳ: or, διὰ φιλοξενίαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν Ἄωτ ἐσώθη) may seem extravagant; but the key to them, and to all the apostolic emphasis on the subject, is to be found in Matt. xxv. 34-36.

Ver. 14. εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας, εὐλ. κ. μὴ καταρᾶσθε: not a quotation of Mt. v. 44, but probably a reminiscence of the same saying of Jesus. The change in construction from participle to imperative, the participle being resumed in the next sentence, suggests that the form of the sentence was *given* to Paul—i.e., he was consciously using borrowed words without modifying them to suit the sentence he had begun on his own account. It may be that when Paul said διώκοντες in ver. 13, the other sense of the word passed through his mind and prompted ver. 14; but even if we could be sure of this (which we cannot) we should not understand either verse a whit better.

Ver. 15. χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων κ.τ.λ. The infinites give the expression the character of a watchword (see Hofmann in Weiss). For the grammar see Winer, 397, n. 6. To weep with those that weep is easier than to rejoice with those who rejoice. Those who rejoice neither need, expect, nor feel grateful for sympathy in the same degree as those who weep.

Ver. 16. τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονοῦντες: here the Apostle returns to his own grammar (or disregard of

grammar), and holds to it till ver. 19, when he changes to the imperative (μὴ δότε) with which he concludes (ver. 21 μὴ νικᾷ, νικά). τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν, xv. 5, is a favourite expression, best explained by reference to Phil. ii. 2, iv. 2, 2 Cor. xiii. 11. The idea is that of loving unanimity, and the εἰς ἀλλήλους points to the active manifestation of this temper in all the mutual relations of Christians. "Let each so enter into the feelings and desires of the other as to be of one mind with him" (Gifford). It is a more abstract expression of the Golden Rule, Mt. vii. 12. The negatives which follow introduce explanatory clauses: they forbid what would destroy the unanimity of love. μὴ τὰ ὑψηλὰ φρονοῦντες: see on ver. 3 above and xi. 21. Selfish ambition in the Church is fatal to perfect mutual consideration. τοῖς ταπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι. Elsewhere in the N.T. (seven times) ταπεινός is only found in the masculine, and so some would render it here: condescend to *men* of low estate; let yourself be carried along in the line of *their* interests, not counting such people beneath you. Cf. Gal. ii. 13, 2 Pet. iii. 17. The bad connotation of συναπάγεσθαι in both these places is due not to itself, but to the context. The contrast with τὰ ὑψηλὰ leads others to take τοῖς ταπεινοῖς as neuter: and so the R.V. has it, condescend to things that are lowly. Certainty on such points must always be personal rather than scientific; the first of the two alternatives impresses me as much more in harmony with the nature of the words used than the other. For the idea cf. Wordsworth's sonnet addressed to Milton . . . "and yet thy heart the lowliest duties on herself did lay". μὴ γίνεσθε φρόνιμοι κ.τ.λ. Prov. iii. 7. Be not men of mind in your own conceit. It is difficult to put our judgment into a common stock, and estimate another's as impartially as our own; but love requires it, and without it there is no such thing as τὸ αὐτὸ εἰς ἀλλήλους φρονεῖν.



m Matt. 18. εἰ = δυνατόν, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν, μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντες.  
 xxiv. 24;  
 Gal. iv. 15. 19. Μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες, ἀγαπητοί, ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ.  
 γέγραπται γάρ, "Ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω, λέγει Κύριος".  
 20. εἰ δὲ οὐκ<sup>1</sup> πεινᾷ ὁ ἐχθρὸς σου, ψάμιζε αὐτόν. εἰ δὲ διψᾷ, πότιζε  
 n 2 Tim. iii. αὐτόν. τούτο γὰρ ποιῶν, ἄνθρακας πυρὸς<sup>2</sup> σωρεύσεις ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν  
 6 αὐτοῦ. 21. μὴ νικῶ ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ νίκα ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ τὸ κακόν.

<sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ οὐκ D<sup>3</sup> gr. L, etc.; εἰ alone D<sup>1</sup>FD<sup>3</sup> lat.; ἀλλὰ εἰ R<sup>2</sup>ABP vulg. and all edd.  
 For τὴν κεφαλὴν Weiss would read with B alone τῆς κεφαλῆς.

Ver. 17. From this point the subject treated is chiefly the Christian's attitude to enemies. μηδενὶ κακὸν ἀντὶ κακοῦ ἀποδ. μηδενὶ is emphatic: to no one, Christian or un-Christian. Nothing can ever justify revenge. Cf. 1 Pet. iii. 9, but especially Matt. v. 38-48. προνοούμενοι καλὰ ἐνώπιον κ.τ.λ. Prov. iii. 4, LXX. 2 Cor. viii. 21. What the words mean in Prov. iii. 4 is not clear; they are not a translation of the Hebrew. In 2 Cor. viii. 21 the idea is that of taking precautions to obviate possible slanders; here it is apparently that of living in such a way as not to provoke enmity, or give any occasion for breach of peace. ἐνώπιον: construed with καλὰ. πάντων has the same kind of emphasis as μηδενὶ: Requite evil to no one; let your conduct be such as *all* must approve.

Ver. 18. εἰ δυνατόν: cf. Matt. xxiv. 24. τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν: for what depends on you. Cf. i. 15. Over others' conduct we have no control; but the initiative in disturbing the peace is never to lie with the Christian.

Ver. 19. μὴ ἑαυτοὺς ἐκδικοῦντες, ἀγαπητοί. Even when the Christian has been wronged he is not to take the law into his own hand, and right or vindicate himself. For ἐκδικεῖν see Lc. xviii. 3, 5. ἀγαπητοί is striking, and must have some reason; either the extreme difficulty, of which Paul was sensible, of living up to this rule; or possibly some condition of affairs in the Church at Rome, which made the exhortation peculiarly pertinent to the readers, and therefore craved this affectionate address to deprecate, as it were, the "wild justice" with which the natural man is always ready to plead his cause. ἀλλὰ δότε τόπον τῇ ὀργῇ: the wrath spoken of, as the following words show, is that of God; to give place to God's wrath means to leave room for it, not to take God's proper work out of His hands. For the expression cf. Lc. xiv. 9, Sir. xiii. 22, xix. 17, xxxviii. 12, Eph. iv. 27.

For ἡ ὀργή used thus absolutely of God's wrath cf. v. 9, 1 Thess. ii. 16. The idea is not that instead of executing vengeance ourselves we are to abandon the offender to the more tremendous vengeance of God; but this—that God, not injured men or those who believe themselves such, is the maintainer of moral order in the world, and that the righting of wrong is to be committed to Him. Cf. especially 1 Pet. ii. 23. γέγραπται γάρ: Deut. xxxii. 35. Paul gives the sense of the Hebrew, not at all that of the LXX, though his language is reminiscent of the latter (ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησεως ἀνταποδώσω). It is singular that Heb. x. 30 has the quotation in exactly the same form as Paul. So has the Targum of Onkelos; but whether there is any mutual dependence of these three, or whether, independent of all, the verse was current in this form, we cannot tell. The λέγει κύριος (cf. xiv. 11) is supplied by Paul.

Ver. 20. ἀλλὰ: On the contrary, as opposed to self-avenging, and even to the merely passive resignation of one's case to God. εἰ δὲ πεινᾷ κ.τ.λ. Prov. xxv. 21 f. exactly as in LXX. The meaning of "heaping burning coals on his head" is hardly open to doubt. It must refer to the burning pain of shame and remorse which the man feels whose hostility is repaid by love. This is the only kind of vengeance the Christian is at liberty to contemplate. Many, however, have referred to 4 Esdr. xvi. 54 (*Non dicat peccator se non peccasse; quoniam carbones ignis comburet super caput ejus, qui dicit: non peccavi coram Domino Deo et gloria ipsius*), and argued that the coals of fire are the Divine judgments which the sinner will bring on himself unless he repents under the constraint of such love. But (1) there is nothing said here about the essential condition, "unless he repents"; this is simply imported; and (2) the aim of the Christian's love to his enemy is thus

XIII. 1. ΠΑΣΑ ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ<sup>1</sup> Θεοῦ· αἱ δὲ οὐσαι ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> εἰ μὴ ἀπο Θεοῦ D<sup>1</sup>F, Orig. For ἀπο N<sup>1</sup>ABD<sup>3</sup>LP read ὑπο; and so all edd. ἐξουσίαι after οὐσαι om. N<sup>1</sup>ABD<sup>1</sup>F and all edd. ὑπο του θεου; om. του N<sup>1</sup>ADFP and all edd.

made to be the bringing down [of Divine judgment on him — which is not only absurd in itself, but in direct antagonism to the spirit of the passage.

Ver. 21. μὴ νικῶ: the absence of any connecting particle gives the last verse the character of a summary: in a word, be not overcome by evil. ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ = by the evil your enemy inflicts. The Christian would be overcome by evil if it were able to compel him to avenge himself by repaying it in kind. Wrong is not defeated but doubly victorious when it is repelled with its own weapons; we can only overcome it ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ through the good we do to our adversary, turning him so from an enemy into a friend. *Vincit malos*, says Seneca, *pertinax bonitas*: Wetst. accumulates similar examples from classical writers. The ἐν in ἐν τῷ ἀγαθῷ is probably =  $\therefore$ : it might

be explained as instrumental, or rendered "at the cost of".

CHAPTER XIII. There is not a word to indicate how the transition is made from the discussion of the duties of Christians as members of one body, especially the duties of humility and love in chap. xii., to the special subject which meets us in chap. xiii. — the duty of Christians in relation to the civil authorities. There is nothing exactly like vers. 1-7 elsewhere in Paul's epistles, and it is difficult not to believe that he had some particular reason for treating the question here. The Christians in Rome, though mainly Gentile, as this epistle proves, were closely connected with the Jews, and the Jews were notoriously bad subjects. Many of them held, on the ground of Deut. xvii. 15, that to acknowledge a Gentile ruler was itself sinful; and the spirit which prompted Pharisees to ask, "Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not? Shall we give or shall we not give?" (Mark xii. 14) had no doubt its representatives in Rome also. As believers in the Messiah, "in another King, one Jesus" (Acts xvii. 7), even Christians of Gentile origin may have been open to the impulses of this same spirit; and unbalanced minds, then as in all ages, might be disposed to find

in the loyalty which was due to Christ alone, an emancipation from all subjection to inferior powers. There is here an apparent point of contact between Christianity and anarchism, and it may have been the knowledge of some such movement of mind in the Church at Rome that made Paul write as he did. There is perhaps nothing in the passage which is not already given in our Lord's word, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's"; yet nothing can be more worthy of admiration than the soberness with which a Christian idealist like Paul lays down the Divine right of the state. The use made of the passage to prove the duty of "passive obedience," or "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," is beside the mark; the Apostle was not thinking of such things at all. What is in his mind is that the organisation of human society, with its distinction of higher and lower ranks, is essential for the preservation of moral order, and therefore, one might add, for the existence of the Kingdom of God itself; so that no Christian is at liberty to revolt against that organisation. The state is of God, and the Christian has to recognise its Divine right in the persons and requirements in which it is presented to him: that is all. Whether in any given case—say in England in 1642—the true representative of the State was to be found in the king or in the Commons, Paul, of course, does not enable us to say. Neither does he say anything bearing on the Divine right of insurrection. When he wrote, no doubt, Nero had not yet begun to rage against the Christians, and the imperial authorities had usually protected the Apostle himself against popular violence, whether Jewish or pagan; but even of this we must not suppose him to be taking any special account. He had, indeed, had other experiences (Acts xvi. 37, 2 Cor. xi. 25 ff.). But the whole discussion presupposes normal conditions: law and its representatives are of God, and as such are entitled to all honour and obedience from Christians.

Ver. 1. πᾶσα ψυχὴ is a Hebraism;



Θεοῦ τεταγμένοι εἰσίν. 2. ὥστε ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ α Acts vii. τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ διαταγὴ ἀνθέστηκεν· οἱ δὲ ἀνθεστηκότες, ἑαυτοῖς κρίμα 53· λήφονται. 3. οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες οὐκ εἰσὶ φόβος τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων, ἀλλὰ τῶν κακῶν.<sup>1</sup> θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν; τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει, καὶ ξεῖς ἔπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς· 4. Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστι σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς, φοβοῦ· οὐ γὰρ εἰκὴ τὴν μάχαιραν φορεῖ· Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν, ἑκδικὸς εἰς ὀργὴν τῷ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων ἀλλὰ τῶν κακῶν D<sup>3</sup> gr. L, etc.; τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ a. τῷ κακῷ ἡ ABD<sup>1</sup>F. The vulg. and lat. fathers have *non sunt timori boni operis*, from which W. and H. deduce another reading *τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἔργον*. They suspect a primitive error, and Hort favours the correction *τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔργῳ*, comparing 1 Tim. vi. 18.

cf. Acts ii. 43, iii. 23, and chap. ii. 9. For ἐξουσίαις cf. Luke xii. 11: it is exactly like "authorities" in English—abstract for concrete. ὑπερεχούσαις describes the authorities as being actually in a position of superiority. Cf. 1 P. ii. 13, and 2 Macc. iii. 11 (ἀνδρὸς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ κειμένου). οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ Θεοῦ: ὑπὸ is the correct reading (AB), not ἀπὸ. Weiss compares Bar. iv. 27. ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπάγοντος μνεία. It is by God's act and will alone that there is such a thing as an authority, or magistrate; and those that actually exist have been appointed—set in their place—by Him. With αἱ δὲ οὐσαι the Apostle passes from the abstract to the concrete; the persons and institutions in which for the time authority had its seat, are before his mind—in other words, the Empire with all its grades of officials from the Emperor down. In itself, and quite apart from its relation to the Church, this system had a Divine right to be. It did not need to be legitimated by any special relation to the Church; quite as truly as the Church it existed *Dei gratia*.

Ver. 2. ὥστε cf. vii. 4, 12. The conclusion is that he who sets himself against the authorities withstands what has been instituted by God: διαταγὴ (Acts vii. 53) recalls τεταγμένοι, ver. 1. The κρίμα, i.e., the judgment or condemnation which those who offer such resistance shall receive, is of course a Divine one—that is the nerve of the whole passage; but most commentators seem to regard it as coming through the human authority resisted. This is by no means clear; even a successful defiance of authority, which involved no human κρίμα, would according to Paul ensure punishment from God. For λήφονται κρίμα cf. Mark xii. 40, Jas. iii. 1: where also God's judgment alone is in

view. But to say that it is God's judgment only is not to say that it is eternal damnation. There are many ways in which God's condemnation of sin is expressed and executed.

Ver. 3. οἱ γὰρ ἄρχοντες κ.τ.λ. The γὰρ can only be connected in a forced and artificial way with the clause which immediately precedes: it really introduces the reason for a frank and unreserved acceptance of that view of "authorities" which the Apostle is laying down. It is as if he said: Recognise the Divine right of the State, for its representatives are not a terror—an object of dread—to the good work, but to the bad. φόβος as in Isa. viii. 13. It is implied that those to whom he speaks will always be identified with the good work, and so have the authorities on their side: it is taken for granted also that the State will not act in violation of its own idea, and identify itself with the bad. θέλεις δὲ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ. This is most expressive when read as an interrogation, though some prefer to take it as an assertion: that is, to regard Paul as assuming that the reader does not want to be afraid of the magistrate, rather than as inquiring whether he does or not. To escape fear, τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποίει: do what is (legally and morally) good.

Ver. 4. Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. διάκονός is feminine agreeing with ἐξουσία, which is "almost personified" (Sanday and Headlam). The σοὶ is not immediately dependent on διάκονός, as if the State were conceived as directly serving the person; the State serves God, with good in view as the end to be secured by its ministry, viz., the maintenance of the moral order in society; and this situation is one the benefit of which redounds to the individual. ἐὰν δὲ τὸ κακὸν ποιῇς, φοβοῦ: only when the individual does that which

κακὸν πράσσοντι. 5. διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι, οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν <sup>1</sup>συνείδησιν. 6. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ φόρους <sup>b</sup> 1 Cor. x. 25, 27; 1 Pet. ii. 19. τελείτε· λειτουργοὶ γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσιν, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες. 7. ἀπόδοτε οὖν <sup>1</sup> πᾶσι τὰς ὀφειλάς· τῷ τὸν φόρον, τὸν φόρον. τῷ

<sup>1</sup> ἀποδοτε οὖν <sup>1</sup> Ν<sup>3</sup>D<sup>3</sup>FLP; om. οὖν <sup>1</sup> ABD<sup>1</sup> and all edd.

is contrary to the end set before the State by God—commits τὸ κακὸν, which frustrates τὸ ἀγαθόν—need he fear: but then he must fear. οὐ γὰρ εἰκῇ: for not for nothing, but for serious use, does the ruler wear the sword. For εἰκῇ cf. 1 Cor. xv. 2, Gal. iii. 4. φορεῖ is wear, rather than bear: the sword was carried habitually, if not by, then before the higher magistrates, and symbolised the power of life and death which they had in their hands. "The Apostle in this passage," says Gifford, "expressly vindicates the right of capital punishment as divinely entrusted to the magistrate". But "expressly" is perhaps too much, and Paul could not deliberately vindicate what no one had assailed. He did, indeed, on a memorable occasion (later than this) express his readiness to die if his life had been forfeited to the law (Acts xxv. 11); but to know that if an individual sets himself to subvert the moral order of the world, its representatives can proceed to extremities against him (on the ground, apparently, that *it*, as of God's institution, is of priceless value to mankind, whereas he in his opposition to it is of no moral worth at all) is not to vindicate capital punishment as it exists in the law or practice of any given society. When the words θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονός ἐστιν are repeated, it is the punitive ministry of the magistrate which is alone in view. ἐκδικος εἰς ὀργὴν: an avenger for wrath. ὀργὴ in the N.T. almost always (as here) means the wrath of God. It occurs eleven times in Romans; always so. The exceptions are Eph. iv. 31, Col. iii. 8, 1 Tim. ii. 8, Jas. i. 19 f. τῷ τὸ κακὸν πράσσοντι = to him who works at evil. The process is presented in πράσσειν rather than the result. Cf. i. 32.

Ver. 5 f. διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι: there is a twofold necessity for submission—an external one, in the wrath of God which comes on resistance; an internal one, in conscience. Even apart from the consequences of disobedience conscience recognises the Divine right and function of the ἐξουσία and freely submits to it. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ φόρους

τελείτε. διὰ τοῦτο seems to refer to the moral necessity to which appeal has been already made in διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. It is because conscience recognises the moral value of the State as an ordinance of God that we pay taxes. φόρος is often used of the tribute paid by a subject nation: Neh. v. 4, 1 Macc. viii. 4, Lc. xx. 22; but here is probably used indefinitely of any imposts made for the support of the Government. λειτουργοὶ γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσιν: the use of λειτουργοὶ here instead of διάκονοι emphasises the official character of the service which they render. In the LXX λειτουργεῖν is the regular rendering of שָׁרַף, and therefore refers frequently to the service of the priests and Levites, a usage the influence of which is seen in chap. xv. 16 and Phil. ii. 17; but this was by no means exclusively the case in the O.T. (2 Sam. xiii. 18, 2 Kings x. 5) nor is it so in the New (chap. xv. 27, Phil. ii. 25, 30). It is not a priestly character that the word assigns to the magistracy, but only an official character; they are in their place by God's appointment for the public good. εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο means "to this very end"—the end described in vers. 3 and 4. As προσκαρτεροῦντες is elsewhere construed with the dative (Acts i. 14, vi. 4, chap. xii. 12) it seems necessary here to take εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ with what precedes, and προσκ. by itself as, e.g., in Num. xiii. 21: spending all their time on the work.

Ver. 7. At this point Weiss begins a new paragraph, but W. and H. make ver. 7 the conclusion of the first part of this chapter. In view of the close connection between vers. 7 and 8 (cf. ὀφειλάς, ὀφείλετε) it is better not to make too decided a break at either place. All the words in ver. 7, φόρος, τέλος, φόβος, τιμὴ, do indeed imply duties to superiors, and seem therefore to continue and to sum up the content of vers. 1-6; but ver. 8, in which μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε seems expressly written as the negative counterpart to ἀπόδοτε πᾶσι τὰς ὀφειλάς in ver. 7, introduces at the same time a wider subject—that of the duties of all



c Matt. xvii. 25. τὸ <sup>25</sup> τέλος, τὸ τέλος· τῷ τὸν φόβον, τὸν φόβον· τῷ τὴν τιμὴν, τὴν τιμὴν. 8. Μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε,<sup>1</sup> εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν ἀλλήλους· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον, νόμον πεπλήρωκε. 9. τὸ γὰρ, “Οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις,<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἐπι-  
d Ch. xv. 2; Gal. v. 14; Eph. iv. 25. θυμήσεις,” καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερα ἐντολὴ, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται, ἐν τῷ, “Ἀγαπήσεις τὸν <sup>d</sup> πλησίον σου ὡς ἑαυτόν”. 10. ἡ ἀγάπη τῷ  
e Ch. xi. 12, 25. πλησίον κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται· <sup>e</sup> πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη.

<sup>1</sup> ὀφείλετε seems the only possible reading, yet is not given by any authority. ὀφειλητε  $\Sigma^2$ ; ὀφειλοντες  $\Sigma^1$ , Orig.; οφιλετε B. For αγαπαν αλληλους  $\Sigma$ ABDFP read αλληλους αγαπαν; so all edd.

<sup>2</sup> οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις om. ABDFL and all edd. The insertion is made by  $\Sigma$ P, etc., to complete the reference to the decalogue. ἐν τῷ before αγαπήσεις is ins. by  $\Sigma$ ADLP; om. by BF latt., Orig.-interp. It is bracketed by Lachm., Treg., Alf., and W. and H.; omitted entirely by Weiss. Instead of εαυτον FLP read σεαυτον with  $\Sigma$ ABD.

individuals toward each other. τῷ τὸν φόρον τὸν φόρον: this is quite intelligible, but nothing can make it grammatical: see Winer, p. 737. For the distinction of φόρος and τέλος see Trench, *Syn.*, p. 392. For φόβος and τιμή 1 Pet. ii. 17.

Ver. 8. εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν = except mutual love. This is the *debitum immortale* of Bengel; *hoc enim et quotidie solvere et semper debere expedit nobis* (Origen). ὁ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον: he who loves his neighbour, the other with whom he has to do. Cf. ii. 1, 21 (Weiss). νόμον πεπλήρωκεν = has done all that law requires. From what follows it is clear that Paul is thinking of the Mosaic law; it was virtually the only thing in the world to which he could apply the word νόμος, or which he could use to illustrate that word. The relation of chaps. xii. and xiii. to the Gospels makes it very credible that Paul had here in his mind the words of our Lord in Matt. xxii. 34 ff.

Ver. 9. τὸ γὰρ Οὐ μοιχεύσεις. Cf. viii. 26. The order of the commandments here is different from that in Exod. xx. or Deut. v. (Hebrew), but it is the same as in Luke xviii. 20, and (so far) in James ii. 11. This order is also found in Cod. B. of the LXX in Deut. v. καὶ εἴ τις ἕτερα ἐντολή: this shows that the enumeration does not aim at completeness, and that the insertion in some MSS. of οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, to complete the second table, is beside the mark. ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται: it is summed up—the scattered particulars are resumed and brought to one. The only other instance of this word in the N.T. (Eph. i. 10) illustrates the present one, though

the meaning is not exactly the same. ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου κ.τ.λ. In Lev. xix. 18 this is given as a summary of various laws, mostly precepts enjoining humanity, in various relations; by our Lord (in Matt. xxii. 39) and by Paul (here and in Gal. v. 14) an ampler, indeed an unlimited range, is given to it. Its supreme position too seems to be what is indicated in James ii. 8 by calling it νόμος βασιλικός.

Ver. 10. ἡ ἀγάπη . . . κακὸν οὐκ ἐργάζεται. This is all that is formally required by the law as quoted above (οὐ μοιχεύσεις, etc.): therefore love is πλήρωμα νόμου, law's fulfilment. Of course love is an inspiration rather than a restraint, and transcends law as embodied in merely negative commandments; but the form in which the law actually existed determines the form in which the Apostle expresses himself. It is apparent once more that νόμος is the Mosaic law, and not law in general; it is from it the prohibitions are derived on the ground of which the Apostle argues, and to it therefore we must apply his conclusion, πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη.

Vv. 11-14. In the closing verses of the chapter Paul enforces this exhortation to mutual love as the fulfilling of the law by reference to the approaching Parousia. We must all appear (and who can tell how soon?) before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in the body: if the awe and the inspiration of that great truth descend upon our hearts, we shall feel how urgent the Apostle's exhortation is. καὶ τοῦτο: cf. 1 Cor. vi. 6, 8. In classical writers καὶ ταῦτα is commoner. It

II. ΚΑΙ τοῦτο, εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν, ὅτι ὥρα ἡμᾶς<sup>1</sup> ἤδη ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι. νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία, ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν.

12. ἡ νύξ προέκοψεν, ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν· ἀποθώμεθα οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκοτούς, καὶ ἐνδυσώμεθα<sup>2</sup> τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός. 13. ὥς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ, εὐσχημόνως περιπατήσωμεν, μὴ κώμοις καὶ μέθαις, μὴ κοίταις καὶ ἀσελγείαις, μὴ ἔριδι καὶ ζήλῳ· 14. ἀλλ' ἐνδύσασθε τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς<sup>h</sup> πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιεῖσθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν.

f 1 Cori v. 5; Eph. v. 8, 11 vi. 12; 1 Thess. v. 4. 1. Eph. v. 8 f.; 13. h Acts xxiv. 2.

<sup>1</sup> ἡμας DEFGL; but  $\Sigma^1$  ABCP give *υμας*. *υμας* is put in text by Weiss, W. and H., and Tischdf.; and by W. and H. and Treg. in margin. All put *ἡδη* with  $\Sigma$  ABC before the pronoun.

<sup>2</sup> For *καὶ ἐνδυσώμεθα* read *ἐνδυσώμεθα δε* with ABC<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>P. W. and H. bracket *δε*;  $\Sigma^1$  and a MS. of Sah. have neither *καὶ* nor *δε*. For *ὅπλα* AD read *εργα*. *μη εριδι καὶ ζήλῳ*; B reads the plural *ερισι κ. ζήλοις*, which W. and H. put in margin, but it is probably a case of conforming instinctively to the other clauses; cf. the converse change of plural (*αὶ διαθηκαὶ*) into singular in note <sup>2</sup>, page 657 (also in B).

<sup>3</sup> For *κύριον* l. X. B and Clem. give *Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν* without *κύριον*, which W. and H. print in margin, keeping κ. l. X. in text.

sums up all that precedes, but especially vers. 8-10. εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν: ὁ καιρὸς is not "the time" abstractly, but the time they lived in with its moral import, its critical place in the working out of God's designs. It is their time regarded as having a character of its own, full of significance for them. This is unfolded in ὅτι ὥρα ἤδη κ.τ.λ. ἤδη (without waiting longer) is to be construed with ἐγερθῆναι: "it is time for you at once to awake" (Gifford). No Christian should be asleep, yet the ordinary life of all is but drowsy compared with what it should be, and with what it would be, if the Christian hope were perpetually present to us. νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία: for now is salvation nearer us than when we believed. ἡ σωτηρία has here the transcendent eschatological sense: it is the final and complete deliverance from sin and death, and the reception into the heavenly kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. This salvation was always near, to the faith of the Apostles; and with the lapse of time it became, of course, nearer. Yet it has often been remarked that in his later epistles Paul seems to contemplate not merely the possibility, but the probability, that he himself would not live to see it. See 2 Cor. v. 1-10, Phil. i. 23. ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν: when we became Christians, 1 Cor. iii. 5, xv. 2, Gal. ii. 16.

Ver. 12. ἡ νύξ προέκοψεν: the true day dawns only when Christ appears; at present it is night, though a night that has run much of its course. ἀποθώμεθα

οὖν τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκοτούς. Things that can only be done in the dark—that cannot bear the light of day—are therefore to be put away by the Christian. For ἀποθώμεθα (properly of dress) cf. Jas. i. 21, 1. Pet. ii. 1, Heb. xii. 1. τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός: for τὰ ὅπλα see on chap. vi. 13, Eph. vi. 11, 1 Thess. v. 8. The idea is that the Christian's life is not a sleep, but a battle. τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ φωτός does not mean "shining armour"; but (on the analogy of τὰ ἔργα τοῦ σκοτούς) such armour as one can wear when the great day dawns, and we would appear on the Lord's side in the fight. An allusion to the last great battle against the armies of anti-Christ is too remote, and at variance with Paul's use of the figure elsewhere.

Ver. 13. ὥς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ: as one walks in the day, so let us walk εὐσχημόνως. The same adverb is found with the same verb in 1 Thess. iv. 2: A.V. in both places "honestly". The meaning is rather "in seemly fashion," "becomingly"; in 1 Cor. xiv. 40 it is rendered "decently," where also regard for decorum (the æsthetic side of morality) is in view. κῶμοι καὶ μέθαι are again found conjoined in Gal. v. 21; ἔρις καὶ ζήλος in Gal. v. 20 and 1 Cor. iii. 3. W. and H. following B. put ἔρισι καὶ ζήλοις in margin; the plurals in this case as in the others would indicate the various acts or manifestations of excess, whether in self-indulgence or self-will.

Ver. 14. ἀλλὰ ἐνδύσασθε τὸν Κ. Ἰ. Χριστὸν. ἀλλὰ emphasises the contrast between the true Christian life and that



■ Acts xviii.  
26; Ch.  
xv. 7;  
Philemon  
v. 12, 17.

XIV. 1. ΤΟΝ δὲ ἀσθενούντα τῇ πίστει \*προλαμβάνεσθε, μὴ εἰς  
διακρίσεις ὁ διαλογισμῶν. 2. Ὅς μὲν πιστεύει φαγεῖν πάντα, ὁ δὲ  
b Ch. i. 21.

which has just been described. The Christian puts on the Lord Jesus Christ, according to Paul's teaching, in baptism (cf. Gal. iii. 27), as the solemn deliberate act in which he identifies himself, by faith, with Christ in His death and resurrection (chap. vi. 3). But the Christian life is not exhausted in this act, which is rather the starting-point for a putting on of Christ in the ethical sense, a "clothing of the soul in the moral disposition and habits of Christ" (Gifford); or as the Apostle himself puts it in vi. 11, a *reckoning* of ourselves to be dead to sin but alive to God in Christ Jesus. Every time we perform an ethical act of this kind we put on the Lord Jesus Christ more fully. But the principle of all such acts is the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us (chaps. vi.-viii.), and it is the essential antagonism of the spirit to the flesh which determines the form of the last words: καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς πρόνοιαν μὴ ποιέισθε εἰς ἐπιθυμίας. It is to inquire too curiously if we inquire whether σὰρξ here is used in the physiological sense = the body, or in the moral sense = *libidinosa caro* (as Fritzsche argues): the significance of the word in Paul depends on the fact that in experience these two meanings are indubitably if not inseparably related. Taking the flesh as it is, forethought or provision for it—an interest in it which consults for it, and makes it an object—can only have one end, *vis.*, its ἐπιθυμίας. All such interest therefore is forbidden as inconsistent with putting on the Lord Jesus Christ in the power of the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER XIV. 1-XV. 13. One subject is before the Apostle's mind throughout the whole of this section—the relations of "the strong" and "the weak" in the Church at Rome. It is connected in a variety of ways, which are felt rather than expressed, with what precedes. Thus it is pervaded by the same sense of the supreme importance of mutual love among Christians which characterises chaps. xii. and xiii. It makes use, in much the same way as chap. xiii. 11-14, of the impending judgment (xiv. 10), to quicken the sense of individual and personal responsibility. Possibly, too, there is a more formal connection with chap. xiii. Paul has been warning against the indulgence of the flesh (xiii. 14), and this prompts him, by contrast,

to speak of those who by an inadequate appreciation of Christian liberty were practising an "over-scrupulous asceticism". There has been much discussion as to who "the weak" and "the strong" respectively were. The weakness is weakness in respect of faith; the weak man is one who does not fully appreciate what his Christianity means; in particular, he does not see that the soul which has committed itself to Christ for salvation is emancipated from all law but that which is involved in its responsibility to Him. Hence his conscience is fettered by scruples in regard to customs dating from pre-Christian days. The scruples in question here were connected with the use of flesh and wine, and with the religious observance of certain days (whether as fasts or feasts is open to question). Possibly the persons indulging such scruples were Jewish Christians, but they need not have been. They were certainly not legalists in principle, making the observance of the Jewish law or any part of it an essential condition of the Christian salvation; otherwise Paul, as the Epistle to the Galatians shows, would have addressed them in a different tone. Further, the Jewish law does not prescribe abstinence from wine or from animal food; and there is no suggestion here, as in 1 Cor. 8, that the difficulty was about food that had been offered in sacrifice to false gods. Hence the influence at work in the Roman Church in producing this scrupulosity of conscience was probably of Essene origin, and akin to that which Paul subsequently treats with greater severity at Colossae (Col. ii. 16). At Rome the scruples were only scruples, and though there was danger in them because they rested on a defective apprehension of Christianity, they could be tenderly dealt with; at Colossae they had grown into or adapted themselves to a philosophy of religion which was fatal to Christianity; hence the change of tone. But though "the weak" need not have been Jews, the scruples in which their weakness was expressed, had so far Jewish connections and Jewish affinities; and it is probable, from the way in which (chap. xv. 7-13) the discussion of the relations of the weak and the strong passes over into an exhortation to unity between Jew and Gentile in the Church, that the two classifications had a

ἀσθενῶν λάχανα ἐσθίει. 3. ὁ ἐσθίων τὸν μὴ ἐσθίοντα μὴ ἔξουθενείτω, c 1 Cor. i. 28; vi. 4; και ὁ μὴ<sup>1</sup> ἐσθίων τὸν ἐσθίοντα μὴ κρινέτω. ὁ Θεὸς γὰρ αὐτὸν προ- xvi. 11. σελάβετο. 4. σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην; τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ στήκει ἢ πίπτει. σταθήσεται δέ· δυνατὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν<sup>2</sup> ὁ Θεὸς στήσαι αὐτόν. 5. Ὃς μὲν κρίνει<sup>3</sup> ἡμέραν παρ' ἡμέραν, ὃς δὲ κρίνει πᾶσαν

<sup>1</sup> For και ο μὴ  $\aleph^3 D^3 LP$ , read with  $\aleph^1 ABCD^1$  ο δε μὴ.

<sup>2</sup> For δυνατὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν  $\aleph ABCD^1 F$  and all edd. read δυνατεὶ γαρ. ο θεος DFL; but  $\aleph ABCP$  (and all edd.) ο κυριος.

<sup>3</sup> ὃς μὲν κρίνει  $\aleph^3 BDFL$ ; ὃς μὲν γαρ κρίνει  $\aleph^1 ACP$  latt. Weiss regards the γαρ as a mere interpolation (cf. the case in note <sup>1</sup>, page 602); Tischd. inserts; W. and H. bracket.

general correspondence; the weak would be Jews or persons under Jewish influence; the strong would be Gentiles, or persons at least who understood the Gospel as it was preached to the Gentiles by Paul.

Ver. 1. τὸν δὲ ἀσθενούonta: as Godet points out, the part. as opposed to ἀσθενῇ, denotes one who is for the time feeble, but who may become strong. τῇ πίστει: in respect of faith, i.e.—in Paul's sense of the word—in respect of his saving reliance on Christ and all that it involves: see above. One is weak in respect of faith who does not understand that salvation is of faith from first to last, and that faith is secured by its own entireness and intensity, not by a timorous scrupulosity of conscience. προσλαμβάνεσθαι is often used of God's gracious acceptance of men, but also of men welcoming other men to their society and friendship, 2 Macc. viii. 1, x. 15. μὴ εἰς διακρίσεις διαλογισμῶν: not with a view to deciding (or passing sentence on) his doubts. The διαλογισμοί are the movements of thought in the weak man, whose anxious mind will not be at peace; no censure of any kind is implied by the word. The strong, who welcome him to the fellowship of the Church, are to do so unreservedly, not with the purpose of judging and ruling his mind by their own. For διακρίσεις see 1 Cor. xii. 10, Heb. v. 14.

Ver. 2. ὃς μὲν: cf. ver. 5, ix. 21. πιστεύει φαγεῖν πάντα: has confidence to eat all things. See Winer, p. 405. Gifford quotes Demosthenes, p. 88: προέσθαι δὲ τὴν προικ' οὐκ ἐπίστευσεν: "he had not confidence, i.e., was too cautious, to give up the dowry". This use of πιστεύειν shows that πίστις to Paul was essentially an ethical principle; the man who was strong in it had moral independence, courage, and originality.

ὁ δὲ ἀσθενῶν λάχανα ἐσθίει: it is impossible to suppose that Paul here is "writing quite generally"; he must have had a motive for saying what he does, and it can only be found in the fact that he knew there were Christians in Rome who abstained from the use of flesh.

Ver. 3. ὁ ἐσθίων . . . μὴ ἐξουθενείτω κ.τ.λ. Paul passes no sentence on either party, but warns both of the temptations to which they are exposed. He who eats will be inclined to contempt—to sneer at the scruples of the weak as mere prejudice or obscurantism; he who does not eat will be inclined to censoriousness—to pronounce the strong, who uses his liberty, no better than he should be. This censoriousness is forbidden, because God (ὁ θεός is emphatic by position) has received the strong into the Church, and therefore his place in it is not to be questioned.

Ver. 4. σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην; the sharpness of this rebuke (cf. ix. 20) shows that Paul, with all his love and consideration for the weak, was alive to the possibility of a tyranny of the weak, and repressed it in its beginnings. It is easy to lapse from scrupulousness about one's own conduct into Pharisaism about that of others. οἰκέτης is rare in the N.T. Paul has no other example, and may have used it here for the suggestion (which δοῦλος has not) that the person referred to belonged to the house. τῷ ἰδίῳ κυρίῳ στήκει ἢ πίπτει: for the verbs in the moral sense see 1 Cor. x. 12. The dative is *dat. comm.* It is his own Lord who is concerned—it is His interest which is involved and to Him (not to you) he must answer—as he stands or falls. σταθήσεται δέ: but he shall be made to stand, i.e., shall be preserved in the integrity of his Christian character. δυνατεὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύριος στήσαι αὐτόν: for the Lord has power to keep



d Ch. viii. <sup>5</sup> ἡμέραν. ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ νοῦ πληροφορεῖσθω. 6. ὁ ἄφρονων τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίῳ φρονεῖ, καὶ ὁ μὴ φρονων τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίῳ οὐ φρονεῖ.<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἐσθίων Κυρίῳ ἐσθίει, εὐχαριστεῖ γὰρ τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων Κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐσθίει, καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ Θεῷ. 7. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁ μὴ φρονων τὴν ἡμέραν Κυρίῳ οὐ φρονεῖ om.  $\aleph$ ABC<sup>1</sup>DF, vulg., Copt., etc. Almost all crit. edd. follow these authorities and omit; but Alf. only brackets the words, holding that the omission may be due to homœoteleuton. The clause is found in C<sup>3</sup>LP, Syr., Chrys., Thdr̄t. There are other instances of homœoteleuton in the attestation of this passage, as Alf. points out. Thus 66<sup>1</sup> omits from ἡμεραν to ἡμεραν, 71 from ἐσθίει to ἐσθίει, and L from τῷ Θεῷ to τῷ Θεῷ. Insert καὶ before ὁ ἐσθίων with  $\aleph$ ABCDLF.

him upright. Paul does not contemplate the strong man falling and being set up again by Christ; but in spite of the perils which liberty brings in its train—and the Apostle is as conscious of them as the most timid and scrupulous Christian could be—he is confident that *Christian* liberty, through the grace and power of Christ, will prove a triumphant moral success.

Ver. 5. The Apostle passes from the question of food to one of essentially the same kind—the religious observance of days. This is generally regarded as quite independent of the other; but Weiss argues from ver. 6, where the text which he adopts in common with most editors seems to contrast “him who *observes the day*” with “him who *eats*,” that what we have here is really a subdivision of the same general subject. In other words, among those who abstained from flesh and wine, some did so always, others only on certain days. “To observe the day” might in itself mean to observe it by fasting—this would be the case if one’s ordinary custom were to use flesh and wine; or it might mean to observe it by feasting—this would be the case if one ordinarily abstained. Practically, it makes no difference whether this reading of the passage is correct or not: Paul argues the question of the distinction of days as if it were an independent question, much as he does in Col. ii. It is not probable that there is any reference either to the Jewish Sabbath or to the Lord’s Day, though the principle on which the Apostle argues defines the Christian attitude to both. Nothing whatever in the Christian religion is legal or statutory, not even the religious observance of the first day of the week; that observance originated in faith, and is not what it should be except as it is freely maintained by faith. For *ὅς μὲν* see ver. 2. *κρίνει ἡμ. παρ’ ἡμέραν* means

judges one day “in comparison with,” or “to the passing by of” another: *cf.* i. 25, Winer, 503 f. Side by side with this, *κρίνει πᾶσαν ἡμέραν* can only mean, makes no distinction between days, counts all alike. In such questions the important thing is not that the decision should be this or that, but that each man should have an intelligent assurance as to his own conduct: it is, indeed, by having to take the responsibility of deciding for oneself, without the constraint of law, that an intelligent Christian conscience is developed. For *πληροφορεῖσθω* *cf.* iv. 21, and Lightfoot’s note on Col. iv. 12. *νοῦς* (vii. 23) is the moral intelligence, or practical reason; by means of this, enlightened by the Spirit, the Christian becomes a law to himself.

Ver. 6. The indifference of the questions at issue, from the religious point of view, is shown by the fact that *both* parties, by the line of action they choose, have the same end in view—*viz.*, the interest of the Lord. *ὁ φρονων τὴν ἡμέραν* *cf.* Col. iii. 2. The setting of the mind upon the day implies of course some distinction between it and others. The clause *καὶ ὁ μὴ φρονων . . . οὐ φρονεῖ* is omitted by most editors, but its absence from most MSS. might still be due to *homœoteleuton*. *εὐχαριστεῖ*: thanksgiving to God consecrates *every* meal, whether it be the ascetic one of him who abstains from wine and flesh (*ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων*), or the more generous one of him who uses both (*ὁ ἐσθίων*): *cf.* Acts xxvii. 35, 1 Cor. x. 30, 1 Tim. iv. 3-5. The thanksgiving shows that in either case the Christian is acting *εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ* (1 Cor. x. 31), and therefore that the Lord’s interest is safe.

Ver. 7 f. *οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐναντὶ ἡμ. κ.τ.λ.* The truth which has been affirmed in regard to the Christian’s use of food, and observance or non-observance of days, is here based on a larger

ἐαυτῷ ζῆν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐαυτῷ ἀποθνήσκει. 8. ἐάν τε γὰρ ζῶμεν, τῷ Κυρίῳ ζῶμεν· ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τῷ Κυρίῳ ἀποθνήσκομεν. ἐάν τε οὖν ζῶμεν, ἐάν τε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, τοῦ Κυρίου ἔσμεν. 9. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ Χριστὸς καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἀπέθανε καὶ ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνέζησεν, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ. 10. Σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; ἢ καὶ σὺ τί ἐξουθενεῖς τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; πάντες γὰρ <sup>2</sup> παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ. <sup>3</sup> 11. γέγραπται γάρ, “Ζῶ ἐγὼ, λέγει Κύριος, ὅτι ἐμοὶ κάμψει πᾶν γόνυ, καὶ πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται τῷ

<sup>1</sup> Om. καὶ before ἀπέθανε with  $\aleph^1 \text{ABC}^1 \text{D}^1 \text{FP}$ . For ἀνέστη καὶ ἀνέζησεν read only ἐζησεν with  $\aleph \text{ABCDLP}$  and all edd.

<sup>2</sup> του Χριστου  $\aleph^3 \text{C}^2 \text{LP}$ : του θεου  $\aleph^1 \text{ABC}^1 \text{DF}$  and all edd.

<sup>3</sup> ἐξομολογήσεται πᾶσα γλῶσσα  $\text{BD}^1 \text{F}$  (and A of LXX); but πᾶσα γλῶσσα ἐξομολογήσεται  $\aleph \text{ACD}^1 \text{LP}$ . The latter order is followed by Weiss, W. and H., and Tischdf. Probably the verb was put first in BF, etc., to conform to the parallel clause.

truth of which it is a part. His whole life belongs not to himself, but to his Lord. “No one of us liveth to himself,” does not mean, “every man’s conduct affects others for better or worse, whether he will or not”; it means, “no Christian is his own end in life; what is always present to his mind, as the rule of his conduct, is the will and the interest of his Lord”. The same holds of his dying. He does not choose either the time or the mode of it, like a Roman Stoic, to please himself. He dies when the Lord will, as the Lord will, and even by his death glorifies God. In ver. 14 ff. Paul comes to speak of the influence of conduct upon others; but here there is no such thing in view; the prominence given to τῷ κυρίῳ (τοῦ κυρίου) three times in ver. 8 shows that the one truth present to his mind is the all-determining significance, for Christian conduct, of the relation to Christ. This (ideally) determines everything, alike in life and death; and all that is determined by it is right.

Ver. 9. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ . . . ἵνα: cf. 2 Cor. ii. 9. ἐζησεν refers to the resurrection, as is shown by the order of the words, the connection elsewhere in Paul of Lordship with the resurrection (cf. Phil. ii. 9 ff.), and the aorist tense which describes an act, and not the continued existence of Christ on earth (Sandy and Headlam): cf. Rev. ii. 8 (ὅς ἐγένετο νεκρὸς κ. ἐζησεν), xx. 4 f. ἵνα denotes God’s purpose in subjecting His Son to this experience. We must not suppose that ἀπέθανεν is specially connected with νεκρῶν and ἐζησεν with ζώντων; there is the same mannerism as in iv. 25. Rather is it through Christ’s resurrection

that His lordship over the realm of death is established, so that not even in that dark world do those who are His cease to stand in their old relation to Him. τοῦ κυρίου ἔσμεν holds alike in the seen and the unseen.

Ver. 10. Σὺ δὲ: thou, in contrast with the one Lord and Judge of all. In face of our common responsibility to Him, how dare we judge each other? τὸν ἀδελφόν σου: another reason for not judging: it is inconsistent with a recognition of the brotherhood of believers. ἢ καὶ σὺ τί ἐξουθενεῖς κ.τ.λ. Or thou, again, why despisest thou? etc. This is addressed to the strong and free thinking, as the first question is to the weak and scrupulous Christian. Censoriousness and contempt are never anything but sins, not to be practised but shunned, and that all the more when we remember that we shall all stand at one bar παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ θεοῦ. God is the universal Judge. In 2 Cor v. 10 we have τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ but here τοῦ θεοῦ is the correct reading. We cannot suppose that by τοῦ θεοῦ here Paul means Christ in His Divine nature; the true way to mediate between the two expressions is seen in chap. ii. 16, Acts xvii. 31. When we all stand at that bar—and it should be part of our spiritual environment always—no one will look at his brother with either censoriousness or contempt.

Ver. 11. γέγραπται γάρ: the universal judgment proved from Scripture, Is. lv. 23. Paul follows the LXX, but very freely. For ζῶ ἐγὼ λέγει κύριος the LXX has κατ’ ἐμαυτοῦ ὁμνῶ. The same passage is quoted more freely still



Θεῷ<sup>1</sup>. 12. ἄρα οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἕκαστος ἡμῶν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει τῷ Θεῷ. 13. Μηκέτι οὖν ἀλλήλους κρίνωμεν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κρίνατε μᾶλλον, τὸ μὴ τιθέναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ σκάνδαλον.<sup>2</sup> 14. οἶδα καὶ πέπεισμαι ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι οὐδὲν κοινὸν δι' ἑαυτοῦ.<sup>3</sup> εἰ μὴ τῷ λογιζομένῳ τι κοινὸν εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ κοινόν· 15. εἰ δὲ<sup>4</sup> διὰ βρώμα ὁ ἀδελφός σου λυπεῖται, οὐκ ἔτι κατὰ ἀγάπην περιπατεῖς. μὴ τῷ

<sup>1</sup> οὖν **℣**ACEL, all cursives, is put in text by Tdf. and bracketed by Alf. and W. and H. It is omitted in BD<sup>1</sup>FP<sup>1</sup>, Syr. and by Weiss, who thinks it much more natural that the common Pauline formula **α**ρα οὖν should have been completed than mutilated. The authorities are divided in the same way between **δ**ωσει and **α**ποδωσει: BDF supporting the latter, which is adopted by Weiss, and **℣**AC the former which is adopted by W. and H. So also Weiss omits τῷ Θεῷ with BF; but W. and H. bracket it, as it is found in **℣**ACDLP.

<sup>2</sup> το μὴ τιθέναι προσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἢ σκάνδαλον. προσκομμα and ἢ are both om. by B, Syr., Arm. Weiss thinks this gives the true reading, το μὴ τιθέναι τῷ ἀδελφῷ σκάνδαλον, and W. and H. put it in margin.

<sup>3</sup> δι' ἑαυτον **℣**BC, followed by W. and H., Weiss, Alf.; δι' αὐτον ADEFGL, and of edd. Lachm. and Treg.

<sup>4</sup> For εἰ δε read εἰ γαρ with **℣**ABCDFFP and all edd.

in Phil. ii. 10 f. to describe the exaltation of Christ. In Isaiah it refers to the coming of God's kingdom, when all nations shall worship Him. ἐξομολογῆσεται τῷ Θεῷ = shall give thanks or praise to God: xv. 9, Mt. xi. 25, and often in LXX = **ⲡⲓⲧⲏⲛ**. In the sense of "confess" it takes the accusative.

Ver. 12. ἄρα (οὖν): So then—conclusion of *this* aspect of the subject: cf. v. 18, vii. 25. Every word in this sentence is emphatic: ἕκαστος, περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, λόγον δώσει, τῷ Θεῷ. For λόγον in this sense see 1 Pet. iv. 5, Heb. xiii. 17, Matt. xii. 36, Acts xix. 40.

Vv. 13-23. The Apostle now proceeds to argue the question of Christian conduct in things indifferent from another point of view—that of the influence which our conduct may have on others, and of the consideration which is due to them. μηκέτι οὖν ἀλλήλους κρίνωμεν: thus much follows from what has been said already, and κρίνωμεν therefore forbids both the censorious and the contemptuous estimate of others. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο κρίνατε μᾶλλον: be this your judgment rather. Cf. 1 Cor. ii. 2, vii. 37. τὸ μὴ τιθέναι πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ: this is of course addressed to the liberal party. For πρόσκομμα see 1 Cor. viii. 9. The word does not occur in the Gospels, but it is a remarkable fact that in most of our Lord's express teaching about sin, it is sin in the character of σκάνδαλον, a snare or stumbling-block to others, with

which He deals. Paul develops his ideas quite freely from his conception of faith, but in all probability he was familiar with what Jesus taught (Matt. xviii.).

Ver. 14. In principle, the Apostle sides with the strong. He has no scruples about meats or drinks or days. ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ: it is as a Christian, not as a libertine, that Paul has this conviction; in Christ Jesus he is sure that there is nothing in the world essentially unclean; all things can be consecrated and Christianised by Christian use. κοινόν: cf. Acts x. 14, 28, Rev. xxi. 27. It is the opposite of ἅγιον, and signifies that which is not and cannot be brought into relation to God. εἰ μὴ τῷ λογιζομένῳ κ.τ.λ. Though there is nothing which in itself has this character, some things may have it subjectively, *i.e.*, in the judgment of a particular person who cannot help (from some imperfection of conscience) regarding them so; to *him* (ἐκείνῳ emphatic) they are what his conscience makes them; and his conscience (unenlightened as it is) is entitled to respect. For εἰ μὴ cf. Matt. xii. 14, Gal. ii. 16.

Ver. 15. Many expositors here supply something; *e.g.*, "You must have respect therefore for his scruples, although you may not share them, for if," etc. (Sanday and Headlam); but it seems simpler to connect the γὰρ with the leading idea in the writer's mind, Put no stumbling-block before a brother, for, etc. διὰ βρώμα is contemptuous: "for the sake of food"

βρώματί σου ἐκείνον ἀπόλλυε, ὑπὲρ οὗ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε. 16. Μὴ <sup>h</sup> Ch. iii. 8.  
<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. iv.  
<sup>20.</sup>  
<sup>k</sup> Matt. vi.  
<sup>24;</sup> Ch.  
<sup>xvi. 18;</sup>  
<sup>Eph. vi.</sup>  
<sup>7; Col. iii.</sup>  
<sup>24.</sup>  
 ἡ βλασφημεῖσθω οὖν ὑμῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν. 17. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία  
 τοῦ <sup>1</sup> Θεοῦ βρώσις καὶ πόσις, ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη καὶ χαρὰ  
 ἐν Πνεύματι Ἀγίῳ. 18. ὁ γὰρ ἐν τούτοις <sup>1</sup> <sup>k</sup> δουλεύων τῷ Χριστῷ

<sup>1</sup> For *εν τούτοις* *Ν<sup>3</sup>D<sup>3</sup>L* read *εν τούτῳ* with *Ν<sup>1</sup>ABCD<sup>1</sup>F* and all edd.

thy brother is grieved. βρώμα is the food which the strong eats in spite of his brother's scruples. λυπεῖται need not imply that the weak is induced, against his conscience, to eat also (though that is contemplated as following); it may quite well express the uneasiness and distress with which the weak sees the strong pursue a line of conduct which his conscience cannot approve. Even to cause such pain as this is a violation of the law of Christ. He who does it has ceased to walk κατὰ ἀγάπην, according to love, which is the supreme Christian rule. In the sense of this, and at the same time aware that the weak in these circumstances may easily be cajoled or overborne into doing what his conscience disapproves, the Apostle exclaims abruptly, μὴ τῷ βρώματί σου ἐκείνον ἀπόλλυε ὑπὲρ οὗ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε. To tamper with conscience, it is here implied, is ruin: and the selfish man who so uses his Christian liberty as to lead a weak brother to tamper with his conscience is art and part in that ruin. The wanton contempt such liberty shows for the spirit and example of Christ is emphasised both here and in 1 Cor. viii. 11 f. *Ne pluris feceris tuum cibum quam Christus vitam suam.*

Ver. 16. μὴ βλασφημεῖσθω οὖν ὑμῶν τὸ ἀγαθόν. τὸ ἀγαθόν is somewhat in definite. It has been taken (1) as the good common to all Christians—the Messianic salvation—which will be blasphemed by the non-Christian, when they see the wantonness with which Christians rob each other of it by such conduct as Paul reprobates in ver. 15; and (2) as Christian liberty, the freedom of conscience which has been won by Christ, but which will inevitably get a bad name if it is exercised in an inconsiderate loveless fashion. The latter meaning alone seems relevant. For βλασφ. see 1 Cor. x. 30.

Ver. 17. Insistence and strife on such matters are inconsistent with Christianity: οὐ γάρ ἐστιν κ.τ.λ. Usually in Paul ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ is transcendent; the kingdom is that which comes with the second advent, and is the inheritance of believers; it is essentially (as it is called

in 2 Tim. iv. 18) α βασι. ἐπουράνιον. See 1 Thess. ii. 12, 2 Thess. i. 5, 1 Cor. vi. 9 f., xv. 50, Gal. v. 21. This use of the expression, however, does not exclude another, which is more akin to what we find in the Gospels, and regards the Kingdom of God as in some sense also present: we have examples of this here, and in 1 Cor. iv. 20: perhaps also in Acts xx. 25. No doubt for Paul the transcendent associations would always cling to the name, so that we should lose a great deal of what it meant for him if we translated it by "the Christian religion" or any such form of words. It always included the reference to the glory to be revealed. βρώσις κ. πόσις: eating and drinking—the acts, as opposed to βρώμα, ver. 15, the thing eaten. ἀλλὰ δικαιοσύνη κ. εἰρήνη κ. χαρὰ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ: are these words ethical or religious? Does δικ. denote "justification," the right relation of man to God? or "righteousness," in the sense of just dealing? Is εἰρήνη peace with God, the result of justification (as in v. 1), or peace among the members of the Church, the result of consideration for each other? The true answer must be that Paul did not thus distinguish ethical and religious: the words are religious primarily, but the ethical meaning is so far from being excluded by the religious that it is secured by it, and by it alone. That the religious import ought to be put in the forefront is shown by χαρὰ ἐν πν. ἁγ. which is a grace, not a virtue. In comparison with these great spiritual blessings, what Christian could trouble the Church about eating or drinking? For their sake, no self-denial is too great.

Ver. 18. ἐν τούτῳ: "on the principle implied by these virtues" (Sanday and Headlam). One may serve Christ either eating or abstaining, but no one can serve Him whose conduct exhibits indifference to righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit. δοκιμος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις: so that there can be no occasion given to any one to blaspheme. Cf. xvi. 10, 2 Tim. ii. 15, Jas. i. 12. A sound Christian character wins even the world's approval.



εὐάρεστος τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ δόκιμος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. 19. ἄρα οὖν τὰ  
 1 Ch. xii.  
 13; 1 Cor. τῆς εἰρήνης <sup>1</sup>διώκωμεν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους.  
 xiv. 1; 1  
 Thess. v. 20. Μὴ ἔνεκεν βρώματος κατάλυε τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ. πάντα μὲν  
 15.  
 m Tit. i. 15. <sup>m</sup>καθαρά, ἀλλὰ κακὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ διὰ προσκόμματος ἐσθίουσι.  
 n 1 Cor.  
 viii. 13. 21. καλὸν τὸ μὴ φαγεῖν <sup>n</sup>κρέα, μηδὲ πιεῖν οἶνον, μηδὲ ἐν ᾧ ὁ ἀδελφός

<sup>1</sup>διώκωμεν CDE, latt.; διώκομεν **Σ**ABFLP. According to S. and H. διώκωμεν is a "somewhat obvious correction," and less expressive than διώκομεν. This is also the view of Weiss and Tischdf. But W. and H. put διώκωμεν in text and διώκομεν in marg.

Ver. 19. ἄρα οὖν: see ver. 12. τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης is not materially different from τὴν εἰρήνην: all that belongs to, makes for, peace: we cannot argue from its use here that the word must have exactly the same shade of meaning in ver. 17. διώκωμεν: the indicative διώκομεν is very strongly supported, and would indicate the actual pursuit of all true Christians: "Our aim is peace," and τὰ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῆς εἰς ἀλλήλους = mutual upbuilding. Cf. 1 Thess. v. 11, 1 Cor. xiv. 26. The practical rule implied here is that, when anything is morally indifferent to me, before I act on that conviction, I must ask how such action will affect the peace of the Church, and the Christian growth of others.

Ver. 20. Paul repeats the rule of ver. 15. μὴ κατάλυε: the opposite of οἰκοδομεῖν. See Matt. xxvi. 61, Gal. ii. 18. τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ (1 Cor. iii. 9) what God has wrought, i.e., the Christian Church (which is destroyed by such wanton conduct) or the Christian character and standing of an individual (which may be ruined in the same way). πάντα μὲν καθαρά: this is the principle of the strong, which Paul concedes (μὲν); the difficulty is to get the enlightened to understand that an abstract principle can never be the rule of Christian conduct. The Christian, of course, *admits* the principle, *but* he must act from love. To know that all things are clean does not (as is often assumed) settle what the Christian has to do in any given case. It does not define his duty, but only makes clear his responsibility. Acknowledging that principle, and looking with love at other Christians, and the effect of any given line of conduct on them, he has to define his duty for himself. All meat is clean, but not all eating. On the contrary (ἀλλὰ), κακὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ διὰ προσκόμματος ἐσθίουσι; sin is involved in the case of the man who eats with offence. Some take this as a warning to the weak; but the whole

tone of the passage, which is rather a warning to the strong, and the verse immediately following, which surely continues the meaning and is also addressed to the strong, decide against this. The man who eats with offence is therefore the man by whose eating another is made to stumble. For διὰ προσκόμματος see ii. 27, Winer, p. 475.

Ver. 21. A maxim for the strong. For καλὸν cf. Mark xiv. 6. Abstinence in order that others may not be made to stumble is morally noble. ἐν ᾧ: usually προσκόπτειν takes the Dat., ix. 32, 1 Pet. ii. 8. That there were those in the Church at Rome who had scruples as to the use of flesh and wine, see on ver. 2. Paul would not have written the chapter at all unless there had been scruples of some kind; and he would not have taken these examples if the scruples had concerned something quite different.

Ver. 22. The true text is σὺ πίστιν ἣν ἔχεις: "the faith that thou hast, have thou to thyself in the sight of God". The verse is still addressed to the strong. The faith he has is the enlightened faith which enables him to see that all things are clean; such faith does not lose its value though it is not flaunted in reckless action. On κατὰ σεαυτὸν Wetstein quotes Heliod. vii. 16: κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔχε καὶ μηδενὶ φράζε. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 28 (ἐαυτῷ δὲ λαλεῖτω καὶ τῷ Θεῷ). ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ reminds the strong once more (ver. 10) that the fullest freedom must be balanced by the fullest sense of responsibility to God. In another sense than that of 1 Cor. ix. 21 the Christian made free by faith must feel himself μὴ ἄνομος Θεοῦ ἀλλ' ἐννομος Χριστοῦ. μακάριος ὁ μὴ κρίνων ἐαυτὸν ἐν ᾧ δοκιμάζει: "a motive to charitable self-restraint addressed to the strong in faith" (Gifford). It is a rare felicity (this is always what μακάριος denotes) to have a conscience untroubled by scruples—in Paul's words, not to judge oneself in the matter which one approves (sc., by his own practice);

σου προσκόπτει ἢ σκανδαλίζεται ἢ ἀσθενεῖ.<sup>1</sup> 22. σὺ πίστιν<sup>2</sup> ἔχεις ; κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔχει ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ· μακάριος ὁ μὴ κρίνων ἑαυτὸν ἐν ᾧ<sup>3</sup> δοκιμάζει. 23. ὁ δὲ διακρινόμενος, ἐὰν φάγη, κατακέκριται, οἱ Cor. ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως· πᾶν δὲ ὁ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἁμαρτία ἐστίν.<sup>3</sup> xvi. 3.

<sup>1</sup> ἡ σκανδαλίζεται ἡ ἀσθενεῖ om. N<sup>1</sup>AC, Syr., Copt., Aeth.; ins. N<sup>3</sup>BDFLP, vulg., Sah. S. and H. call this a very clear instance of a Western reading in B, and therefore justify the omission with W. and H. and Tischdf.; but Weiss, who thinks ἡ ἀσθενεῖ is too difficult to be explained as a gloss, retains the words.

<sup>2</sup> After πιστιν ins. ἡν NABC; so most edd., omitting the mark of interrogation after εχεις. For σεαυτον read σεαυτον with NABCDKLP, etc.

<sup>3</sup> After ἁμαρτία ἐστίν the great doxology of chap. xvi. 25-27 is inserted by ALP and most other MSS., though some, including AP, have it in both places; om. here NBCD<sup>1</sup>, vulg., Syr.

and he who has this felicity should ask no more. In particular, he should not run the risk of injuring a brother's conscience, merely for the sake of exercising in a special way the spiritual freedom which he has the happiness to possess—whether he exercises it in that way or not.

Ver. 23. ὁ δὲ διακρινόμενος ἐὰν φάγη κατακέκριται: such, on the other hand, is the unhappy situation of the weak—a new motive for charity. For διακριν. cf. iv. 20, Jas. i. 6, Mark xi. 23. The weak Christian cannot be clear in his own mind that it is permissible to do as the strong does; it may be, he thinks one moment, and the next, it may not be; and if he follows the strong and eats in this state of mind, κατακέκριται he is condemned. The condemnation is absolute: it is not only that his own conscience pronounces clearly against him after the act, but that such action incurs the condemnation of God. It is inconsistent with that conscientiousness through which alone man can be trained in goodness; the moral life would become chaotic and irredeemable if conscience were always to be treated so. ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, sc., ἔφαγεν. The man is condemned because he did not eat ἐκ πίστεως: and this is generalised in the last clause πᾶν δὲ ὁ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἁμαρτία ἐστίν. All that is not of faith is sin; and therefore this eating, as not of faith, is sin. It is impossible to give πίστις here a narrower sense than Christianity: see ver. 1. Everything a Christian man does that cannot justify itself to him on the ground of his relation to Christ is sin. It is too indefinite to render *omne quod non est ex fide* as Thomas Aquinas does by *omne quod est contra conscientiam*: it would need to be *contra*

*Christianam conscientiam*. All a man cannot do remembering that he is Christ's—all he cannot do with the judgment-seat (ver. 10) and the Cross (ver. 15) and all their restraints and inspirations present to his mind—is sin. Of course this is addressed to Christians, and there is no rule in it for judging the character or conduct of those who do not know Christ. To argue from it that works done before justification are sin, or that the virtues of the heathen are glittering vices, is to misapply it altogether.

CHAPTER XV.—Vv. 1-13. The fourteenth chapter has a certain completeness in itself, and we can understand that if the Epistle to the Romans was sent as a circular letter to different churches, some copies of it might have ended with xiv. 23: to which the doxology, xvi. 25-27, might be loosely appended, as it is in A. L. and many other MSS. But it is manifestly the same subject which is continued in xv. 1-13. The Apostle still treats of the relations of the weak and the strong, though with a less precise reference to the problems of the Roman Church at the time than in chap. xiv. His argument widens into a plea for patience and forbearance (enforced by the example of Christ) and for the union of all Christians, Jew and Gentile, in common praise. It seems natural to infer from this that the distinction between weak and strong had some relation to that between Jew and Gentile; the prejudices and scruples of the weak were probably of Jewish origin.

Ver. 1. ὀφείλομεν δὲ: what constitutes the obligation is seen in chap. xiv. It arises out of our relation to others in Christ. Looking at them in the light of what He has done for them as well as for us, and in the light of our responsibility



<sup>a</sup> Acts xiv. **XV. 1.** Ὁφείλομεν δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ δυνατοὶ τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν \* ἀδυνάτων βαστάζειν, καὶ μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκειν · 2. ἕκαστος γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ἡμῶν τῷ πλησίον ἀρεσκέτω εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς οἰκοδομήν. 3. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς οὐχ ἑαυτῷ ἤρρεσεν, ἀλλὰ, καθὼς γέγραπται, “Οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσον ἐπ’ ἐμέ”. 4. ὅσα γὰρ προεγράφη,<sup>2</sup> εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν προεγράφη · ἵνα διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Om. γὰρ with  $\Sigma$ ABCD $\Sigma$ LP.

<sup>2</sup> ὅσα γὰρ προεγραφή  $\Sigma$ ACD $\Sigma$ LP; so most edd. B, latt., Aeth. give *εγραφή*. D<sup>1</sup> and F have *προσεγραφή*, which confirms the reading of  $\Sigma$ AC. *προεγραφή* ἵνα  $\Sigma$ <sup>3</sup>ALP; but *εγραφή*  $\Sigma$ <sup>1</sup>BCDF, vulg. and all edd. After *καὶ* ins. *δια*  $\Sigma$ ABCL. After *εχωμεν* B adds *τῆς παρακλησεως*, which W. and H. put in marg.; but the addition is as inept as that of *λογων* in the same MS. at ver. 18, and to be explained in the same way (an anticipation of a later word).

to the Judge of all, we cannot question that this is our duty. ἡμεῖς οἱ δυνατοί: Paul classes himself with the strong, and makes the obligation his own. δυνατοί is of course used as in chap. xiv.: not as in 1 Cor. i. 26. τὰ ἀσθενήματα τῶν ἀδυνάτων: the things in which their infirmity comes out, its manifestations; here only in N.T. Paul says “bear” their infirmities: because the restrictions and limitations laid by this charity on the liberty of the strong are a burden to them. For the word βαστάζειν and the idea see Matt. viii. 17, Gal. vi. 2, 5, 17. μὴ ἑαυτοῖς ἀρέσκειν: it is very easy for self-pleasing and mere wilfulness to shelter themselves under the disguise of Christian principle. But there is only one Christian principle which has no qualification—love.

Ver. 2. τῷ πλησίον ἀρεσκέτω: this rule is qualified by εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν πρὸς οἰκοδομήν. Without such qualification it is “men-pleasing” (Gal. i. 10) and inconsistent with fidelity to Christ. Cf. 1 Cor. x. 33, where Paul presents himself as an example of the conduct he here commends. For εἰς and πρὸς in this verse cf. chap. iii. 25 f. According to Gifford εἰς marks the “aim”—the advantage or benefit of our neighbour—and πρὸς the standard of reference; the only “good” for a Christian is to be “built up” in his Christian character.

Ver. 3. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Χριστὸς κ.τ.λ. The duty of not pleasing ourselves is enforced by the example of Christ: He did not please Himself either. If this required proof, we might have expected Paul to prove it by adducing some incident in Christ’s life; but this is not what he does. He appeals to a psalm, which is in many places in the N.T. treated as having some reference to Christ (e.g.,

John ii. 17 = Ps. lxix. 9, John xv. 25 = Ps. lxix. 4, Matt. xxvii. 27-30 = Ps. lxix. 12, Matt. xxvii. 34 = Ps. lxix. 21, Rom. xi. 9 = Ps. lxix. 22, Acts i. 20 = Ps. lxix. 25: see Perowne, *The Psalms*, i., p. 561 f.); and the words he quotes from it—words spoken as it were by Christ Himself—describe our Lord’s experiences in a way which shows that He was no self-pleaser. If He had been, He would never have given Himself up willingly, as He did, to such a fate. It is hardly conceivable that σε in Paul’s quotation indicates the man whom Christ is supposed to address: it can quite well be God, as in the psalm. Some have argued from this indirect proof of Christ’s character that Paul had no acquaintance with the facts of His life; but the inference is unsound. It would condemn all the N.T. writers of the same ignorance, for they never appeal to incidents in Christ’s life; and this summary of the whole character of Christ, possessing as it did for Paul and his readers the authority of inspiration, was more impressive than any isolated example of non-selfpleasing could have been.

Ver. 4. Here Paul justifies his use of the O.T. ὅσα γὰρ προεγράφη = the whole O.T. εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν ἐγράφη: was written to teach us, and therefore has abiding value. 2 Tim. iii. 16. ἵνα introduces God’s purpose, which is wider than the immediate purpose of the Apostle. Paul meant to speak only of bearing the infirmities of the weak, but with the quotation of Ps. lxix. 9 there came in the idea of the Christian’s sufferings generally, and it is amid them that God’s purpose is to be fulfilled. διὰ τῆς ὑπομ. κ. τῆς παρακλ. τῶν γραφῶν κ.τ.λ.: “that through the patience and the comfort wrought by the

τῆς παρακλήσεως τῶν γραφῶν τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχωμεν. 5. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς καὶ τῆς παρακλήσεως δώῃ ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν. 6. ἵνα ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐν ἐνὶ στόματι δοξάζητε τὸν Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 7. Διδὸν \*προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς προσελάβετο ἡμᾶς<sup>1</sup> εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ. 8. λέγω δὲ, Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν<sup>2</sup> διὰκονον γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς \*ὅπῃ ἀληθείας Θεοῦ, εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι τὰς

<sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. i. 3-7; Heb. vi. 18; xii. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Ch. xiv. 1.  
<sup>d</sup> Gal. ii. 17.

<sup>e</sup> Ch. i. 5; Phil. ii. 13.

<sup>1</sup> ἡμας, so BDP cursives; adopted by Weiss, W. and H. text. But ὑμας is put in marg. by W. and H., and by many edd. in text. It really seems to have arisen from ἡμας being changed to agree with the preceding context in which the readers are directly addressed. Yet it is strongly supported by  $\aleph$ ACD<sup>2</sup>FL. Ins. του before θεου  $\aleph$ ABCDFFP.

<sup>2</sup> For δε Ἰησοῦν Χριστοῦν read γὰρ Χριστοῦν with  $\aleph$ ABC and all edd. γεγενῆσθαι  $\aleph$ AELP; γενεσθαι BCDF. The edd. are divided. Tischdñf., W. and H., and Treg. marg. read γεγενῆσθαι; but W. and H. put γενεσθαι in marg., while Lachm. and Treg. have it in text. Weiss thinks the case can only be settled by analogy; and as  $\aleph$ , which is the strongest support of γεγενῆσθαι, quite arbitrarily changes γενεσθαι in Phil. i. 13 into γεγονεῖν, he allows that to discredit it here, and reads γενεσθαι.

Scriptures we may have our hope". τὴν ἐλπίδα is the Christian hope, the hope of the glory of God; and the Christian has it as he is able, through the help of God's Word in the Scriptures, to maintain a brave and cheerful spirit amid all the sufferings and reproaches of life. Cf. v. 2-5. This is, if not a digression, at least an expansion of his original idea, and at

Ver. 5 Paul returns to his point in a prayer: the God of the patience and comfort just spoken of grant unto you, etc. τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν ἐν ἀλλήλοις κατὰ Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν: cf. xii. 16, where, however, τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν with εἰς ἀλλήλους is not quite the same. Paul wishes here that the minds of his readers — their moral judgment and temper — may all be determined by Jesus Christ (for κατὰ, expressing the rule according to which, see chap. viii. 27): in this case there will be the harmony which the disputes of chap. xiv. disturbed.

Ver. 6. ἵνα introduces the ultimate aim of this unanimity. ὁμοθυμαδὸν here only in Paul, but eleven times in Acts. ἐν ἐνὶ στόματι: in Greek writers usually ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος. τὸν θεὸν καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Κ. ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. The A.V. renders, "God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," making τοῦ Κυρίου depend on πατέρα only. This rendering does not make God the God of Christ, but defines the only true God as the Father of Christ. It is defended by Weiss, who appeals to the passages in which "God and Father" is found with

no genitive: 1 Cor. xv. 24, Eph. v. 20, Col. iii. 17, Jas. i. 27, iii. 9. The argument is not convincing, especially in view of Eph. i. 17 (ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Κ. ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ., ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης) and John xx. 17: hence the R.V. is probably right ("the God and Father of our Lord"). When the Church glorifies such a God with one heart and one mouth it will have transcended all the troubles of chap. xiv. It is this accordant praise of all Christians which is the ruling idea in vers. 7-13.

Ver. 7. διδὸν προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους: διδὸν = that such praise may be possible. For προσλαμβ. see xiv. 1-3. καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς προσελάβετο ὑμᾶς. ὑμᾶς covers both parties in the Church, however they are to be distinguished; if Christ received both, they are bound to receive each other. The last words, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, are probably to be construed with προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους; they resume the idea of ver. 6 (ἵνα . . . δοξάζητε); the διδὸν with which ver. 7 begins starts from that idea of glorifying God, and looks on to it as the end to be attained when all Christians in love receive each other. But the clause has of course a meaning even if attached to what immediately precedes: ὁ Χριστὸς προσελ. ὑμᾶς. Cf. Phil. ii. 11, Eph. i. 12-14. Christ's reception of the Jews led to God's being glorified for His faithfulness; His reception of the Gentiles to God's being glorified for His mercy. So Weiss, who argues that in what follows we have the expansion and proof of the



ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων· 9. τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἐλέους δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν, καθὼς γέγραπται, “Διὰ τοῦτο ἔξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσι, καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ”. 10. καὶ πάλιν λέγει, “Εὐφράνθητε, ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ”. 11. καὶ πάλιν, “Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη,<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐπαινέσατε αὐτὸν, πάντες οἱ λαοί”. 12. καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει, “Ἔσται ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ἰεσσαὶ, καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενός ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν”. 13. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος πληρώσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν, εἰς τὸ περισσεύειν ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι, ἐν δυνάμει Πνεύματος Ἁγίου.

<sup>1</sup> For τὸν κύριον παντα τα εθνη (so LXX), read παντα τα εθνη τον Κυριον ᾤABDP and all edd. For ἐπαινεσατε (so LXX, B) FLP read ἐπαινεσατωσαν (LXX, A) ᾤABCD.

<sup>2</sup> Against all edd., who keep the received text, Weiss finds himself compelled, instead of πληρώσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης, to read πληροφορησάι ὑμᾶς ἐν πασῇ χαρᾷ καὶ εἰρήνῃ. This is the reading of B, and is found with only the omission of ἐν in FG; Weiss thinks it quite inexplicable except as the original; πληροφορ. has a point of attachment in xiv. 5, and the double ἐν (ἐν πασῇ χαρᾷ . . . ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν) in this clause answers exactly to that in the next (ἐν τῇ ἐλπίδι, ἐν δυνάμει πν. ἁγίου). The other reading is supported by ᾤACDLP.

idea that God's glory (the glory of His faithfulness and of His mercy) is the end contemplated by Christ's reception alike of Jew and Gentile.

Ver. 8. λέγω γὰρ Χριστὸν διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς = what I mean is this—Christ has been made, etc. διάκονον περιτομῆς is usually understood as “a minister to the Jews, to circumcised people” (cf. iii. 30, iv. 9), and this seems to me the only intelligible explanation. In exercising this ministry (and He exercised directly no other: Matt. xv. 24) Christ was of course circumcised Himself and set from His birth (Gal. iv. 4 f.) in the same relation to the law as all who belonged to the old covenant; but though this is involved in the fact that Christ was sent to the Jews, it is not what is meant by calling Him διάκονον περιτομῆς. ὑπὲρ ἀληθείας θεοῦ: in the interest of God's truth (cf. i. 5: ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀνόματος αὐτοῦ). The truth of God, as the giver of the promises to the fathers, was vindicated by Christ's ministry; for in Him they were all fulfilled, 2 Cor. i. 20. τὰς ἐπαγγ. τῶν πατέρων: the promises belonged to the fathers, because they were originally made to them.

Ver. 9. τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ὑπὲρ ἐλέους δοξάσαι τὸν θεόν: Some expositors make this depend directly on λέγω, as if Paul had meant: “I say Christ has become a minister of circumcision, in the interest of the truth of God . . . and that the Gentiles have glorified God for His

mercy,” the only contrast being that between God's *faithfulness*, as shown to the descendants of Abraham, and His *mercy* as shown to those without the old covenant. But if τὰ δὲ ἔθνη κ.τ.λ. is made to depend on εἰς τὸ, as in the A.V., there is a double contrast brought out: that of *faithfulness* and *mercy* being no more emphatic than that of the *fathers* and the *Gentiles*. Indeed, from the passages quoted, it is clear that Paul is preoccupied rather with the latter of these two contrasts than with the former; for all the passages concern the place of the Gentiles in the Church. At the same time it is made clear—even to the Gentiles—that the salvation which they enjoy is “of the Jews”. Hence the Gentiles must not be contemptuous of scruples or infirmities, especially such as rise out of any associations with the old covenant; nor should the Jews be censorious of a Gentile liberty which has its vindication in the free grace of God. καθὼς γέγραπται: the contemplated glorification of God answers to what we find in Ps. xviii. 50, LXX. Christ is assumed to be the speaker, and we may say that He gives thanks to God among the Gentiles when the Gentiles give thanks to God through Him (Heb. ii. 12).

Ver. 10. καὶ πάλιν λέγει: Deut. xxxii. 43, LXX. The Hebrew is different.

Ver. 11. καὶ πάλιν, αἰνεῖτε: Ps. cxvii. 1, LXX—only the order of the words varying.

Ver. 12. καὶ πάλιν Ἡσαΐας λέγει: Isa.

14. Πέπεισμαι δέ, ἀδελφοί μου, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ <sup>ε</sup> μεστοὶ ἐστε ἀγαθωσύνης, πεπληρωμένοι πάσης <sup>1</sup> γνώσεως, δυνάμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλους νοουθετεῖν. 15. τολμηρότερον <sup>2</sup> δὲ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, ἀπὸ <sup>h</sup> μέρους, ὡς ἐπαναμνησσκων ὑμᾶς, διὰ τὴν χάριν

Ch. i. 29;  
Matt.  
xxiii. 28.  
<sup>h</sup> Ver. 24;  
Ch. xi.  
25; 2 Cor.  
i. 14; ii. 5.

<sup>1</sup> After *πασης* ins. *της* NBP, Clem.; om. ACDFL.

<sup>2</sup> *τολμηροτερον* NCDFLP; *τολμηροτερος* AB. The latter is read by Weiss, W. and H., and Treg. A similar change (from *σπουδαιοτερος* into *σπουδαιοτερον*) is made by DFG in Phil. ii. 28. *αδελφοι* om. NABC. *υπο του θεου* ACDLP; *απο του θεου* NBF and most edd.

xi. 10. Paul again follows the LXX, only omitting *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ* after *ἔσται*. The words are meant to describe the Messianic kingdom and its Davidic head. It is a universal kingdom, and the nations set their hope in its King, and therefore in the God of salvation whose representative He is. Such a hope in God, the Apostle's argument implies, will result in the praise which glorifies Him for His mercy (ver. 9).

Ver. 13. Prompted by *ἐλπιούσιν*, the Apostle closes this section, and the body of the epistle, by calling on "the God of hope" to bless those to whom it is addressed. For the expression *ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος* cf. ver. 5: it means the God Who gives us the hope which we have in Christ. The joy and peace which He imparts rest on faith (*ἐν τῷ πιστεύειν*). Hence they are the joy and peace specially flowing from justification and acceptance with God, and the more we have of these, the more we abound in the Christian hope itself. Such an abounding in hope, in the power of the Holy Ghost (Acts i. 8, Luke iv. 14), is the end contemplated in Paul's prayer that the God of hope would fill the Romans with all joy and peace in believing. For the kind of supremacy thus given to hope compare the connection of ver. 5 with ver. 2 in chap. v.

The rest of this chapter is of the nature of an epilogue. It falls into two parts: (1) vers. 14-21, in which Paul, while apologising for the tone which he has occasionally employed, justifies himself for writing to the Romans by appealing to his vocation as an Apostle; and (2) vers. 22, 33, in which he explains to them the programme of his future work, including his long-deferred visit to them, and begs their prayers for a successful issue to his visit to Jerusalem.

Ver. 14. *πέπεισμαι δέ*: the tone in which he has written, especially in chap. xiv., might suggest that he thought them very defective either in intelligence,

or love, or both; but he disclaims any such inference from his words. *ἀδελφοί μου* has a friendly emphasis: cf. vii. 4. *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ* cf. vii. 25: it means "even I myself, who have taken it upon me to address you so plainly". *ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ μεστοὶ ἐστε ἀγαθωσύνης*: that even of yourselves ye are full of goodness, *i.e.*, without any help from me. *ἀγαθωσύνη* in all N.T. passages (Gal. v. 22, Eph. v. 9, 2 Thess. i. 11) seems to have an association with *ἀγαθός* in the sense of "kind": the goodness of which Paul speaks here is probably therefore not virtue in general, but the charity on which such stress is laid in chap. xiv. as the only rule of Christian conduct. *πεπληρωμένοι πάσης γνώσεως*: filled full of all knowledge—"our Christian knowledge in its entirety" (Sanday and Headlam). This, again, may refer to the comprehension of Christianity shown by the strong of chap. xiv.: or it may be intended to apologise for the unusually doctrinal character of the epistle. Both *μεστοὶ* and *πεπληρωμένοι* occur also in i. 29. *δυνάμενοι κ. ἀλλήλους νοουθετεῖν*: in a sense therefore self-sufficient.

Ver. 15 f. *τολμηρότερος . . . ἀπὸ μέρους*: the description does not apply to the letter as a whole, but only to parts of it: Gifford refers to vi. 12-21, xi. 17 ff., xii. 3, and especially chap. xiv. throughout. *ὡς ἐπαναμνησσκων ὑμᾶς*: here only in N.T. There is the same courteous tone as in i. 11 f. He does not presume to teach them what they do not know, but only to suggest to their memory what they must know already but may be overlooking. *διὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθείσάν μοι*: this is the real justification of his writing. As in i. 5, xii. 3, the *χάρις* is that of Apostleship. It is not wantonly, but in the exercise of a Divine vocation, and a divinely-bestowed competence for it, that he writes. *εἰς τὸ εἶναι με λειτουργὸν Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη*: there is a certain emphasis on





ἐθνῶν, λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ, 19. ἐν δυνάμει σημείων καὶ τεράτων, ἐν δυνάμει Πνεύματος Θεοῦ.<sup>1</sup> ὥστε με ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 20. οὕτω δὲ φιλοτιμούμενον<sup>2</sup> εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, οὐχ ὅπου ὠνομάσθη Χριστὸς, ἵνα μὴ<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor  
ἐπ' ἄλλότριον θεμέλιον οἰκοδομῶ. 21. ἀλλὰ, καθὼς γέγραπται, "Οἷς 17; ix. 16,  
18; 2 Cor.  
οὐκ ἀνηγγέλη περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅφονται.<sup>3</sup> καὶ οἱ οὐκ ἀκηκόασι, συνήσουσι". x. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Θεοῦ  $\Sigma D^2 LP$ ; αἰγίου  $ACD^{1-3}$ ; om. B. B certainly seems right here, though W. and H. put [αἰγίου] in text. Both Θεοῦ and αἰγίου seem interpolations to complete the expression.

<sup>2</sup> φιλοτιμούμενον  $\Sigma ACD^{1-3} L$ , Orig.; φιλοτιμουμαι  $BD^1$  (gr.) FP. Edd. seem to regard the latter as a change made to simplify the construction, and the case is one of those in which the value of B may be lessened by Western influence; hence they prefer, as a rule, the former reading. But Weiss reads φιλοτιμουμαι because it is exegetically necessary, and says he is not aware of any such arbitrary change of a participle into a finite verb.

<sup>3</sup> ὅφονται before οἷς B; and so W. and H. and Weiss. The order in received text conforms to the LXX and the next clause.

regarded as counterfeiting that of Christ. *τέρας* is always rendered "wonder" in the A.V., and, as though the word were unequal to the phenomenon, it is never used alone: in all the places in which it occurs *σημεῖον* is also found. The latter emphasises the significance of the miracle; it is not merely a sight to stare at, but is suggestive of an actor and a purpose. In this passage, "the power" of signs and wonders seems to mean the power with which they impressed the beholders: more or less it is an interpretation of *ἔργῳ*. So "the power" of the Holy Ghost means the influence with which the Holy Spirit accompanied the preaching of the Gospel: more or less it answers to *λόγῳ*: see 1 Thess. i. 5 and cf. the ἀπόδειξις πνεύματος κ. δυνάμεως, 1 Cor. ii. 4. ὥστε με κ.τ.λ. "The result of Christ's working through His Apostle is here stated as if the preceding sentence had been affirmative in form as well as sense" (Gifford). ἀπὸ Ἱερουσαλὴμ: this agrees with Acts ix. 26-29, but this, of course, does not prove that it was borrowed from that passage. Even if Paul began his ministry at Damascus, he might quite well speak as he does here, for it is not its chronology, but its range, he is describing; and to his mind Jerusalem (to which, if let alone, he would have devoted himself, see Acts xxii. 18-22) was its point of departure. καὶ κύκλῳ: most modern commentators have rendered this as if it were τοῦ κύκλῳ—from Jerusalem and its vicinity, by which they mean Syria (though some would include Arabia, Gal. i. 17): for this use of κύκλῳ see Gen. xxxv. 5, Judith i. 2.

But most Greek commentators render as in the A.V.—"and round about unto Illyricum". This is the interpretation taken by Hofmann and by S. and H., and is illustrated by Xen., *Anab.*, vii., i., 14 (quoted by the latter): *πότερα διὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὁρους δέοι πορεύεσθαι, ἢ κύκλῳ διὰ μέσης τῆς Θράκης. μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ* can (so far as *μέχρι* is concerned) either exclude or include Illyricum. Part of the country so called may have been traversed by Paul in the journey alluded to in Acts xx. 1 f. (*διελθὼν δὲ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα*), but the language would be satisfied if he had come in sight of Illyricum as he would do in his westward journey through Macedonia. *πεπληρωκέναι τὸ εὐαγγ. τοῦ Χριστοῦ*: have fulfilled (fully preached) the Gospel of Christ. Cf. Col. i. 25. Paul had done this in the sense in which it was required of an Apostle, whose vocation (to judge from Paul's practice) was to lay the foundation of a church in the chief centres of population, and as soon as the new community was capable of self-propagation, to move on.

Ver. 20. οὕτω δὲ φιλοτιμούμενον (1 Thess. iv. 11, 2 Cor. v. 9): making it my ambition, however, thus to preach the Gospel, etc. This limits *πεπληρωκέναι*: he had never sought to preach where Christianity was already established. A point of honour, but not rivalry, is involved in *φιλοτιμούμενον*. ὠνομάσθη: cf. 2 Tim. ii. 19 and Isa. xxvi. 13, Amos vi. 10. To name the name of the Lord is to confess Him to be what He is to the faith of His people. ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἄλλότριον θεμέλιον κ.τ.λ. The duty of an



22. Διὸ καὶ ἐνεκοπτόμην τὰ πολλὰ<sup>1</sup> τοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, 23. νυνὶ δὲ μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς κλίμασι τούτοις, ἐπιποθίαν δὲ ἔχων τοῦ  
 m Luke viii. ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς<sup>m</sup> ἀπὸ πολλῶν<sup>2</sup> ἐτῶν, 24. ὡς ἂν<sup>3</sup> πορεύωμαι εἰς τὴν  
 43. Σπανίαν, ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐλπίζω γὰρ διαπορευόμενος θεάσα-  
 n Ver. 15. σθαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι ἐκεῖ, ἂν ὑμῶν πρῶτον ἀπὸ  
 • Luke i. 53; n μέρους<sup>•</sup> ἐμπλησθῶ. 25. Νυνὶ δὲ πορεύομαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, διακονῶν  
 vi. 25.

<sup>1</sup> τα πολλὰ BACL P; πολλακίς BDF.

<sup>2</sup> For πολλων B ADFL read ικανων with BCP, Weiss, W. and H., Alford.

<sup>3</sup> For ως εαν read ως αν with BABC. Om. ελευσομαι προς υμας B ABCDF and all edd.

Apostle was with the foundation, not the superstructure. 1 Cor. iii. 10. The same confidence in his vocation, and the same pride in limiting that confidence, and not boasting of what Christ had done through others, or intruding his operations into their sphere, pervades the tenth chapter of 2 Cor.

Ver. 21. ἀλλὰ καθὼς γέγραπται: Paul's actual procedure corresponded with, and indeed led to the fulfilment of, a famous O.T. prophecy. Isa. lii. 11 exactly as in LXX. It is absurd to argue with Fritzsche that Paul found a prediction of his own personal ministry (and of the principles on which he discharged it), in Isaiah, and equally beside the mark to argue that his use of the passage is "quite in accordance with the spirit of the original". The LXX is quite different from the Hebrew, and Paul quotes it because he liked to be able to express his own opinion or practice in Scripture language. It seemed to him to get a Divine confirmation in this way; but an examination of various passages shows that he cared very little for the original meaning or application.

Vv. 22-33. The Apostle's programme. He is at present on his way to Jerusalem with the gifts which his Gentile churches have made for the relief of the poor Christians there. The issue of this visit is dubious, and he begs their prayers for its success. After it is over, he means to proceed to Spain, and on the way he hopes to pay his long deferred visit to Rome.

Ver. 22. διὸ καὶ ἐνεκοπτόμην: the work which detained the Apostle in the East also hindered him from visiting Rome. For another ἐγκόπτειν see 1 Thess. ii. 18. τὰ πολλὰ is more than πολλάκις in i. 13: it is distinguished in Greek writers both from ἐνίοτε (sometimes) and ἀεὶ (always) and is rightly rendered in Vulg. *plerumque*. As a rule,

it was his work which kept Paul from visiting Rome, but he may have had the desire to do so (e.g., when he was in Corinth) and have been prevented by some other cause. The rendering of R.V. "these many times" (apparently, all the definite times included in πολλάκις i. 13) is unsupported by examples.

Ver. 23. νυνὶ δὲ: but now—the sentence thus begun is interrupted by ἐλπίζω γὰρ and never finished, for the words ἐλεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς in T.R. are an interpolation. μηκέτι τόπον ἔχων: not that every soul was converted, but that the Apostolic function of laying foundations had been sufficiently discharged over the area in question. κλίμα is only found in the plural in N.T. 2 Cor. xi. 10, Gal. i. 21. ἐπιπόθειαν: here only in N.T. ἀπὸ ικανῶν ἐτῶν: the desire dated "from a good many years back". Cf. ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου, i. 20, Acts xv. 7.

Ver. 24. ὡς ἂν πορεύωμαι εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν: it is here the apodosis begins, which being broken in on by ἐλπίζω is never formally resumed, though the sense is taken up again in ver. 28 f. ὡς ἂν is temporal = *simulacque*: cf. 1 Cor. xi. 34, Phil. ii. 23; Buttmann, p. 232. The principle which Paul has just laid down as regulating his Apostolic work (ver. 20) forbids him to think of Rome as a proper sphere for it; great as is his interest in the capital of the world, he can only pay it a passing visit on the way to another field. ὑφ' ὑμῶν προπεμφθῆναι ἐκεῖ: it has been said that Paul expected or claimed "quasi pro jure suo" to be escorted all the way to Spain (by sea) by members of the Roman Church; but this is not included in προπεμφθῆναι. Practical illustrations are seen in Acts xx. 35, xxi. 5: similar anticipations in 1 Cor. xvi. 6, 11. For πρῶτον see Mt. vii. 5, viii. 21. ἀπὸ μέρους indicates that no such stay would be equal to the Apostle's longing

τοῖς ἀγίοις. 26. εὐδόκησαν γὰρ Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα κοινωνίαν ᾧ Heb. xiii. 16.  
τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.

27. εὐδόκησαν γὰρ, καὶ ὀφείλεται αὐτῶν εἶσιν. εἰ γὰρ τοῖς πνευματικοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκοινώνησαν τὰ ἔθνη, ὀφείλουσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς σαρκικοῖς λειτουργῆσαι αὐτοῖς. 28. τοῦτο οὖν ἐπιτελέσας, καὶ σφραγισάμενος α Cor. ix. 12.  
αὐτοῖς τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον, ἀπελεύσομαι δι' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν Σπανίαν.

for fellowship with the Romans, but it would be at least a partial satisfaction of it.

Ver. 25. *νυνὶ δὲ* is not a resumption of *νυνὶ δὲ* in ver. 23: there is an entire break in the construction, and Paul begins again, returning from the Spanish journey, which lies in a remote and uncertain future, to the present moment. "But at this moment I am on the way to Jerusalem, ministering to the saints." *διακοινωνῶν* does not represent this journey as part of his *apostolic ministry*, which might legitimately defer his visit once more (Weiss); it refers to the service rendered to the poor by the money he brought (see 2 Cor. viii. 4). For whatever reason, Paul seems to have used "the saints" (a name applicable to all Christians) with a certain predilection to describe the Jerusalem Church. Cf. ver. 31, 1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1, ix. 12: all in this connection.

Ver. 26. *εὐδόκησαν γὰρ Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα*: Macedonia and Achaia would include all the Pauline Churches in Europe, and we know from 1 Cor. xvi. 1 that a similar contribution was being made in Galatia. *εὐδόκησαν* expresses the formal resolution of the churches in question, but here as in many places with the idea that it was a spontaneous and cordial resolution (though it had been suggested by Paul): see chap. x. 1 (Fritzsche's note there), Luke xii. 32, Gal. i. 15, 1 Cor. i. 21, 1 Thess. ii. 8, iii. 1. *κοινωνίαν* *τινὰ*: *τινὰ* marks the indefiniteness of the collection. It was no assessment to raise a prescribed amount, but "some contribution," more or less according to will and circumstances. For *κοινωνίαν* in this sense see 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 13: where the whole subject is discussed. *εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων*: from the partitive genitive it is clear that not all the saints in Jerusalem were poor. But Gal. ii. 10, Acts vi. show that the community at least included many poor, towards whom it assumed a responsibility so burdensome that it was unable to discharge it unaided.

Ver. 27. *εὐδόκησαν γὰρ*: they have resolved, I say. Paul felt bound to let

this resolution affect his own conduct even to the extent of delaying his journey westward. Indeed he explains in 2 Cor., chaps. viii. and ix., that he expected great spiritual results, in the way of a better understanding between Jewish and Gentile Christianity, from this notable act of Gentile charity; hence his desire to see it accomplished, and the necessity laid on him to go once more to Jerusalem. *ὀφείλεται*: cf. i. 14, viii. 12. The resolve of the Gentile Churches to help the poor Jewish Christians, though generous, was not unmotivated; in a sense it was the payment of a debt. *τοῖς πνευματικοῖς αὐτῶν*: the spiritual things belonging to the Jews in which the Gentiles shared are the Gospel and all its blessings—"salvation is of the Jews". All the gifts of Christianity are gifts of the Holy Spirit. *ἐν τοῖς σαρκικοῖς*: the carnal things of the Gentiles, in which they minister to the Jews, are those which belong to the natural life of man, as a creature of flesh—the universal symbol of these is money. There is the same idea in a similar connection (the support of the Gospel ministry) in 1 Cor. ix. 11. In neither place has *σαρκικά* any ethical connotation. *λειτουργῆσαι* is simply "to minister to": no official, much less sacerdotal association. Cf. Phil. ii. 30.

Ver. 28. *τοῦτο οὖν ἐπιτελέσας*: having brought this business to a close. It is a mistake to find in Paul's use of *ἐπιτελεῖν* any reference to the performance of a religious rite: see 2 Cor. viii. 6, 11, Gal. iii. 3, Phil. i. 6. *σφραγισάμενος αὐτοῖς τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον*. "This fruit" is, of course, the collection; it is one of the gracious results of the reception of the Gospel by the Gentiles, and Paul loves to conceive and to speak of it spiritually rather than materially. Thus in 2 Cor. viii. and ix. he calls it a *χάρις*, a *δικακονία*, a *κοινωνία*, a *ἀδρότης*, a *εὐλογία*: never money. The point of the figure in *σφραγισάμενος* cannot be said to be clear. It may possibly suggest that Paul, in handing over the money to the saints, *authenticates* it to them as the fruit of their *πνευματικά*, which have been sown among the Gentiles (so S.



- r Gal. iii. 14; Eph. i. 3; Heb. vi. 7; 1 Pet. iii. 9. 29. οἶδα δὲ ὅτι, ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἐν πληρώματι <sup>1</sup> εὐλογίας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ <sup>1</sup> Χριστοῦ ἐλεύσομαι. 30. Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ Πνεύματος, συναγωνίσασθαι μοι ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. 31. ἵνα ῥυσθῶ ἀπὸ τῶν <sup>2</sup> ἀπειθούντων ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, καὶ ἵνα <sup>2</sup> ἡ διακονία μου ἢ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ εὐπρόσδεκτος γένηται τοῖς ἁγίοις. 32. ἵνα ἐν χαρᾷ ἔλθω <sup>3</sup> πρὸς ὑμᾶς διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ, καὶ συναναπαύσωμαι ὑμῖν. 33. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. ἀμήν.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Om. του ευαγγελίου του Ἡ ABCDF and all edd.

<sup>2</sup> After καὶ om. ἵνα with Ἡ ABCD<sup>1</sup>. διακονία Ἡ ACD<sup>2</sup> B<sup>3</sup> L; δωροφορία BD<sup>1</sup> F. W. and H. regard δωροφορία as a Western reading which belongs to the inferior element in B, and therefore adopt διακονία; so Tischdf. But Weiss thinks διακονία obviously suggested here by its use in 2 Cor. viii. 4, ix. 1, 12 f., and puts δωροφορία, which occurs nowhere else in the N.T., in his text. The change of it to διακονία induced, he believes, the further change of ἐν before Ἱερουσαλὴμ (which is also the reading of BD<sup>1</sup> F) into εἰς (which is found like διακονία in Ἡ ACD<sup>2</sup> L). This argument seems to have real weight, even though BDF is not always a strong combination of authorities.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν χαρᾷ ἔλθω. This is the reading of BDEFGLP, and is retained by Weiss. It has the critical advantage of making it possible to understand how B could have come to omit the clause καὶ συναναπαύσωμαι ὑμῖν, and the exegetical advantage of properly defining the end aimed at in the prayer, which was that Paul might come with joy to Rome, not that he might refresh himself after that. W. and H. put the received text in margin, but read in text ἵνα . . . ἐλθὼν . . . θεοῦ συναναπαύσωμαι ὑμῖν. ἐλθὼν is the reading of Ἡ AC, and these MSS. also omit καὶ. For θεοῦ B has κυρίου Ἰησοῦ; D<sup>1</sup> F Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ; alii aliter. Possibly the original reading was θελήματος alone (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 12), which has been variously supplemented.

<sup>4</sup> ἀμήν om. AF; ins. Ἡ BCDLP and all edd.

and H.); or it may only mean "when I have secured this fruit to them as their property" (so Meyer). The ideas of "property," "security," "formality," "solemnity," "finality," are all associated with σφραγίς and σφραγιζῶ in different passages of the N.T., and it is impossible to say which preponderated in Paul's mind as he wrote these words. Cf. John iii. 33, vi. 27. ἀπελεύσομαι is simply *abibo*: the idea of departing from Jerusalem is included in it, which is not brought out in the R.V., "I will go on". δι' ὑμῶν: cf. 2 Cor. i. 16. εἰς Σπανίαν: there is no evidence that this intention was ever carried out except the well-known passage in Clem. Rom. I. 5 which speaks of Paul as having come ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως: an expression which, especially if the writer was a Jew, may as well mean Rome as Spain. But all the more if it was not carried out is this passage in Romans assuredly genuine; a second-century writer would not gratuitously ascribe to an apostle

intentions which he must have known were never accomplished.

Ver. 29. For ἐρχόμενος . . . ἐλεύσομαι cf. 1 Cor. ii. 1. ἐν πληρώματι εὐλογίας Χριστοῦ. Paul's desire was to impart to the Romans χάρισμα τι πνευματικόν (i. 11), and he is sure it will be satisfied to the full. When he comes he will bring blessing from Christ to which nothing will be lacking. On πλήρωμα see xi. 12.

Ver. 30. παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς. In spite of the confident tone of ver. 29, Paul is very conscious of the uncertainties and perils which lie ahead of him, and with the δὲ he turns to this aspect of his situation. ἀδελφοί (which W. H. bracket) is an appeal to their Christian sympathy. διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. For διὰ in this sense see xii. 1. The Romans and Paul were alike servants of this Lord, and His name was a motive to the Romans to sympathise with Paul in all that he had to encounter in Christ's service. διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦ πνεύματος,

XVI. 1. ΣΥΝΙΣΤΗΜΙ δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν, οὖσαν <sup>1</sup> *a* 1 Tim. iii. 8, 12.  
<sup>a</sup> διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς · 2. ἵνα αὐτὴν <sup>b</sup> προσδέξησθε <sup>2</sup> *b* Phil. ii. 29.  
 ἐν Κυρίῳ ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ παραστήτε αὐτῇ ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν χρήζῃ  
 πράγματι · καὶ γὰρ αὕτη <sup>c</sup> προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη, καὶ αὐτοῦ <sup>c</sup> *Here only in N.T.*

<sup>1</sup> After οὖσαν ins. καὶ ἡ<sup>2</sup>BC<sup>1</sup>; so Weiss. W. and H. bracket.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὴν προσδέξησθε ἡ<sup>2</sup>ALP; αὐτὴν after προσδ. BCDF. For αὐτοῦ ἐμὸν read ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ with ABCL.

the love wrought in Christian hearts by the Spirit of God (Gal. v. 22) is another motive of the same kind. συναγωνίσασθαι μοι, ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς. συναγωνίζομαι is found here only in the N.T., but ἀγῶν and ἀγωνίζομαι in a spiritual sense are found in each of the groups into which the Pauline epistles are usually divided. What Paul asks is that they should join him in striving with all their might—in wrestling as it were—against the hostile forces which would frustrate his apostolic work. Cf. Just. Mart., *Apol.*, ii., 13: καὶ εὐχόμενος καὶ παμμάχως ἀγωνιζόμενος. ἀγῶνία in Lc. xxii. 44 seems to denote awful fear rather than intense striving. πρὸς τὸν θεόν is not otiose: Paul felt how much it was worth to have God appealed to on his behalf.

Ver. 31 f. ἵνα ῥυσθῶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπειθούντων: from the disobedient, i.e., from the Jews who had not received the Gospel, 2 Thess. i. 8, chap. xi. 30. καὶ ἡ διακονία μου κ.τ.λ. It was not the unbelieving Jews only who hated Paul. To them he was an apostate, who had disappointed all their hopes; but even Christian Jews in many cases regarded him as false to the nation's prerogative, and especially to the law. There was a real danger that the contribution he brought from the Gentile Churches might not be graciously accepted, even accepted at all; it might be regarded as a bribe, in return for which Paul's opposition to the law was to be condoned, and the equal standing of his upstart churches in the Kingdom of God acknowledged. It was by no means certain that it would be taken as what it was—a pledge of brotherly love; and God alone could dispose "the saints" to take it as simply as it was offered. Paul's state of mind as seen here is exactly that which is revealed in Acts xx. 17-38, xxi. 13, etc. ἵνα ἐν χαρᾷ ἑλθῶν . . . συναναπαύσωμαι ὑμῖν. συναναπ. here only in N.T. but cf. συνπαρακληθῆναι, i. 12, and συναγωνίσασθαι ver. 30. "Rest after the personal danger and after the ecclesiastical crisis of which the personal danger formed

a part" (Hort). The ἵνα here seems to be subordinate to, not co-ordinate with the preceding one. Paul looks forward to a time of joy and rest beyond these anxieties and dangers, as the ultimate end to be secured by their prayers. διὰ θελήματος θεοῦ: it depends on this whether Paul is to return or how. He did reach Rome, by the will of God (i. 10), but hardly in the conditions anticipated here.

Ver. 33. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης: there is an appropriateness in this designation after ver. 31, but "peace" is one of the ruling ideas in Paul's mind always, and needs no special explanation in a benediction: 2 Cor. xiii. 11, Phil. iv. 9, 1 Thess. v. 23.

CHAPTER XVI. On this chapter see introduction. It consists of five distinct parts: (1) The recommendation of Phoebe to the Church, vers. 1 and 2; (2) a series of greetings from Paul himself, vers. 3-16; (3) a warning against false teachers, vers. 17-20; (4) a series of greetings from companions of Paul, vers. 21-23; (5) a doxology.

Ver. 1 f. Συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην. συνίστημι is the technical word for this kind of recommendation, which was equivalent to a certificate of church membership. Paul uses it with especial frequency in 2 Cor., both in this technical sense (iii. 1, v. 12), and in a kindred but wider one (iv. 2, vi. 4, vii. 11, x. 12, 18). τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν: our (Christian) sister, 1 Cor. vii. 15, ix. 5. The spiritual kinship thus asserted was a recommendation of itself, but in Phoebe's case Paul can add another. οὖσαν καὶ διάκονον τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς: who is also a servant of the Church in Cenchreae. It is not easy to translate διάκονος, for "servant" is too vague, and "deaconess" is more technical than the original. Διακονία was really a function of membership in the Church, and Phoebe might naturally be described as she is here if like the house of Stephanas at Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 15) she had given herself εἰς διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις. That



ἐμοῦ. 3. Ἀσπάσασθε Πρίσκιλλαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἀκύλαν τοὺς συνεργοὺς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, 4. (οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέθηκαν· οἷς οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος εὐχαριστῶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησῖαι τῶν ἐθνῶν·) καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν. 5. ἀσπάσασθε Ἐπαίνετον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου, ὃς ἐστὶν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας<sup>2</sup> εἰς Χρι-

<sup>1</sup> For Πρίσκιλλαν (corrected by Acts xviii. 2) read Πρίσκαν  $\Sigma$ ABCD $\Gamma$ L.

<sup>2</sup> For τῆς Αχαΐας LP, read τῆς Ἀσίας with  $\Sigma$ ABCD $\Gamma$ F. The wrong reading is due to 1 Cor. xvi. 15.

is, a life of habitual charity and hospitality, quite apart from any official position, would justify the name *διάκονος*. On the other hand it must be remembered that the growth of the Church, under the conditions of ancient society, soon produced "deaconesses" in the official sense, and Phœbe may have had some recognised function of *διακονία* assigned to her. Cenchreæ was on the Saronic gulf, nine miles E. of Corinth: as the port for Asia and the East, many Christians would pass through it, and a Christian woman who gave herself to hospitality (xii. 13) might have her hands full. ἐν Κυρίῳ: no mere reception of Phœbe into their houses satisfies this—their Christian life was to be open for her to share in it; she was no alien to be debarred from spiritual intimacy. ἀξίως τῶν ἁγίων: with such kindness as it becomes Christians to show. καὶ παραστήτε αὐτῇ (Jer. xv. 11): after the Christian welcome is assured, Paul bespeaks their help for Phœbe in whatever affair she may require it. He speaks indefinitely, but his language suggests that she was going to Rome on business in which they could assist her. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ: in complying with this request they will only be doing for Phœbe what she has done for others, and especially for Paul himself. προστάτις (feminine of *προστάτης*) is suggested by παραστήτε. Paul might have said *παραστάτις*, but uses the more honourable word. *προστάτης* (*patronus*) was the title of a citizen in Athens who took charge of the interests of *μέτοικοι* and persons without civic rights; the corresponding feminine here may suggest that Phœbe was a woman of good position who could render valuable services to such a community as a primitive Christian Church usually was. When she helped Paul we cannot tell. Dr. Gifford suggests the occasion of Acts xviii. 18. Paul's vow "seems to point to a deliverance from danger or sickness," in which she may have minis-

tered to him. It is generally assumed that Phœbe was the bearer of this epistle, and many even of those who regard vers. 3-16 as addressed to Ephesus still hold that vers. 1 and 2 were meant for Rome.

Ver. 3 f. Greeting to Prisca and Aquila. ἀσπάσασθε: only here does Paul commission the whole Church to greet individual members of it (Weiss). For the persons here named see Acts xviii. 2. Paul met them first in Corinth, and according to Meyer converted them there. Here as in Acts xviii. 18, 26 and 1 Tim. iv. 19 the wife is put first, probably as the more distinguished in Christian character and service; in 1 Cor. xvi. 19, where they send greetings, the husband naturally gets his precedence. τοὺς συνεργοὺς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ: on first acquaintance they had been fellow-workers, not in Christ Jesus, but in tent-making: they were *ὁμότεχνοι*, Acts xviii. 3. οἵτινες: *quippe qui*. τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον: the singular (as Gifford points out) shows that the expression is figurative. To save Paul's life Prisca and Aquila incurred some great danger themselves; what, we cannot tell. They were in his company both in Corinth and Ephesus, at times when he was in extreme peril (Acts xviii. 12, xix. 30 f.), and the recipients of the letter would understand the allusion. The technical sense of *ὑποθεῖναι*, to give as a pledge, cannot be pressed here, as though Prisca and Aquila had given their personal security (though it involved the hazard of their lives) for Paul's good behaviour. οἷς οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος εὐχαριστῶ κ.τ.λ. The language implies that the incident referred to had occurred long enough ago for all the Gentile Churches to be aware of it, but yet so recently that both they and the Apostle himself retained a lively feeling of gratitude to his brave friends. καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν: these words do not mean "their Christian household," nor do they imply that the

στόν. 6. ἀσπάσασθε Μαριάμ,<sup>1</sup> ἥτις πολλὰ ἔκοπίασεν εἰς ἡμᾶς. d Ver. 12.  
 7. ἀσπάσασθε Ἀνδρόνικον καὶ Ἰουνίαν τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου καὶ  
 συναιχμαλώτους μου, οἵτινές εἰσιν ἑπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, e Col. iv. 10  
 οἱ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γεγόνασιν<sup>2</sup> ἐν Χριστῷ. 8. ἀσπάσασθε Ἀμπλιαν<sup>3</sup> Philemon  
 τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου ἐν Κυρίῳ. 9. ἀσπάσασθε Οὐρβανὸν τὸν συνεργόν<sup>3</sup> f Matt.  
 xxvii. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Μαριάμ NDFL; Μαριαν ABCP, and so most edd. For ἡμας read ὑμας NABC<sup>1</sup>P.

<sup>2</sup> For γεγόνασιν read γεγοναν with NAB.

<sup>3</sup> For Ἀμπλιαν read Ἀμπλιαντον with NAB<sup>1</sup>F.

whole Christian community (in Rome or in Ephesus) met in the house of Prisca and Aquila. They signify the body of believers meeting for worship there, a body which would only be part of the local Christian community. Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 19, Col. iv. 15, Philemon 2, Acts xii. 12. "There is no clear example of a separate building set apart for Christian worship within the limits of the Roman Empire before the third century, though apartments in private houses might be specially devoted to this purpose" (Lightfoot on Col. iv. 15). ἀσπάσασθε Ἐπαίνετον τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου: after Priscilla and Aquila, not a single person is known of all those to whom Paul sends greetings in vv. 3-16. ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας: Epānetus was the first convert in Asia (the Roman province of that name). Cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 15. There is no difficulty in supposing that the first Christian of Asia was at this time—temporarily or permanently—in Rome: but the discovery of an Ephesian Epānetus on a Roman inscription (quoted by Sanday and Headlam) is very interesting.

Ver. 6. It is not certain whether Μαριάμ (which is Jewish) or Μαρίαν (Roman) is the true reading. ἥτις πολλὰ ἔκοπίασεν: the much labour she had bestowed is made the ground (ἥτις) of a special greeting. εἰς ἡμᾶς is much better supported than εἰς ἡμᾶς: there is something finer in Paul's appreciation of services rendered to others than if they had been rendered to himself. Cf. Gal. iv. 11.

Ver. 7. Andronicus is a Greek name, which, like most names in this chapter, can be illustrated from inscriptions. Ἰουνίαν may be masculine (from Ἰουνίας, or Ἰουνιάς contraction of Junianus), or feminine (from Ἰουνία): probably the former. τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου: i.e., Jews. Cf. ix. 3. It is hardly possible that so many people in the Church addressed (see vv. 11, 21) should be more closely connected with Paul than by the bond of

nationality. But it was natural for him, in writing to a mainly Gentile Church, to distinguish those with whom he had this point of contact. Cf. Col. iv. 11. συναιχμαλώτους μου: this naturally means that on some occasion they had shared Paul's imprisonment: it is doubtful whether it would be satisfied by the idea that they, like him, had also been imprisoned for Christ's sake. The αἰχμαλωτός is a prisoner of war: Paul and his friends were all Salvation Army men. The phrase ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, men of mark among the Apostles, has the same ambiguity in Greek as in English. It might mean, well-known to the apostolic circle, or distinguished as Apostles. The latter sense is that in which it is taken by "all patristic commentators" (Sanday and Headlam), whose instinct for what words meant in a case of this kind must have been surer than that of a modern reader. It implies, of course, a wide sense of the word Apostle: for justification of which reference may be made to Lightfoot's essay on the name and office of an Apostle (*Galatians*, 92 ff.) and Harnack, *Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, S. 111-118. On the other hand, Paul's use of the word Apostle is not such as to make it easy to believe that he thought of a large class of persons who might be so designated, a class so large that two otherwise unknown persons like Andronicus and Junias might be conspicuous in it. Hence scholars like Weiss and Gifford hold that what is meant here is that Andronicus and Junias were honourably known to the Twelve. οἱ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γεγόναν ἐν Χριστῷ: they had evidently been converted very early, and, like Mnason the Cypriot, were ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί, Acts xxi. 16. On γεγόναν see Burton, *Moods and Tenses*, § 82. The English idiom does not allow of a perfect translation, but "were" is more idiomatic than "have been".

Ver. 8. Ἀμπλιαντον: "a common Roman slave name". Sanday and Head-



ἡμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ, καὶ Στάχυν τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου. 10. ἀσπάσασθε Ἀπελλήν τὸν δόκιμον ἐν Χριστῷ. ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου. 11. ἀσπάσασθε Ἡρωδῖωνα τὸν συγγενή μου. ἀσπάσασθε τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου, τοὺς ὄντας ἐν Κυρίῳ. 12. ἀσπάσασθε Τρύφαιναν καὶ Τρυφῶσαν τὰς κοπιώσας ἐν Κυρίῳ. ἀσπάσασθε Περσίδα τὴν ἀγαπητήν, ἣτις πολλὰ ἐκοπίασεν ἐν Κυρίῳ. 13. ἀσπάσασθε Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ, καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ.

lam give inscriptions from the cemetery of Domitilla, which make it probable that a person of this name was conspicuous in the earliest Roman Church, and may have been the means of introducing Christianity to a great Roman house. τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου ἐν Κυρίῳ: Paul has none but *Christian* relations to this man.

Ver. 9. Οὐρβανόν: also a common slave name, "found, as here, in juxtaposition with Ampliatus, in a list of imperial freedmen, on an inscription A.D. 115" (Gifford). τὸν συνεργόν ἡμῶν: the ἡμῶν (as opposed to μου, ver. 3) seems to suggest that all Christian workers had a common helper in Urbanus. Of Stachys nothing is known but that he was dear to Paul. The name is Greek; but, like the others, has been found in inscriptions connected with the Imperial household.

Ver. 10. Ἀπελλήν τὸν δόκιμον ἐν Χριστῷ: Apelles, that approved Christian. In some conspicuous way the Christian character of Apelles had been tried and found proof: see Jas. i. 12, 2 Tim. ii. 15. The name is a familiar one, and sometimes Jewish: *Credat Judæus Apella*, Hor., *Sat.*, I., v., 100. By τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου are meant Christians belonging to the household of Aristobulus. Lightfoot, in his essay on Cæsar's Household (*Philippians*, 171 ff.), makes Aristobulus the grandson of Herod the Great. He was educated in Rome, and probably died there. "Now it seems not improbable, considering the intimate relations between Claudius and Aristobulus, that at the death of the latter his servants, wholly or in part, should be transferred to the palace. In this case they would be designated *Aristobuliani*, for which I suppose St. Paul's οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου to be an equivalent. It is at least not an obvious phrase, and demands explanation" (*Philippians*, 175).

Ver. 11. Ἡρωδῖωνα τὸν συγγενή μου. This agrees very well with the interpretation just given to τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου. In the household of Herod's

grandson there might naturally be a Jew with a name of this type, whom Paul, for some cause or other, could single out for a special greeting. τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ναρκίσσου τοὺς ὄντας ἐν Κυρίῳ: the last words may suggest that, though only the Christians in this household have a greeting sent to them, there were other members of it with whom the Church had relations. The Narcissus meant is probably the notorious freedman of Claudius, who was put to death shortly after the accession of Nero (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii., 1), and therefore two or three years before this epistle was written. His slaves would probably pass into the emperor's hands, and increase "Cæsar's household" as Narcissiani (Lightfoot, *loc. cit.*).

Ver. 12. Τρύφαιναν καὶ Τρυφῶσαν: "It was usual to designate members of the same family by derivatives of the same root" (Lightfoot): hence these two women were probably sisters. The names, which might be rendered "Dainty" and "Disdain" (see Jas. v. 5, Is. lxvi. 11) are characteristically pagan, and unlike the description τὰς κοπιώσας, "who toil in the Lord". They are still at work, but the "much toil" of Persis, the beloved, belongs to some occasion in the past. τὴν ἀγαπητήν: Paul does not here add μου as with the men's names in vv. 8 and 9. Persis was dear to the whole Church.

Ver. 13. Ῥοῦφον τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ: for the name see Mark xv. 21. If Mark wrote his gospel at Rome, as there is ground to believe, this may be the person to whom he refers. In the gospel he is assumed to be well known, and here he is described as "that choice Christian". ἐκλεκτὸν cannot refer simply to the fact of his election to be a Christian, since in whatever sense this is true, it is true of all Christians alike; whereas here it evidently expresses some distinction of Rufus. He was a noble specimen of a Christian. καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ: where she had "mothered" Paul we do not know. For the idea cf. Mark x. 30.

14. ἀσπάσασθε Ἀσύγκριτον, Φλέγοντα, Ἑρμᾶν, Πατρόβαν, Ἑρμῆν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφούς. 15. ἀσπάσασθε Φιλόλογον καὶ Ἰουλίαν, Νηρέα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Ὀλυμπᾶν, καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντας ἁγίους. 16. ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς αἱ ἐκκλησίαι<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 17. Παρακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς<sup>3</sup> ἁδικοστασίας καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα, παρὰ τὴν 1 Cor. iii. 3; Gal. v 20. διδαχὴν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε, ποιοῦντας· καὶ ἐκκλινάτε<sup>3</sup> ἀπ' αὐτῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Here  $\Sigma$ ABCD<sup>1</sup>FP and all edd. transpose Ἑρμᾶν and Ἑρμῆν.

<sup>2</sup> After ἐκκλησίαι ins. πασαι  $\Sigma$ ABCLP and all edd.

<sup>3</sup> For ἐκκλινάτε read ἐκκλινετε with  $\Sigma$ <sup>1</sup>BC, Weiss, W. and H., Tischdf.

Ver. 14. Of Asyncritus, Phlegon and Hermes nothing is known. Patrobas (or Patrobias) may have been a dependant of a famous freedman of the same name in Nero's time, who was put to death by Galba (Tac., *Hist.*, i., 49, ii., 95). Hermas has often been identified with the author of The Shepherd, but though the identification goes back to Origen, it is a mistake. "Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe Roma Herma conscripsit sedente cathedra urbis Romæ ecclesiæ Pio eps. fratre ejus": these words of the Canon of Muratori forbid the identification. τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀδελφούς indicates that the persons named, and some others designated in this phrase, formed a little community by themselves—perhaps an ἐκκλησία κατ' οἶκόν τινος.

Ver. 15. Philologus and Julia, as connected here, were probably husband and wife; or, as in the next pair, brother and sister. Both, especially the latter, are among the commonest slave names. There are Acts of Nereus and Achilleus in the Acta Sanctorum connected with the early Roman Church. "The sister's name is not given, but one Nereis was a member of the [imperial] household about this time, as appears from an inscription already quoted" (Lightfoot, *loc. cit.*, p. 177). Olympas is a contraction of Olympiodorus. τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντας ἁγίους: see on last verse. The πάντας may suggest that a larger number of persons is to be included here.

Ver. 16. ἀλλήλους. When the epistle is read in the Church the Christians are to greet each other, and seal their mutual salutations ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ. In 1 Thess. v. 26 the προϊστάμενοι apparently are to salute the members of the Church so. In 1 Cor. xvi. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 12, exactly the same form is used as here. The custom of combining greeting and kiss

was oriental, and especially Jewish, and in this way became Christian. In 1 Pet. v. 14 the kiss is called φίλημα ἀγάπης; in Apost. Const., ii., 57, 12, τὸ ἐν Κυρίῳ φίλημα; in Tert. de Orat., xiv., osculum pacis. By ἁγίον the kiss is distinguished from an ordinary greeting of natural affection or friendship; it belongs to God and the new society of His children; it is specifically Christian. αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι τοῦ Χριστοῦ: "this phrase is unique in the N.T." (Sanday and Headlam). The ordinary form is "the Church" or "the Churches of God": but in Matt. xvi. 18 Christ says "my Church": cf. also Acts xx. 28, where τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου is found in many good authorities. For "all the Churches" cf. ver. 4, 1 Cor. vii. 17, xiv. 33, 2 Cor. viii. 18, xi. 28. Probably Paul was commissioned by some, and he took it on him to speak for the rest. If the faith of the Romans were published in all the world (chap. i. 8), the Churches everywhere would have sufficient interest in them to ratify this courtesy. "Quoniam cognovit omnium erga Romanos studium, omnium nomine salutatur."

Vv. 17-20. Warning against false teachers. This comes in very abruptly in the middle of the greetings, and as it stands has the character of an afterthought. The false teachers referred to are quite definitely described, but it is clear that they had not yet appeared in Rome, nor begun to work there. Paul is only warning the Roman Church against a danger which he has seen in other places. There is a very similar passage in Phil. iii. 18 f., which Lightfoot connects with this, arguing that the persons denounced are not Judaizing teachers, but antinomian reactionists. It is easier to see grounds for this opinion in Philipians than here: but chap. vi. 1-23 may be quoted in support of it.



b Ch. xiv. 18. οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ<sup>1</sup> Χριστῷ οὐ ἔδουλεύουσιν,  
 18. ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτῶν κοιλίᾳ· καὶ διὰ τῆς ἡρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας  
 i Here only in N.T. ἑξαπατῶσι τὰς καρδίας τῶν ἀκάκων. 19. ἡ γὰρ ὑμῶν ὑπακοὴ εἰς  
 πάντας ἀφίκετο· χαίρω οὖν τὸ ἐφ' ὑμῖν·<sup>2</sup> θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς σοφοὺς μὲν  
 εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀκεραίους δὲ εἰς τὸ κακόν. 20. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς  
 k Rev. II. 27. εἰρήνης<sup>3</sup> συντρίψει τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑμῶν ἐν τάχει. ἡ

<sup>1</sup> Ἰησου om. Ξ<sup>1</sup>ABCD<sup>1</sup>FP and all edd.

<sup>2</sup> χαίρω οὖν το ἐφ ὑμιν Ξ<sup>3</sup>DF; but Ξ<sup>1</sup>ABCLP and all edd. ἐφ' ὑμιν οὖν χαίρω.  
 μὲν after σοφοὺς Ξ<sup>1</sup>ACP; om. BDFL. Most edd. omit, but W. and H. bracket.

Ver. 17. σκοπεῖν: to keep your eye upon, either as an example to be followed (Phil. iii. 17), or (as in this case) as a peril to be avoided. τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα ποιούντας: both the persons and their conduct are supposed to be known; "the divisions" and "the scandals," which had been occasioned in other Churches, are assumed to be familiar to the Romans. τὰ σκάνδαλα refers more naturally to conduct which would create a moral prejudice against the Gospel, and so prevent men from accepting it, than to any ordinary result of Jewish legal teaching. But if the latter caused dissension and generated bad tempers in the Church, it also might give outsiders cause to blaspheme, and to stumble at the Gospel (xiv. 13, 16). παρὰ τὴν διδασχὴν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε: ὑμεῖς is emphatic, and implies that they at least are as yet untouched by the false teaching. By "the teaching which you received" is meant not "Paulinism," but Christianity, though the words of course imply that the Roman Church was not anti-Pauline. ἐκκλίνετε with ἀπὸ in 1 Pet. iii. 11, Prov. iv. 15.

Ver. 18. οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι κ.τ.λ. Christians must not associate with those who do not serve the one Lord. τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Χριστῷ: this combination occurs here only in N.T. τῇ ἑαυτῶν κοιλίᾳ: cf. Phil. iii. 19, ὧν ὁ Θεὸς ἡ κοιλία. The words need not mean that the teachers in question were mere sensualists, or that they taught Epicurean or antinomian doctrines: the sense must partly be defined by the contrast—it is not our Lord Christ whom they serve; on the contrary, it is base interests of their own. It is a bitter contemptuous way of describing a self-seeking spirit, rather than an allusion to any particular cast of doctrine. διὰ τῆς ἡρηστολογίας καὶ εὐλογίας: according to Grimm, ἡρηστολογία refers to the insinuating tone, εὐλογία to the fine style, of the false teachers. Ex-

amples from profane Greek bear out this distinction (εὐαρχὸς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος καὶ πολλὴν τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος καὶ εὐλεξίς), but as εὐλογία in Biblical Greek, and in Philo and Josephus invariably has a religious sense, Cremer prefers to take it so here also: "pious talk". ἑξαπατῶσι: vii. 11, 1 Cor. iii. 18, 2 Th. ii. 2. ἀκάκων: all the English versions, except Gen. and A.V., render "of the innocent" (Gifford). See Heb. vii. 26. In this place "guileless" is rather the idea: suspecting no evil, and therefore liable to be deceived.

Ver. 19. ἡ γὰρ ὑμῶν ὑπακοή: What is the connection? "I give this exhortation, separating you altogether from the false teachers, and from those who are liable to be misled by them; for your obedience (ὑμῶν emphasised by position) has come abroad to all men. (Cf. i. 8.) Over you therefore I rejoice, but," etc. He expresses his confidence in them, but at the same time conveys the feeling of his anxiety. For χαίρειν ἐπὶ see 1 Cor. xiii. 6, xvi. 17. σοφοὺς μὲν εἶναι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀκεραίους δὲ εἰς τὸ κακόν. For ἀκεραῖος see Matt. x. 16, Phil. ii. 15, and Trench, *Syn.*, § lvi., where there is a full discussion and comparison with ἄκακος. The fundamental idea of the word is that of freedom from alien or disturbing elements. What Paul here wishes for the Romans—moral intelligence, not impaired in the least by any dealings with evil—does suggest that antinomianism was the peril to be guarded against. Integrity of the moral nature is the best security: the seductive teaching is instinctively repelled.

Ver. 20. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης: used here with special reference to αἱ διχοστασίαι. Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 33. συντρίψει τὸν Σατανᾶν: divisions in the Church are Satan's work, and the suppression of them by the God of peace is a victory over Satan. Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 14 f. There is an allusion to Gen. iii. 15, though it is

χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ<sup>1</sup> μεθ' ὑμῶν. ἀμήν. 21. Ἀσπάζονται<sup>2</sup> ὑμᾶς Τιμόθεος ὁ συνεργός μου, καὶ Λούκιος καὶ Ἰάσων καὶ Σωσίπατρος οἱ συγγενεῖς μου. 22. ἀσπάζομαι ὑμᾶς ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐν Κυρίῳ. 23. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Γάιος ὁ ξένος μου καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὅλης. ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Ἐραστός ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως, καὶ Κούαρτ ὁ ἀδελφός.

<sup>1</sup> Χριστου om. ΞB, edd.

<sup>2</sup> For ἀσπάζονται read ἀσπάζεται ΞABCD<sup>1</sup>F. Om. first μου B 67; W. and H. bracket.

doubtful whether Paul found anything there answering to συντρίψει. The LXX has τηρήσει. ἐν τάχει: cf. Ez. xxix. 5; Deut. xxviii. 20. The false teachers may come and cause dissension, but it will not be long till peace is restored. ἡ χάρις κ.τ.λ. This benediction can hardly be supposed to belong only to vv. 17-20. It rather suggests that some copies of the epistle ended here; possibly that vv. 1-20 (for there is another benediction at xiv. 33) were originally an independent epistle.

Vv. 21-23. Greetings of Paul's companions.

Ver. 21. Τιμόθεος. In many of the epistles Timothy's name is associated with Paul's in the opening salutation (1 and 2 Thess., 2 Cor., Phil., Col., Philemon). Perhaps when Paul began this letter he was absent, but had come back in time to send his greeting at the close. He was with Paul (Acts xx. 4 f.) when he started on the journey to Jerusalem mentioned in xv. 25. Lucius, Jason and Sosipater are all Jews, but none of them can be identified. For the names (which may or may not be those of the same persons) see Acts xiv. 1, xvii. 5, xx. 4.

Ver. 22. ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολὴν: the use of the first person is a striking indication of Paul's courtesy. To have sent the greeting of his amanuensis in the third person would have been to treat him as a mere machine (Godet). ἐν Κυρίῳ goes with ἀσπάζομαι: it is as a Christian, not in virtue of any other relation he has to the Romans, that Tertius salutes them.

Ver. 23. Γάιος ὁ ξένος μου κ. ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας: As the Epistle to the Romans was written from Corinth this hospitable Christian is probably the same who is mentioned in 1 Cor. i. 14. Three other persons (apparently) of the same name are mentioned in Acts xix. 29, xx. 4, and 3 John. By ὁ ξένος μου

is meant that Gaius was Paul's host in Corinth; ὁ ξένος ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας might either mean that the whole Christian community met in his house (cf. vv. 5, 14, 15), or that he made all Christians who came to Corinth welcome. Ἐραστός ὁ οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως. We cannot be sure that this is the Erastus of Acts xix. 22, 2 Tim. iv. 20: the latter seems to have been at Paul's disposal in connection with his work. But they may be the same, and Paul may here be designating Erastus by an office which he had once held, but held no longer. The city treasurer (*arcarius civitatis*) would be an important person in a poor community (1 Cor. i. 26 ff.), and he and Gaius (whose boundless hospitality implies means) are probably mentioned here as representing the Corinthian Church. Κούαρτος ὁ ἀδελφός: Quartus, known to Paul only as a Christian, had perhaps some connection with Rome which entitled him to have his salutation inserted.

Ver. 24. The attestation of this verse is quite insufficient, and it is omitted by all critical editors.

Vv. 25-27. The doxology. St. Paul's letters, as a rule, terminate with a benediction, and even apart from the questions of textual criticism, connected with it, this doxology has given rise to much discussion. The closest analogies to it are found in the doxology at the end of Ephes., chap. iii., and in Jude (vv. 24 and 25); there is something similar in the last chapter of Hebrews (xiii. 20 f.), though not quite at the end; Pauline doxologies as a rule are briefer (i. 25, ix. 5, xi. 36, Phil. iv. 20), and more closely related to what immediately precedes. This one, in which all the leading ideas of the Epistle to the Romans may be discovered, though in a style which reminds one uncomfortably of the Pastoral Epistles rather than of that to which it is appended, would seem more in place if it stood where AL and an immense num-



24. Ἡ χάρις τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.  
 ἀμήν.<sup>1</sup> 25. Τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ ὑμᾶς στήριξαι κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου  
 1 Gal. i. 12; Eph. iii. 3. καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ ἁποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου χρόνους  
 m Here only in N.T. αἰώνιους<sup>m</sup> σεσιγημένου, 26. φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν, διὰ τε γραφῶν προ-  
 φητικῶν, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου Θεοῦ, εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως εἰς

<sup>1</sup> This verse is wanting in  $\aleph$ ABC; ins. in DFL. See Introduction, p. 578.

ber of MSS. place it—after xiv. 23. It may represent the first emergence and conscious apprehension of thoughts which were afterwards to become familiar; but it cannot be denied that the many distinct points of contact with later writings give it, in spite of all it has of imposing, a somewhat artificial character, and it may not belong to the Epistle to the Romans any more than the doxology in Matt. vi. belongs to the Lord's Prayer.

Ver. 25 f. τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ: cf. Eph. iii. 20, Jude v. 24. στήριξαι: this word takes us back to the beginning of the epistle (i. 11.) Paul wished to impart to them some spiritual gift, to the end that they might be established; but only God is able (cf. xiv. 4) to effect this result. The establishing is to take place κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου: in agreement with the gospel Paul preached. When it is achieved, the Romans will be settled and confirmed in Christianity as it was understood by the Apostle. For τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου cf. ii. 16, 2 Tim. ii. 8; also 1 Tim. i. 11, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . . ὃ ἐπιστεύθη ἐγώ. The expression implies not only that Paul's gospel was his own, in the sense that he was not taught it by any man (Gal. i. 11 f.), but also that it had something characteristic of himself about it. The characteristic feature, to judge by this epistle, was his sense of the absolute freeness of salvation (justification by faith, apart from works of law), and of its absolute universality (for every one that believeth, Jew first, then Greek). τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ is practically the same as τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. It was in a preaching (1 Cor. ii. 4, xv. 14, Tit. i. 3) of which Jesus Christ was the object that Paul declared the characteristic truths of his gospel: and this preaching, as well as the gospel, may be said to be the rule according to which the Romans are to be established as Christians. κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου . . . γνωρισθέντος. This passage "goes not with στήριξαι, but with κήρυγμα" (Sanday and Headlam). This is the simplest construction: the gospel Paul preaches, the

gospel in accordance with which he would have them established, is itself in accordance with—we may even say identical with—the revelation of a mystery, etc. The μυστήριον here referred to is God's world-embracing purpose of redemption, as it has been set out conspicuously in this epistle. One aspect of this—one element of the mystery—is referred to where μυστήριον is used in xi. 25; but the conception of the Gospel as a μυστήριον revealed in the fulness of the time dominates later epistles, especially Ephesians (cf. Eph. i. 9, iii., 3, 4, 9, vi. 19). The Gospel as Paul understood it was a μυστήριον, because it could never have been known except through Divine revelation: μυστήριον and ἀποκάλυψις are correlative terms. χρόνους αἰώνιους: the dative expresses duration. Winer, p. 273; cf. 2 Tim. i. 9, Tit. i. 2. For φανερωθέντος δὲ νῦν cf. iii. 21. The aorist refers to Christ's appearing, though the significance of this had to be made clear by revelation (Weiss). διὰ τε γραφῶν προφητικῶν . . . γνωρισθέντος: for τε cf. ii. 16. The connection is meant to be as close as possible: the γνωρίσειν follows the φανερῶν as a matter of course. The γραφαὶ προφητικαὶ are the O.T. Scriptures of which Paul made constant use in preaching his gospel (cf. κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς in 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4). For him the O.T. was essentially a Christian book. His gospel was witnessed to by the law and the prophets (i. 2, iii. 21, iv., *passim*), and in that sense the mystery was made known through them. But their significance only came out for one who had the Christian key to them—the knowledge of Christ which revelation had given to Paul. κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ αἰωνίου Θεοῦ: cf. 1 Tim. i. 1, Tit. i. 3. The idea is that only an express command of the Eternal God could justify the promulgation of the secret He had kept so long. For the "Eternal God" cf. Gen. xxi. 33, 1 Tim. i. 17 (τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν αἰώνων). εἰς ὑπακοὴν πίστεως: cf. i. 5. εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη: in i. 5 it is ἐ

πάντα τὰ ἔθνη γνωρισθέντος, 27. μόνῳ σοφῷ Ὁ Θεὸς, διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, a Jude v. 25  
 φ<sup>1</sup> ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ἀμήν.

Πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Κορίνθου διὰ Φοίβης τῆς διακόνου  
 τῆς ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς ἐκκλησίας.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ω is wanting in B, in F-lat., Orig.-interp., Syr., and is bracketed by W. and H. But whether this is to be explained as an intentional correction to simplify the construction, or a mere oversight (of which Weiss gives examples, *Textkritik*, S. 93), it can hardly be right. Neither can αὐτῷ, which is found in P, be original; it is too natural a correction. Hence edd. are practically unanimous in keeping ω. After τοὺς αἰῶνας NADP add των αἰωνων, but W. and H., with BCL and cursives, omit it. Weiss prints the addition in his text, yet argues for its omission (*Textkritik*, 89).

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς ρωμαίους only, in NABCD.

πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν: for εἰς in this sense see iii. 22. It is very difficult to believe that such mosaic work is the original composition of Paul.

Ver. 27. μόνῳ σοφῷ Θεῷ: this description of God suits all that has just been said about His great purpose in human history, and the hiding and revealing of it in due time. The true text in 1 Tim. i. 17 has no σοφῷ. The absence of the article here indicates that it is in virtue of having this character that God is able to establish the Romans according to Paul's Gospel. φ<sup>1</sup> ἡ δόξα: it is impossible to be sure of the reading here. If φ<sup>1</sup> be omitted, there is no grammatical difficulty whatever: glory is ascribed to God through Jesus Christ, through Whom the eternal purpose of the world's redemption has in God's wisdom been wrought out. But its omission is almost certainly a correction made for simplifi-

cation's sake. If it be retained, to whom does it refer? (1) Some say, to Jesus Christ; and this is grammatically the obvious way to take it. But it seems inconsistent with the fact that in τῷ δὲ δυναμένῳ and μόνῳ σοφῷ Θεῷ Paul wishes unequivocally to ascribe the glory to God. And though it saves the grammar of the last clause, it sacrifices that of the whole sentence. Hence (2) it seems necessary to refer it to God, and we may suppose, with Sanday and Headlam, that the structure of the sentence being lost amid the heavily-loaded clauses of the doxology, the writer concludes with a well-known formula of praise, φ<sup>1</sup> ἡ δόξα κ.τ.λ. (Gal. i. 15, 2 Tim. iv. 18, Heb. xiii. 21). This might be indicated by putting a dash after Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. The thread is lost, and the writer appends his solemn conclusion as best he can.





THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PAUL  
TO THE  
CORINTHIANS



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## INTRODUCTION.

### CHAPTER I.

#### THE CHURCH OF GOD IN CORINTH.

THE establishment of the Church of Corinth was the crowning work of Paul's second missionary journey, and one of the greatest achievements of his life. By repeated interventions crossing his plans of travel, the hand of God had compelled him to enter Europe, through the gate of Macedonia; thence Jewish persecution drove him onwards to Achaia, and prevented his returning to the work left unfinished in the northern province (1 Thess. ii. 14 ff., *cf.* Acts xvii. 5-15). At Athens, where he first touched Greek soil, the Apostle met with scant success; he arrived at Corinth dispirited and out of health (1 Cor. ii. 3, *cf.* 1 Thess. iii. 7), with little expectation of the harvest awaiting him. Loneliness aggravated the other causes of the "weakness and fear and trembling" that shook Christ's bold ambassador. His appearance and bearing conveyed an impression of feebleness which acted long afterwards to his prejudice (1 Cor. iv. 10, 2 Cor. x. 1-11, xii. 5, etc.). The new friendship of Aquila and Priscilla proved, however, a cordial to him (Acts xviii. 2 f., *cf.* Rom. xvi. 3 f.); and the return of Silas and Timothy with good news from Macedonia revived the confidence and vigour of their leader (Acts xviii. 5, *cf.* 1 Thess. iii. 6-9). Free from the anxiety which had distracted him, and rising above his late defeat, "Paul was constrained by the word [*cf.* for this verb 2 Cor. v. 14, and see Blass' *Acta Apostol.*, *ad loc.*], testifying to the Jews that Jesus is the Christ". The decision with which he now spoke brought about a speedy rupture. The Jews were affronted by the doctrine of a crucified Messiah, which Paul pressed with unsparing rigour (Acts xviii. 5 f., 1 Cor. i. 17, 23, ii. 2). In this crisis the Apostle showed neither weakness nor fear; shaking off the dust of the synagogue, he established a rival *ecclesia* hard by at the house of the proselyte



Titius Justus, marked by his name as a Roman citizen of the *colonia*, who could offer a secure and honourable refuge. The seceders included the Synagogue-chief Crispus and his family, with some other persons of importance. A vision in the following night assured Paul of success and personal safety at Corinth; accordingly "he sat down,"<sup>1</sup> resolved to make full proof of his ministry (Acts xviii. 9-11, cf. 2 Cor. i. 18 f.) and staying at least eighteen months in the city—a period much longer than he had spent in any place since first setting out from Antioch. The assault of the Jews miscarried through the firmness and impartiality of the proconsul Gallio. The Apostle found in the Roman Government "the restrainer" of the lawless violence which would have crushed his infant Churches (2 Thess. ii. 6 f.). At Corinth popular feeling ran against the Jews, and their futile attack favourably advertised Paul's work. The murderous plot formed against him some years later (Acts xx. 3) shows how fiercely he was hated by his compatriots in Corinth. He tells us that his success in Macedonia had excited public attention in many quarters, and prepared for his message an interested hearing (1 Thess. i. 8 f.). Outside of Corinth the Gospel was preached with effect throughout Achaia (2 Cor. i. 1); in Cenchreæ, e.g., a regularly constituted Church was formed (Rom. xvi. 1). At his departure (Acts xviii. 18) the Apostle left behind him in this province a Christian community comparatively strong in numbers and conspicuous in the talent and activity of its members (1 Cor. i. 4-8, xiv. 26 ff.), consisting mainly of Gentiles, but with a considerable Jewish infusion (i. 12, vii. 18, xii. 13).

This city, the capital of Roman Greece and the fourth perhaps in size in the empire, was a focus of pagan civilisation, a mirror of the life and society of the age. The centre of a vast commerce, Corinth attracted a crowd of foreigners from East and West, who mingled with the native Greeks and adopted their language and manners. Though not a University town like Athens, Corinth nevertheless prided herself on her culture, and offered a mart to the vendors of all kinds of wisdom. "Not many wise, not many mighty, not many high-born" joined the disciples of the Crucified; but some of Paul's converts came under this description. There were marked social differences and contrasts of wealth and poverty in the Church (1 Cor. vii. 20-24, xi. 21 f., 2 Cor. viii. 12 ff., ix. 6 ff.). Along with slaves, a crowd of artisans and nondescript people, engaged in the petty handicrafts of a great emporium, entered the new society;

<sup>1</sup> ἱκάθισεν (Acts xviii. 11): the expression indicates that Paul had been up to this point unsettled, and made up his mind to remain; cf. Luke xxiv. 49.

"the foolish things of the world," its "weak" and "baseborn," formed the majority of its constituency (1 Cor. i. 27 ff.)—amongst them many who had been steeped in pagan vice (vi. 9 ff.).

The moral transformation effected in this corrupt material was accompanied by a notable mental quickening. The Hellenic intellect awoke at the touch of spiritual faith. This first Christian society planted upon Greek soil exhibited the characteristic qualities of the race—qualities however of Greece in her decadence rather than her prime. Amongst so many freshly awakened and eager but undisciplined minds, the Greek intellectualism took on a crude and shallow form; it betrayed a childish conceit and fondness for rhetoric and philosophical jargon (i. 17, ii. 1-5, etc.), and allied itself with the factiousness that was the inveterate curse of Greece. The Corinthian talent in matters of "word and knowledge" ran into emulation and frivolous disputes. "The habit of seeming to know all about most things, and of being able to talk glibly about most things, would naturally tend to an excess of individuality, and a diminished sense of corporate responsibilities. This fact supplies, under many different forms, the main drift of 1 Corinthians" (Hort, *Ecclesia*, p. 129). Even the gifts of the Holy Spirit were abused for purposes of display, edification being often the last thing thought of in their exercise (xii., xiv.). The excesses which profaned the Lord's Table (xi. 20 ff.), and the unseemly conduct of women in the Church meetings (xi. 3 ff., xiv. 34 ff.), were symptoms of the lawless self-assertion that marred the excellencies of this Church, and turned the abilities of many of its members into an injury rather than a furtherance to its welfare.

Still graver mischief arose from the influence of heathen society. For men breathing the moral atmosphere of Corinth, and whose earlier habits and notions had been formed in this environment, to conceive and maintain a Christian moral ideal was difficult in the extreme. Deplorable relapses occurred when the fervour of conversion had abated, and the Church proved shamefully tolerant towards sins of impurity (1 Cor. v., 2 Cor. xii. 20 f.). The acuteness of the Greek mind showed itself in antinomian sophistry; the "liberty" from Jewish ceremonial restrictions claimed by Paul for Gentile Christians was by some construed into a general licence, and carried to a length which shocked not merely the scruples of fellow-believers but the common moral instincts (vi. 12 ff., viii. 9-13, x. 23 ff., xi. 13 b). The social festivities of Corinth, bound up as they were with idolatry and its impurities, exposed the Church to severe temptation. To draw a hard and fast line in such questions



and to forbid all participation in *idolothya*, after the precedent of Acts xv., would have been the simplest course to take; but Paul feels it necessary to ground the matter on fundamental principles. He will not acknowledge any dominion of the idol over "the earth and its fulness" (x. 26); nor, on the other hand, is it right to prevent neighbourly intercourse between Christians and unbelievers (x. 27 ff.). But where the feast is held under the auspices of a heathen god and as the sequel to his sacrifice the case is altered; participation under these circumstances becomes an act of apostasy, and the feaster identifies himself with the idol as distinctly as in the Lord's Supper he identifies himself with Christ (x. 16 ff.).

The working of the old leaven is patent in the denial of the *resurrection of the dead* made by some Corinthian Christians (xv.). Here the radical scepticism of the age opposed itself to the fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, upon which the whole weight of Christian faith and hope, and the entire Christian conception of the world and of destiny, rest as upon their fulcrum and rock of certainty. The disbelief in bodily resurrection and the indifference to bodily sin manifested at Corinth had a common root. They may be traced to the false spiritualism, the contempt for physical nature, characteristic of the theosophy of the times, which gave rise a few years later to the Colossian heresy and was a chief factor in the development of Gnosticism. The teaching of chap. vi., that "your bodies are limbs of Christ," and the command to "glorify God in your bodies," are aimed against the same philosophical assumptions that are combated in chap. xv.; the demand for bodily purity finds in the doctrine of the resurrection its indispensable support and counterpart.

No reference is made in the Epistle to Church officers of any kind. Submission to "the house of Stephanas," and to others rendering like service, is enjoined in xvi. 15 f., but by way of voluntary deference. So early as the first missionary journey in South Galatia Paul had assisted in the "appointing of elders in every Church" (Acts xiv. 23; cf. Acts xx. 17, 1 Thess. v. 12, Rom. xii. 8, Phil. i. 1). He had refrained from this step at Corinth for some specific reason—a reason lying, it may be supposed, in the democratic spirit of the Church, which might have ill brooked official control. In xii. 28 the Apostle alludes, however, to "governments" as amongst the things which "God set [*as part of a plan*, Hort] in the Church"; and his promise to "set in order other things" (beside the Lord's Supper) when he comes (xi. 34) may cover the intention to remedy this defect, the consequences of which are painfully apparent (xiv. 26-33, etc.).

This Epistle discloses the interior life of an apostolic Church; hence its surpassing historical interest. We must not, indeed, apply its data without qualification to contemporary Christian societies, even those of Gentile origin. The Corinthian Church presented material of uncommon richness, but intractable to the founder's hand. Its turbulence and party heat are unparalleled in the N.T. records. But while the Church life here portrayed was exceptional in some features, and Paul's Church policy at Corinth may have differed from that pursued elsewhere, this Epistle is peculiarly full in its teaching on the nature and rights of the Church, and in the light it throws upon the conditions under which the first Gentile-Christian communities were moulded. Chaps. xii. and xiii. are the true centre of the Epistle. The very formlessness of this Church, its rudimentary and protoplasmic state, reveals the essence of the Christian society, its substratum and vital tissue, as these can hardly be seen in a more developed and furnished condition. The Apostle Paul is contending for the *bare life* of the Church of God in Corinth.

Corinth now became the advanced post and gateway for Christianity in its westward march. The *new* Corinth, in which Paul laboured, dates from the year 46 B.C., when the city was refounded by Julius Cæsar under the name *Colonia Julia Corinthus* (or *Laus Julii Corinthus*). Just a century earlier the old Corinth had been razed to the ground by Lucius Mummius, upon the defeat of the Achæan league which, with Corinth for its fortress, made a last despairing effort to retrieve the liberties of Greece. Corinth and Carthage fell and rose again simultaneously, marking the epochs at which republican Rome completed the destruction of the old world and imperial Rome began the construction of the new. The fame of ancient Corinth, reaching back to heroic times (see the *Iliad*, ii., 570; Pindar, *Olymp.*, 13)—where “the sweetly breathing Muse” and “death-dealing Ares” flourished side by side—and her later prowess as the bulwark of the Peloponnese and the maritime rival of Athens, were traditions with little interest or meaning for Paul and his disciples. The geographical position of Corinth gave to it enduring importance, and explains the fact that on its restoration the city sprang at once into the foremost rank. Corinth occupies one of the finest sites in Europe. With the Acrocorinthus (nearly 2,000 feet high) and the Oneion range shielding it on the south, it commands the narrow plain of the isthmus, and looks down, eastwards and westwards, upon the Saronic and Corinthian gulfs, which furnished the main artery of commerce between the Ægean and the Euxine seas on the one hand, and the Western Mediterranean upon the



other. (See the descriptions in Stanley's *Epp. to the Cor.*, p. 4, also article "Corinth" in Hastings' *Bib. Dict.*; and more at large, Leake's *Morea*, iii., 229-304, Curtius' *Peloponnesus*, ii., 514 f.; and for the antiquities, Pausanias, II., i., 2; Strabo, VIII., vi., 20-24; Dio Chrys., *Orat.*, 37; Ælius Arist., *Ad Poseid.*) The western port, Lechæum,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  mile distant, was linked by double walls to the city; Cenchreæ lay  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles eastwards; and a shipway, running north of Corinth, connected the two harbours.

The presiding deities of this maritime city were the sea-god Poseidon, under whose patronage the famous Isthmian games were held (see ix. 24 ff. and notes), and Aphrodité, whose temple crowned the Acrocorinthus. The cultus of Aphrodité (worshipped in her debasing form as *Aphr. Pandemos*) dates back, it is supposed, to prehistoric Phœnician times; its features were more Oriental than Greek—especially the institution of the ἱερόδουλοι, or priestess-courtesans, of whom more than a thousand were attached to the shrine of the goddess. Temples of Serapis and Isis were also conspicuous at Corinth, representing the powerful leaven of Egyptian superstition that helped to demoralise the empire. The luxury and refinement of the elder Corinth were associated with its vice; so notorious was its debauchery that κορινθιάζεσθαι was a euphemism for whoredom; in our own literature "a Corinthian" still means a polished rake. By all accounts, the new Corinth more than rivalled the old in wickedness. Here the Apostle drew, from life, the lurid portraiture of Gentile sin that darkens the first page of his Epistle to the Romans. Within this stronghold of paganism and focus of Greek corruption Paul planted the cross of his Redeemer, rising out of his weakness and fear to a boundless courage. He confronted the world's glory and infamy with the sight of "Jesus Christ and Him crucified," confident that in the word of the cross which he preached there lay a spell to subdue the pride and cleanse the foulness of Corinthian life, a force which would prove to Gentile society in this place of its utter corruption the wisdom and power of God unto salvation. In "the Church of God in Corinth," with all its defects and follies, this redeeming power was lodged.

## CHAPTER II.

### PAUL'S COMMUNICATIONS WITH CORINTH.

ASSUMING 49 A.D. as the date of the conference in Jerusalem (Acts xv.), 57 as that of Paul's last voyage to the Holy City,<sup>1</sup> we calculate that he arrived at Corinth first in the latter part of the year 50, closing his mission in 52. He was engaged in the interval, until the spring of 56, mainly in the evangelisation of the province of Asia (Acts xix. 10, 22, xx. 1 ff.). When he writes this letter the Apostle is still at Ephesus, intending to remain until Pentecost, and with Passover approaching (xvi. 8 f., v. 7 f.: see notes). Paul's departure from Ephesus was hastened by the riot (Acts xix. 23-xx. 1); and we may take it that this Epistle was despatched in the early spring of 56, very shortly before Paul left Ephesus for Troas in the course of his third missionary journey.

The Apostle had previously sent Timothy and Erastus forward to Corinth, by way of Macedonia, to prepare for his arrival, in pursuance of the plan now sketched in his mind for completing his work in these regions with a view to advancing upon Rome and the further west (Acts xix. 21 f., *cf.* Rom. xv. 16-25). Timothy is likely to arrive soon after this letter, and will be able to enforce its prescriptions (iv. 17; see also xvi. 10 f., and notes). Apollos, who had migrated to Corinth fresh from the instructions of Priscilla and Aquila in Ephesus and had "watered" there what Paul had "planted" (iii. 6, Acts xviii. 27 f.), is back again at Ephesus in the Apostle's company (xvi. 12); he is clear of complicity in the party quarrels with which his name was associated in Corinth (i. 12, iii. 4-8, iv. 6). Quite recently "the people of Chloë" have brought an alarming report of these "strifes" (i. 11); and the Apostle learns from general rumour of the case of incest polluting the Church

<sup>1</sup> See article "Chronology of the N.T." in Hastings' *Bib. Dict.*; and for the latter date, article "Paul," i., 5. It is now generally recognised that the dates assigned to Pauline events by Wieseler and Lightfoot are, from 49 onwards, at least a couple of years too late.



(v. 1). More agreeable tidings have come with Stephanas and his companions (xvi. 17 f.), who bear a dutiful letter of inquiry addressed to Paul, which he answers in chap. vii. ff. Through their lips, as well as from the Church letter, he receives the assurances of the general loyalty and goodwill of the Corinthian believers. From all these sources occasion is drawn and material furnished for the writing before us.

This Epistle is not the first which Paul had addressed to Corinth. In chap. v. 9 the writer refers to *an earlier letter* forbidding intercourse with immoral persons. The terms of this admonition had raised debate. Some read it as though all dealings with vicious men were inhibited—a restriction that was as good as to tell Corinthian Christians to “go out of the world”! They could not imagine Paul to mean this; but his words allowed of this construction, and thus opened the door for discussion and for temporising. The tenor of the lost Epistle probably resembled that of 2 Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1 (see this Comm., *ad loc.*). This letter had arrived some months previously to our Epistle; for the Church had had time to consider and reply to it, and the condition of things to which it relates has undergone some changes. It may be referred as far back as the previous autumn (55 A.D.). Inasmuch as the Church-letter touched on “the collection for the saints” (xvi. 1: see note), it seems likely that the Apostle had made some appeal in the lost Epistle on this subject, eliciting a favourable reply (*cf.* 2 Cor. viii. 10, ix. 2), but with a request for directions as to the mode of gathering the money.

There is reason to believe that *Paul had himself visited Corinth* not very long before writing the aforesaid letter. The allusions of 2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 14, 20—xiii. 2 (see notes), imply that he had been *twice* in Corinth before the Second Epistle. If with Clemen (*Chronol. d. Paulin. Briefe*), Schmiedel (*Handcomm.*, 1 and 2 Kor., *Einleitung*), and Krenkel (*Beiträge z. Aufhellung d. Paul. Briefe*, vi.) we could spread the composition of 1 and 2 Cor. over two years, space would be found for interposing such a visit between them, but at the cost of creating fresh and insuperable chronological difficulties. In 2 Cor. i. 15 ff. the Apostle defends himself for having *failed* to come recently to Corinth; he had sent Titus, and with him a letter (2 Cor. ii. 4, vii. 8)—distinct, as the present writer holds, from 1 Cor. (a *second lost letter* of Paul to Corinth: see Hastings' *Bib. Dict.*, article “Paul,” i. d.), and occasioned by an emergency that arose subsequently to its despatch—which gave a new turn to the Apostle's relations with the Church. Meanwhile he has himself left Ephesus (as contemplated in 1 Cor. xvi.), has pushed forward to Macedonia (2 Cor. ii. 12 f.), where at

last Titus meets him with the cheering news reflected in 2 Cor. i. vii. As already shown, a space of but a few weeks elapsed between Paul's writing 1 Cor. and leaving Ephesus for Troas.

We have traced Paul's steps through the months separating the two Epistles, and neither time nor occasion is found for an interjected trip to Corinth. We are thrown back upon the period *before* the first Epistle. Yet 1 Cor. makes no express reference to any recent visit; and its silence, *primâ facie*, negatives the supposition of any such occurrence. There are circumstances however which relieve this adverse presumption. For one thing, the *lost letter* had intervened; this other Epistle, not our 1 Cor., was the sequel of the visit in question. The main thing that occupied Paul's mind on that occasion, and which caused the "grief" referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 1, had been the impurity of life manifest within the Church. Against this he had given solemn warning, while forbearing discipline (2 Cor. xiii. 2). It was with a moral situation of this kind that the missing letter dealt (1 Cor. v. 9-12); the alarm it expressed is still felt in 1 Cor. vi., x., xv. 33 f. Meantime, the horrible case of incest has eclipsed previous transgressions; and while Paul reaffirms the general directions already sent and prompted (*ex hypothesi*) by personal observation, he fastens his attention upon the new criminality just brought to his ears. That previous meeting had been so unhappy for both parties that Paul might well avoid allusion to it; it was an experience he was resolved never to repeat (2 Cor. ii. 1, xii. 20). If he comes again under like conditions, it will be "rod" in hand (1 Cor. iv. 21, 2 Cor. xiii. 2). His forbearance had been misconstrued; some of the offenders were emboldened to defy him, and his Judaistic supplanters subsequently contrasted the severity of his letters with his timidity in face of the mutineers (2 Cor. x. 6, xiii. 1-7)—a taunt which drags from him the allusions of the second Epistle. After all, 1 Cor. is not without traces of the second visit. Nothing so well accounts for the doubts of Paul's disciplinary power hinted in 1 Cor. iv. 18-21 as the encounter supposed. When after his threat, and while the plague grows in virulence (1 Cor. v.) and his opponents challenge him to come (iv. 18)—still more, when he has announced, while fulminating anathemas on paper (v. 4 f., xvi. 22), that his return is postponed, without any imperative reason given for delay (xvi. 5 ff.)—after all this, it is no wonder that even his friends felt themselves aggrieved, and that the most damaging constructions were put upon the Apostle's changes of plan (2 Cor. i. 15 ff., x. 9 ff., xiii. 3 ff.). At last he explains, in 2 Cor., that the postponement is due to his continued desire to "spare" instead of striking. If, notwithstanding these



apprehensions, Paul speaks in 2 Cor. i. 15 of the double visit that had been for a while intended (a *third* and *fourth* from the beginning) as "a second joy" (or "grace"), he is probably quoting words of the Church letter. Further, one detects in 1 Cor. iv. 1-10 a sharp note of personal feeling that indicates some recent contact between writer and readers, and ocular observation on the Apostle's part of the altered bearing of his spoilt children at Corinth. This Epistle manifests a mastery of the situation and a vivid realisation of its detailed circumstances such as we can best account for on the supposition that Paul had taken a personal survey of the development of the Church since his first departure, and that behind all he has heard latterly from others and seen through their eyes, he is also judging upon the strength of what he has himself witnessed and knows at first hand.

### CHAPTER III.

#### THE TEACHING OF THE EPISTLE.

WHILE the doctrine of the companion Epistles to the Galatians and Romans lies upon the surface, the theology of this Epistle has to be disentangled from a coil of knotty practical questions. The Apostle writes under constraint, unable to count on the full sympathy of his readers or to say all that is in his mind (ii. 6, iii. 1). Instead of giving free play to his own reflexions, he is compelled through the greater part of the letter to wait upon the caprices of this flighty young Greek Church. At first sight one fails to observe any continuous teaching in the Epistle; a doctrinal analysis of its contents seems out of place. But closer attention discovers a real coherence behind this disconnectedness of form. While Paul comments on the sad news from Corinth and answers seriatim the questions addressed to him, his genius grasps the situation, and the leaven of the Gospel all the while assimilates the discordant mass. The Pauline standpoint is firmly maintained. The Christian principle shows itself master of the Gentile no less than the Jewish field, and gives earnest of its power to meet the changeful and multiplying demands that will be created by its expansion through the world. There is a unity of thought in this letter as real as that stamped upon the Epistle to the Romans, a unity the more impressive because of the baffling conditions under which it is realised.

Paul's Gospel stands here on its defence against the pretensions of worldly wisdom and the corruptions of the fleshly mind; from the height of the Cross it sends its piercing rays into the abyss of pagan sin disclosed at Corinth in its turpitude and demonic force. Amongst the four Evangelical Epistles, this is *the epistle of the cross in its social application*. It bears throughout a realistic stamp. "The Church of God that exists in Corinth," the men and women that compose it, are constantly present to the writer's mind—their diverse states and relationships, their debasing antecedents and surroundings, their crude ideas and conflicting tempers and keen ambitions, their high religious enthusiasm and their low moral sensibilities, their



demonstrative but fickle affections and unsteady resolutions. Two things he strives to bring into full contact—Christ crucified and these half-Christianised Corinthian natures. What Romans does for the Gospel in the field of theological exposition, and Galatians in that of doctrinal polemic, and 2 Corinthians in that of personal experience and ministerial vocation, this 1 Corinthians has done in respect of its bearing upon human intercourse and the life of the community.

The foundation upon which Paul had built at Corinth is "Jesus Christ"—i.e., "Jesus Christ crucified" (iii. 11, i. 17 f., ii. 2, xv. 1-3). He does not, any more than in 1 Thessalonians, enter into an exposition of his λόγος τοῦ σταύρου. Not yet, in Corinth at least, had the legalists openly contested Paul's doctrine of salvation through the death of Christ; the first sketch of its argumentative defence appears in 2 Cor. v. 14 ff. The chief peril comes from the opposite quarter, from the dissolving influences of Hellenic scepticism and demoralisation. The form, rather than the contents, of Paul's message is just now in question; he is reproached with the μωρία τοῦ κηρύγματος (i. 18-25). But the form of presentation is determined by the substance of the truth presented; the cross of Christ cannot appear draped in the robes of Greek philosophy. The mere fact that it is "the word of *the cross*" convicts the Gospel of folly in the eyes of the Greek lover of wisdom, as of weakness before the Jewish believer in "signs". A "wise" world that knows not God (i. 21, ii. 6, 14, cf. Rom. i. 19-23) will not understand His message, until it learns its ignorance.

1. To the source of the Gospel must therefore be traced that scorn of the Corinthian world which so much troubles the Church. It was "the testimony of God" that Paul had first announced (ii. 1); the Corinthian believers are "*of Him* in Christ Jesus," and have learnt to worship God as "Father of us and of our Lord Jesus Christ" (i. 3, 26-31: observe the emphasis thrown in vv. 18-31 upon ὁ Θεὸς in contrast with ὁ κόσμος). Impotent and even absurd "the preaching of the cross" may appear to the Corinthian public; "to the saved" it is "the wisdom" and "the power of God".

(1) The λόγος τοῦ σταύρου is God's power at work in its most characteristic and sovereign energy, destined to shatter all adverse potencies (i. 27 ff., xv. 24 ff.). Veiled under a guise of weakness, it thus ensnares the world and exposes its folly (i. 19-21, ii. 6-8, iii. 19); it chooses for its instruments feeble and ignoble things to overthrow the mightiest. The power of God acting in this λόγος is administered by "our Lord Jesus Christ"—His mediator in the universe, and specifically in the Church (viii. 6)—whom the world crucified (ii. 8);

so that it is in effect *the power of Christ*, and "in Christ Jesus" men "come to be of God". God has made Him unto us "righteousness and sanctification and redemption" (i. 30, cf. vi. 11); with the "price" of His blood He "bought" us, the body not excepted, for God's property (i. 2, iii. 16, vi. 19 f.); from "the strength of sin" and the reign of death Christians are consciously delivered through the death, crowned by the resurrection, of the Lord Jesus and through faith in His name (xv. 1-4, 11, 17 f., 56 f.).

*The Holy Spirit* constitutes this mysterious power of God in operation. His "demonstration and power" attended Paul's mission to Corinth, giving it an efficacy otherwise unaccountable (ii. 1-6); all Christian revelations come by this channel (ii. 11-16). Only "in the Holy Spirit" does any man truly say, "Jesus is Lord" (xii. 3); "in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God," the foulest sinners of Corinth had been "washed" and "sanctified" (vi. 11). The gifts possessed by this favoured Church are of the Spirit's "distribution," while of God's omnipresent "working" and held under Christ's dominion (xii. 4-11). The manifestations of the Spirit in the Gospel and in the Church differ from all forms of power the world has known; they reveal a kingdom rich in blessings such as "eye hath not seen nor ear heard, nor man's heart conceived" (ii. 9 f.).

(2) The word of the cross discloses, to those who can understand, *God's wisdom* hitherto shrouded "in mystery," whose manifestation was determined for this epoch from the world's beginning (ii. 6-9). By it the pretentious "wisdom of the age" will be overthrown. The world scorns to be saved by a crucified Messiah, and "the natural man cannot receive the things of the Spirit of God"; but wisdom is justified of her children. Bringing such a message, the Apostle discards adornments and plausibilities of speech; his word must speak by its inherent truth and force (ii. 1 ff.). As Christian men advance, the revelation of God increasingly approves itself to them; it discloses its σοφία τοῖς τελείοις. No longer does the opinion of the world sway them nor its temper cleave to them, they become "men of the Spirit," who "judge all things" and are "judged of none" (ii. 6-iii. 3). One day they shall "judge the world" (vi. 2).

From the standpoint thus gained, in view of the operation of God in whatever belongs to the Gospel, the Apostle defines in chaps. iii. and iv. the position of Christ's ministers: "We are God's fellow-workers"; Paul the planter, Apollos the waterer—they are nothing; God "gives the increase". "Assistants of Christ, stewards of God's mysteries," their qualifications are fidelity and



the possession of the Master's mind (ii. 10, 16, vii. 25, 40). To their Lord, not to their fellow-servants, they are answerable. By His "call" and "compulsion" they serve the Gospel (i. 1, ix. 16 f., xii. 28). How presumptuous for the Corinthians to be "puffed up for one against the other" of God's servants! All alike are theirs, while they are Christ's and Christ is God's (iii. 4 f., 21-iv. 6). Let men look above the stewards to the Master, above the instruments to God who "worketh all things in all" (xii. 4 ff.). The Christian teachers are God's temple-builders; heavy their loss, if they build amiss; terrible their ruin, if instead of strengthening they destroy the fabric (iii. 10-17). Their maintenance is not bestowed by the Church as wages by an employer, but enjoined on the Church by the Lord's ordinance, upon the same principle of justice which allows the threshing ox to feed from the corn (ix. 7-12).

The readers must learn what it means to belong to "the Church of God". Despite their presumed knowledge (viii.), "ignorance of God" is at the root of their errors (xv. 34). Newly emancipated from heathenism, they are slow to realise the character and claims of the God revealed to them in Christ. The first four chapters seek at every point to correct this ignorance; indeed, this underlying vein runs through the Epistle (*cf.* in this respect 1 Thess. *passim*). Πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ is the maxim that Paul dictates to his readers (x. 31), and that governs his mind throughout the letter.

2. *The nature of the Christian community* is the subject of chaps. xii. and xiv., but it pervades the Epistle no less than that of the sovereign claims of God: "to the Church of God in Corinth" the Apostle writes.

The Græco-Roman cities at this time were honey-combed, in all grades of life, with private associations—trade-guilds, burial clubs and friendly societies, religious confraternities; their existence supplied a great social need, and formed a partial substitute for the political activity suppressed by the levelling Roman empire. These organisations prepared heathen society for Church life; and Christianity upon Gentile soil largely adopted the forms of combination in popular use, borrowing from the Greek club almost as much as from the Jewish synagogue. But it transformed what it borrowed. In the Churches of God established in Thessalonica and Corinth the first stones were laid of the Christian structure of society. New conceptions of duty and kinship are unfolded in this Epistle, which have yet to receive full development. Paul's sociology naturally met with resistance from men reared in Paganism; human nature is still against it. The Corinthians brought into the Church their

Greek contentiousness, their lack of loyalty and public spirit. The mental stimulus and large freedom of the new faith, where reverence and self-control were wanting, resulted for the time in greater turbulence rather than in a nobler and happier order.

(1) As we have seen, the Apostle insists above all that the Christian community is *the building of God*. Injury to this "temple of God" is the worst sacrilege (iii. 16 f.). The Church consists of those whom God has "called into the communion of His Son Jesus Christ" (i. 9); who "were, in one Spirit, all baptised into one body . . . and all were made to drink of one Spirit"—"the Spirit that is from God" (ii. 12, xii. 13). This creative, informing Presence determines the nature, constitution and destiny of the Church.

(2) In relation to each other, Christian men form *a brotherhood*. Paul addresses his readers as "brethren" not by way of courtesy or personal friendliness, but to enforce upon them mutual devotion. Each Christian looks upon his fellow as "the brother for whom Christ died"; to "sin against the brethren" is "to sin against Christ" (viii. 11 ff.). By communion of faith and worship in Christ a union of hearts is created more intimate and tender than the world had ever seen. Christians are to each other as eye to ear and hand to foot (xii. 14 ff.). Each has his honourable place in the body, fixed by God; each is necessary to all, all to each (xii. 21-31). The rapturous outburst of chap. xiii. is a song to the praise of Love as the law of Christian brotherhood. Knowledge, faith, miracles are useless or unreal unless yoked to love, which points out the "way" to the right employment of every faculty (xii. 31). "The collection for the saints" of Jerusalem (xvi. 1) was dictated by the affection that binds the scattered parts of the Church of God.

(3) The relations of Christians to God the Father, and to their believing brethren, alike centre in their relationship to Christ: *the Church is His body*—"a κοινωνία of the Son of God" (i. 9). The whole consciousness of the new life—personal or corporate—is grounded there; ἐν Χριστῷ, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἐν Κυρίῳ, is the Apostle's standing definition of Christian states and relations. To use Paul's strong expression (vi. 17), "he who is *cemented to the Lord*, is one spirit". By the fact that they severally inhere in Him, men are constituted "a body of Christ, and *members individually*" (xii. 27). No man in Christ is self-complete; the eye finds its mate in the hand, the head in the foot. This reciprocal subordination dictates the law of the life in Christ Jesus and controls all its movements. The Apostle claims to be himself ἐνωμένος Χριστοῦ, because he "seeks not his own profit but that of the many" (x. 21 ff.). The question of i. 13,



μεμέρισται ὁ Χριστός; reveals the radical mischief at work in Corinth. The Church was in the eyes of some of its members a kind of debating club or philosophical school, in which αἰρέσεις and σχίσματα were matters of course; to others it was a benefit society, to be used so far as suited inclination and convenience. Against all such debased notions of social life, and selfish abuse of Church privilege, this Epistle is a sustained protest.

This fellowship of Christ is symbolised and sealed by the bread and cup of the Lord's Supper (x. 16 ff.)—the "one loaf" and "one cup" in which all participate, since it is a "*communion* of the body of Christ" and "of the blood of Christ". The "word of the cross" is made by this ordinance a binding "covenant in Christ's blood". The Christian Society is thus known as the fraternity of the Crucified; evermore it "proclaims the Lord's death, till He come" (xi. 26). Such fellowship in Christ, appropriating the whole man, the body with the spirit (vi. 15, 19), excludes *ipso facto* all intercourse with "the demons" and feasting at their "table" (x. 20 ff.); their communion is abhorrent and morally impossible to those who have truly partaken with Christ (*cf.* 2 Cor. vi. 14 ff.).

The introductory thanksgiving signally connects the κοινωνία τοῦ Χριστοῦ with His παρουσία. Hope is a uniting principle, along with faith and love (xiii. 13, *cf.* Eph. iv. 4). The Church of God is no mere temporal fabric. The "gold, silver, precious stones" of its construction will brave the judgment fires (iii. 12-15). "Those who are Christ's, at His coming," form the nucleus of the eternal kingdom of God (xv. 23-28). "The day" which reveals the completed work of Christ "will declare every man's work, of what sort it is"; each of Christ's helpers will then receive his meed of "praise from God," and the approved "saints," as Christ's assessors, will "judge the world" and "angels" (iii. 13, iv. 5, vi. 2 f.).

(4) The regulation of the *charismata*, the wealth and the embarrassment of this Church, is deduced from the above principles. These powers, however manifold, are manifestations of "the same Spirit," who inhabits the entire body of Christ and whose "will" determines the various endowments of its several members (xii. 7-11). They are distributed, as the bodily functions are assigned to their proper organs, for the service of the whole frame. The possessor of one cannot dispense with, and must not despise, his differently gifted brother (xii. 14 ff.). Yet there is a gradation in the charisms; it is right to covet "the greater" among them. Love supplies the criterion; the most *edifying* gifts are the most desirable (xii. 31-xiv. 19). Self-restraint must be exercised by gifted persons, and

order enforced by the community, so that individual talents may be combined for the common good (xiv. 26-33). To the direction of these matters a manly practical sense must be applied; "the understanding" aids the service of "the spirit" (xiv. 14-20).

This charismatic ministry, diffused through the body of Christ, is the basis of all Christian agency. As yet there are only "functions, not formal offices" (Hort); the function is anterior to the office, and may exist without it. Each man in the Church of Corinth spontaneously speaks, sings, serves in whatever fashion (xiv. 26), in virtue of his χάρισμα,—the particular form which the common χάρις assumes in him for the benefit of others. The realisation of the life of Christ in the Christian Society is the aim imposed on each Christian by the Spirit whose indwelling makes him such.

3. The teaching of the Epistle takes a wide outlook in its consideration of *the relations of the Christian to the world*. This relationship is exhibited mainly on its negative side. The believer in Christ, "elect" and "sanctified" (i. 2, 27), built on the foundation of Jesus Christ into God's temple, is separated from the world. The Spirit he has from God makes him a πνευματικός; he has new faculties, and lives in a changed order of things. There are two worlds—a new world of the Spirit formed within the old κόσμος but utterly distinct from it, unintelligible to it, and destined soon to overthrow and displace it (i. 25-29, ii. 6-14, iii. 18 f., vii. 31).

(1) With the world's *sin* the Church of God holds truceless war. Living in the world, Christians cannot avoid contact with its "fornicators, extortioners," and the rest; but it can and must keep them out of its ranks (v. 9-13); the old leaven is to be "cleansed out" of the "new kneading," since Christ is our paschal lamb (v. 6-8). The sin of the world culminates in its idolatry; from this the Corinthians, unconditionally, must "flee" (x. 1-14).

(2) The Apostle recognises *the natural order of life* as one who sees through and beyond it. He cherishes, up to this date, the hope of his Lord's speedy return (xv. 51 f.). Hence the provisional character of his advices respecting marriage in chap. vii. He writes at a juncture of suspense, when men should keep themselves free from needless ties. He admits the necessity of marriage in the case of many Corinthians, and applies the law of Christ carefully to the mixed unions so troublesome at Corinth. He fears for his disciples the burdens imposed by domestic cares in times so uncertain, and in a society at war with the world. Christians may not "go out of the world," nor cease to "use" it; but they must hold it lightly and refrain from "using it to the full."



In discussing the question of the *idolothya* Paul gives a glance to the more positive side of the Christian's relations with external nature. He recalls the attitude of the Old Testament towards earthly blessings by quoting, "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof" (x. 28). The idols have no power to usurp God's creatures, nor to limit His children's use of them. An enlightened conscience will not scruple at the enjoyment of food sacrificed to an idol, though circumstances will often make this inexpedient (viii., x. 23 ff.). The Jewish distinctions of meat are obsolete (vi. 12 f.); it was in this sense that Paul had enunciated the much-abused maxim, "All things are lawful to me". The *σαρκικά* of life he enlists in the service of its *πνευματικά*; they serve to multiply and strengthen the bonds of mutual necessity arising from our kinship in Christ (ix. 7-12, cf. Rom. xv. 27, Gal. vi.).

In the relationship of man and woman the Apostle sees the natural and spiritual order blended; he passes from the one to the other with perfect congruity, and appeals to the teaching of "nature," expressed in secular customs of dress, as an exponent of the Divine will (xi. 1-15). While censuring the greed and arrogance displayed by the rich (xi. 17 ff.), he leaves distinctions of wealth and rank uncondemned; from the analogy applied in chap. xii. 13 ff. we infer that he viewed these as a part of "the fashion of this world," necessary but transient.

(3) *Death*, like sin which gives to it its "sting," belongs to the system of the present evil world. Since the resurrection of Christ, death is in principle "abolished" for those who are His (xv. 26, 55 ff.). The resurrection is no mere immortality of the spirit, such as philosophers conceived; it is the reversal of death, the recovery of the entire man from its power. Christ's people, to be sure, will not be reclad in mortal habiliments, nor resume the corpse that was laid in the grave. The new frame will differ from the old as the plant from its perished seed. Heavenly bodies must surpass earthly in unimaginable ways. Adam and Christ are types of two modes of being: in our present "natural body" we "wear the image" of the former; our future body will be "spiritual" after the image of God's Son (xv. 35-57).

This glorious and inconceivable change will supervene—for Christians living or departed alike (xv. 51 f.)—at "the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ," which the Corinthian Christians are awaiting (i. 7). This is "the end" of the course of revelation and of God's dealings with mankind—when Christ's redemption is complete, when His enemies throughout creation are overcome, and He

is able to lay at the Father's feet an empire wholly subdued and everywhere accordant with the Creator's will. Then "the Son Himself" will give the crowning example of submission, "that God may be all in all" (xv. 28). In this sublime issue the teaching of the Epistle culminates. The relation of the Church of Corinth to God, though marred upon its part yet real and sanctifying, which gave the Apostle his starting-point, has been unfolded in ever-widening circles, until it is seen to embrace the universe; there is formed within it the beginning of a Divine realm that stretches on into unknown worlds, and will bring all finite powers and beings under its sway.

Through this entire development of thought and life Christ is all things. His presence and lordship, the redeeming power of His cross, extend over every field within our view. They cover alike the relations of the individual man to God, of man to man within society, and of man, individually and collectively, to the world around him in the present and before him in the future. Christ is all in all, that through Him finally God may be all in all.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE LANGUAGE, TEXT, HISTORY, AND CRITICISM OF THE EPISTLE.

1. LANGUAGE. "The dialect of these Epistles (1 and 2 Cor.) is not Hebraistic, but moves upon the lines of Hellenistic Greek. It finds its analogue, in a multitude of characteristics, in the language of Polybius, the classic of Hellenism, in Epictetus, in Plutarch, in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and others, in such a way as to imply for it and them *a common life-sphere*" (Heinrici). Paul has become in this Epistle, more than elsewhere, τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὡς Ἕλλην. Its atmosphere and colouring and movement are distinctively *Greek of the period*,—when compared, *e.g.*, with the style of Romans or 2 Thessalonians. While Old Testament references are numerous in 1 Cor., they are employed by way of illustration rather than of proof, and in a Hellenistic not a Rabbinical manner.

The Epistle has a rich vocabulary. Out of the 5,594 Greek words of the New Testament it employs 963—103 peculiar to itself. In the *hapax legomena* one expects the idiosyncrasy of the Epistle to manifest itself. Sixty-eight of these—about two-thirds—are classical, occurring in Attic writers earlier than Aristotle; twenty-two belong to post-classical authors of the κοινή, or to the Greek of the contemporary inscriptions and papyri. In the residue there is one specifically Septuagint term, εἰδωλεῖον (viii. 10, see note); and the Aramæan sentence, μαρὰν ἀθά. Eleven words are left, so far unknown from other documents, or used only by Christian writers after Paul—διερμηνεία, -ευτής, εὐπάρεδρος, ὀλοθρευτής, πιθός (ii. 4), περίψημα, συνζητητής, τυπικῶς, ὑπέρακμος, χοϊκός, χρηστεύομαι; but every one of these has close kindred or analogues in common Greek; it is likely enough that all were current in the speech of Corinth: εὐπάρεδρος however, with its transparent sense, has the look of a Pauline coinage. The forty-two additional words of 1 Corinthians (24 if the Pastorals be excluded) limited in their N.T. range to the Pauline Epistles—*Pauline*, but not First-Corinthian, *h. lgg.*—yield a similar analysis.

Out of the 150 words enumerated by Kennedy in his useful *Sources of N.T. Greek* (pp. 88-91) as "strictly peculiar to the LXX

or N.T.," with the forty or fifty added to this list by including Philo Judæus, twenty-five occur in this Epistle; but apart from Hebrew loan-words (such as  $\pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\chi\alpha$ ), and excluding near relations and correlates of recognised classical or post-classical words, there remains, after the researches of Deissmann (in his *Bibelstudien* and *Neue Bibelstudien*) and other students of the Greek inscriptions and papyri, only a handful, perhaps half a dozen of the twenty-five, that can be called properly and exclusively "Biblical"—a scanty residue which further discovery may diminish. So far as 1 Corinthians is concerned, we may dismiss, with Deissmann, "the legend of a Biblical Greek". What is said of the Greek character of the vocabulary holds good in general of the grammar of this Epistle. The idioms of Paul's epistolary style form a distinct subject, on which it is not necessary to enter here.

2. TEXT. The Greek Text of this Epistle stands on the same footing as that of the rest—all usually contained in the collected volume entitled Ο ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ. Eighteen of the twenty-three known Pauline uncial Codices belong to 1 Cor.:  $\aleph B_1 A D_2 E_3 L_2$  are complete;  $C F_2 G_3 K_2 P_2$ , approximately complete;  $S_2$  contains half, and  $\zeta H_3 I_2 M_2 Q_2 F^a$  fragments of the Epistle.  $\aleph B A C$  were Codices of the whole New Testament;  $\zeta K L P S$  included the Acts and Catholic Epp.,  $P$  the Apocalypse also. In point of date,  $B \aleph$  belong to the fourth century;  $\zeta A C I Q$  to the fifth century;  $D H$  to the sixth century;  $F^a$  to the seventh century; the rest to the ninth century. Amongst the numerous correctors of  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph^c$ , of the seventh century, is important here as elsewhere.  $\zeta$  (a palimpsest in the Vatican Library) and  $S_2$  (Athous Lauræ) are not yet critically edited or collated: see on these MSS., and for full details respecting the textual material, C. R. Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's *N.T. Grace, ed. major*. Out of the 480 catalogued minuscule (or cursive) MSS. of Paul few deserve attention. "The ancient elements" found in them "appear with extreme irregularity in different places of the Epistles," and Western readings in a remarkably small proportion (Westcott and Hort, *Introd. to the N.T. in Greek*, § 212). The most notable, and those oftenest cited below, are 17 (same as 33 of Gospels and 18 of Acts), 37 (Gospels 69, Acts 31, Rev. 14), 47 (Gospels 49)—all extending to viii. 10; and 67 \*\* (Acts 66, Rev. 34)—the marginal corrections of an ordinary cursive, which "include a relatively large number of very ancient readings," akin to those of  $M_2$  (W.H.); 71; 109 (Acts 96). The 265 numbered Lectionaries containing Acts and Epistles are but partially explored; none as yet appear of sufficient value to be regularly cited.



The ancient Versions are of fairly uniform character through the N.T. The most valuable are all available here, except the Curetonian Syriac confined to the Gospels.

From the fourth century onwards Patristic references to 1 Corinthians become numerous and full, and afford the critic greater help than in some other Epistles. But the definite and certain aid forthcoming from this quarter is less than might have been expected.

Considering the length of the Epistle, it contains few conspicuous textual difficulties, none of grave exegetical importance. Its text has been from the first carefully preserved. In the following conspectus of various readings all Greek words are *spaced* in which the Textus Receptus is emended by the note. Where the reading is doubtful, a *query* follows the alternative reading supplied in the notes—a query *after the spacing* indicating a reading more likely than not, a query *without the spacing* indicating a possible but less probable reading. Orthographical corrections occurring *passim*, which belong to the N.T. written dialect as this is represented by the five great uncials and exhibited in the standard N.T. Grammars, must be taken for granted throughout.

Excluding the numberless corrections of the kind just noticed and those concerning only points of grammar or the *ordo verborum*, there are more than 200 emendations which affect the sense of the Epistle. Chapters vii. 29, 33 f., xv. 51 are instances of special complication. The restoration of the true text in iii. 1, 4, iv. 2, vii. 3, xi. 29, xv. 47 brings out the finer edge of Paul's style. The Received Text of vi. 20 and vii. 5 contains ecclesiastical glosses; in iv. 6 and ix. 15 it has helped out Paul's anacolutha; its habit of extending the shorter names of Christ blunts his meaning—notably in ix. 1 and xvi. 22. The group of (liturgical?) additions to the genuine text in xi. 24 ff. deserves particular attention. Συνηθεία (viii. 7) and ἱερόθυτον (x. 28) are interesting words restored by criticism. A few readings are noted in the digest which have little or no intrinsic worth, but are of interest in their bearing on the history of the text, especially where they illustrate the peculiarities of the "Western" tradition. One *conjectural emendation* is adopted, *viz.*, that of Westcott and Hort in ch. xii. 2.

3. HISTORY OF THE EPISTLE. This is the first N.T. writing to be cited by name in Christian literature. "Take up," says Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (1 Ep., xlvii.), "the letter of the blessed Paul the Apostle. What was the first thing he wrote to you in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth he wrote to you in the Spirit

touching himself and Cephas and Apollos, because even then you had formed factions." Like other post-apostolic writers, Clement shows an imperfect grasp of Pauline teaching, but his Salutation, with §§ xxiv., xxxiv. 8, xxxvii., xlix., and lxx. 2, bears unmistakable impressions of this Epistle. The Epistle of Barnabas (iv. 9-11, v. 6, vi. 5, xvi. 7-10; *Hermas*, *Mand.* iv. 4 (*cf.* 1 Cor. vii. 39); Ignatius, *Ad Eph.*, xvi., xviii., *Ad Rom.*, iv. 3, v. 1, ix. 2; Polycarp, *Ad Phil.*, x. 2, *Ad Diognetum*, xii. 5; the *Didaché*, i. 5, iii. 3, iv. 3, x. 6, etc., attest the use of this writing in primitive Christian times. From Irenæus onwards it is quoted as Holy Scripture. The Gnostics used it with predilection. The testimony of early Christianity to its Pauline authorship and Apostolic authority is unequivocal and full.

But our Epistle did not at first take a leading place among N.T. writings. Its influence has been "broken and fitful". It had little to say directly upon the questions (except that of the Resurrection) which chiefly interested the ante-Nicene Church. Tertullian, however, expounded it in his *Adv. Marcionem*; and Origen wrote annotations, partly preserved in Cramer's *Catena*. In the fourth century, when "controversies on Church discipline and morals began to sway the minds of thoughtful men, this Epistle came to the front" (Edwards). Many of the Church leaders of that time wrote upon 1 Corinthians. Only fragments of the Greek commentators earlier than John Chrysostom (+407 A.D.) are extant; later expositors—the most notable, Theodoret (420 A.D.), Oecumenius (c. 950), Theophylact (1078)—built upon him; his versatile powers shine in the exposition of this Epistle. The Latin commentaries of Pelagius (for long ascribed to Jerome) and of Ambrosiaster (Hilary of Rome?) testify to the wide use of this Scripture in the West in the fourth and fifth centuries. To Thomas Aquinas we owe the only interpretation of value bequeathed by the Middle Ages. Though subordinated, like all mediæval exegesis, to scholastic theology, his exposition contains fresh and vigorous thought.

Colet's Oxford Lectures on this Epistle (A.D. 1496), and the N.T. *Paraphrase* of Erasmus (1519), breathe the new spirit of the Reformation, which brought 1 Corinthians to the front again, along with Romans and Galatians. The adjustment of liberty and order, the application of evangelical faith to secular life, the reconstitution of the Church with its sacraments and ministry started a multitude of problems calling for its aid. Calvin excelled himself in his interpretation of this Epistle, offending many of his followers by his breadth and candour. Estius, his Romanist contemporary, is no mean rival. Amongst the German Reformers, Melancthon, W. Musculus, Bui-



linger handled this Epistle with effect. Beza's *Annotationes*, and especially his Latin translation, are always worth consulting. The illustrious Grotius—Arminian, humanistic, practical—found here a congenial subject. In the seventeenth century 1 Corinthians suffered another eclipse; no Commentary upon it of any mark appeared between the time of Grotius and Bengel. All later interpreters are Bengel's disciples.

This Epistle at present suffers no lack of attention. Beside the larger critical N.T. Commentaries of Germany—those of De Wette, Meyer (re-written, in 1 and 2 Cor., by Heinrici), v. Hofmann, the *Handcommentar* (Schmiedel), and the *Kurtzgefasster* (Schnedermann)—and Alford's great work in this country, the following are of special value: Billroth's *Vorlesungen z. d. Briefen an d. Kor.* (1833), Rückert's *Der 1 Br. Pauli an d. Kor.* (1836), Neander's *Auslegung d. beiden Br. an d. Kor.* (1859),—above all, Heinrici's *Das erste Sendschreiben d. Ap. Paulus an d. Kor.* (1880), a work rich in illustration of Greek thought and manners, and throwing new light on the social development of primitive Christianity. Godet's *Commentaire sur la prem. ép. aux Corinthiens* (1887: transl. in Clarks' *F. T. Libr.*), though not his most successful exposition, is marked by his fine spiritual and literary qualities, and is full of instructive matter.

English scholars have addressed themselves zealously to 1 Corinthians, which interests them by its relations to the ethical and social questions of the time. A. P. Stanley (*The Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians*, 1855) has illuminated the historical and picturesque aspects of the Epistle, C. Hodge (American, 1857) its theological side. Beet tracks the thought of the Apostle with exceeding closeness, and presents it with concise force (*Epistles to the Corinthians*, 1882). Freshness and vivacity, with strokes of keen grammatical insight, distinguish the work of T. S. Evans in the *Speaker's Commentary*. Ellicott's interpretation (1887) is a model of exact and delicate verbal elucidation; no better book can be placed in the hands of a working Greek Testament student. The posthumous "Notes" of Lightfoot on chaps. i.-vii. (1895) are written with his ripe knowledge, balanced judgment, and sure touch. Edwards' *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* (1885) ranks with Heinrici's and Ellicott's as a classical piece of exegesis; it is strong both on the linguistic and philosophical side, and shows a rare power of luminous statement. M. Dods supplies, in *The Expositor's Bible*, a genial and masterly homiletic application. Hort's *Christian Ecclesia* and Knowling's *Witness of the Epistles to Christ* exhibit,

in the use they make of this document, its decisive bearing on questions of early Church History and Apologetics.

4. CRITICISM. Until quite recently the authenticity and integrity of 1 Corinthians were never doubted. The criticism of F. C. Baur and the Tübingen School left it standing as one of the "four undisputed Epistles"; Bruno Bauer's attack (*Kritik d. Paul. Briefe*, 1851) was quite isolated. In Holland, however, a more radical criticism has arisen—whose exponents are Loman (*Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1882-86), Pierson and Naber (*Verisimilia*, 1886), van Manen (*Paulus*, i., ii., 1890-91; and *Prot. Kirchenzeitung*, 1882-86), Meyboom (*Theol. Tijdschr.*, 1889-91); aided by Steck (*Gal.-Brief*, 1888) in Germany, and "Edwin Johnson" (*Antiqua Mater*, 1887) in England—which sweeps away these four with the rest, leaving nothing but morsels surviving of the genuine Paul. These scholars premise a slow development, along a single line, in early Christian thought. They claim to be the uniformitarians, as against the catastrophists, of Biblical science. The universalism with which Paul is credited, they set down as the final issue, reached in the second century, of the continued interaction of Judaic and Hellenic thought. In support of this view they point out numerous alleged contradictions within the four Epistles and the traces of various tendencies and times affording evidence of compilation, so reducing them to a many-coloured patchwork, the product of a century of conflict and hardly won progress. They attempt to prove the literary dependence of the four on post-Pauline writings, both within and without the New Testament. This theory presents no consistent shape in the hands of its advocates, and has been subjected to a destructive examination by Holtzmann and Jülicher in their N.T. *Einleitungen* (recent editions), by Lipsius (*Romans*) and Schmiedel (1 and 2 Corinthians) in the *Handcommentar*; also by Knowling in chap. iii. of his "Witness of the Epistles". A sound exegesis is the best refutation of extravagances which are, in effect, the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Baurian method.

Another group of critics, maintaining the genuineness of the Corinthian Epistles in substance, desire to *redistribute their contents*. Hagge (*Jahrbuch für prot. Theologie*, 1876) finds four older documents behind the two; Völter (*Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1889) discovers three, making considerable excisions besides; Clemen, who discusses all the schemes of rearrangement in his *Einheitlichkeit d. paul. Briefe* (II., *Die Corintherbr.*: cf. Schmiedel in the *Handcom.*, an d. *Kor.*, *Einleitung*, ii.), dissects the canonical Epistles into five originals. These re-combinations are highly ingenious; Clemen's



scheme, which is really plausible, substitutes a carefully marshalled topical order for the spontaneity and discursiveness of the true epistle. The hypotheses of reconstruction have no historical basis, no external evidence in their favour; their sole appeal is to internal probability. The actual 1 Corinthians vindicates its unity to the sympathetic reader who transports himself into the situation.

Other critics, again, who regard the reconstruction of the Epistle as needless or impracticable, see reason to eliminate certain passages as *interpolations*. Holsten (*Das Evang. d. Paulus*, I., i., 1880), Baljon (*De Tekst d. Brieven aan de Rom., Cor., en Gal.*, 1884), Bois (*Adversaria critica de I. ad Cor.*: Toulouse, 1887), are fertile in suggestions of this kind. Heinrici will not exclude the supposition of "improvements in detail, attempts [made by the first editors] to smooth over or supplement rough or defective passages of the Apostle, which criticism may be able to detect". Such insertions he finds in the Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ of i. 12, and in xv. 56: so Schmiedel and Clemen in the latter place. We do not deny the abstract possibility of the Epistle having been "touched up" in this way; glosses such as those the Codices reveal in ii. 4, iv. 6, vii. 3, etc., for aught we know may have crept in *before*, as well as after the divergence of our extant witnesses. None, however, of the alleged "primitive corruptions" are made out convincingly,—except perhaps the transcriptional error which W.H. have detected in xii. 2. Some of these conjectures there will be occasion to notice in the course of the exposition.

ANALYSIS. After the *Introduction* (i. 1-9), the body of the Epistle falls into six principal divisions, as follows: Div. I., *The Corinthian Parties and the Gospel Ministry*, i. 10-iv. 21; Div. II., *Questions of Social Morals*, v.-vii.; Div. III., *Contact with Idolatry*, viii.-xi. 1; Div. IV., *Disorders in Worship and Church Life*, xi. 2-xiv.; Div. V., *The Resurrection of the Body*, xv.; Div. VI., *Business, News, and Greetings*, xvi. Within these main Divisions, the matter is broken up for clearer elucidation into sixty short Sections, each furnished with a heading and prefatory outline.

#### ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE EXPOSITION.

acc. = accusative case.

act. = active voice.

adj. = adjective.

*ad loc.* = *ad locum*, on this passage.

adv., advl. = adverb, adverbial.

Al. = Alford's *Greek Testament*.

- aor. = aorist tense.  
 art. = grammatical article.  
 Aug. = Augustine.  
 Bg. = Bengel's *Gnomon Novi Testamenti*.  
 Bm. = A. Buttmann's *Grammar of the N.T. Greek* (Eng. Trans., 1873).  
 Bn. = E. Burton's *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses in the N.T.* (1894).  
 Bt. = J. A. Beet's *St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians* (1882).  
 Bz. = Beza's *Nov. Testamentum: Interpretatio et Annotationes* (Cantab., 1642).  
 cl. = classical.  
 Cm. = John Chrysostom's *Homiliae* († 407).  
 comm. = commentary, commentator.  
 constr. = construction.  
 Cor. = Corinth, Corinthian or Corinthians.  
 Cr. = Cremer's *Biblico-Theological Lexicon of N.T. Greek* (Eng. Trans.).  
 Cv. = Calvin's *In Nov. Testamentum Commentarii*.  
 dat. = dative case.  
 Did. = *Διδαχὴ τῶν δωδέκα ἀποστόλων*.  
 diff. = difference, different, differently.  
 D.W. = De Wette's *Handbuch z. N. T.*  
 eccl. = ecclesiastical.  
 Ed. = T. C. Edwards' *Commentary on the First Ep. to the Corinthians*.<sup>2</sup>  
 El. = C. J. Ellicott's *St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians*.  
 Er. = Erasmus' *In N.T. Annotationes*.  
 E.V. = English Version.  
 Ev. = T. S. Evans in *Speaker's Commentary*.  
 ex. = example.  
 exc. = except.  
 Ff. = Fathers.  
 fut. = future tense.  
 Gd. = F. Godet's *Commentaire sur la prem. Ép. aux Corinthiens* (Eng. Trans.).  
 gen. = genitive case.  
 Gm. = Grimm-Thayer's *Greek-English Lexicon of the N.T.*  
 Gr. = Greek, or Grotius' *Annotationes in N.T.*  
 Heb. = Hebrew.  
 Hf. = J. C. K. von Hofmann's *Die heilige Schrift N.T. untersucht*,  
     ii. 2 (2te Auflage, 1874).  
*h.l.* = *hapax legomenon*, a solitary expression.  
 Hn. = C. F. G. Heinrici's *Erklärung der Korintherbriefe* (1880), or  
     *1 Korinther* in Meyer's *krit.-exegetisches Kommentar* (1896).  
 impf. = imperfect tense.  
 impv. = imperative mood.  
 ind. = indicative mood.  
 indir. = indirect.  
 inf. = infinitive mood.  
 interr. = interrogative.  
 Jer. = Jerome, Hieronymus.  
 Lidd. = Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*.



- lit. = literal, literally.  
 Lt. = J. B. Lightfoot's (posthumous) *Notes on Epp. of St. Paul* (1895).  
 mid. = middle voice.  
 Mr. = Meyer's *Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (Eng. Trans.).  
 nom. = nominative case.  
 obj. = grammatical object.  
 Oec. = Oecumenius, the Greek Commentator.  
 opp. = opposite, opposition.  
 Or. = Origen.  
 P. = Paul.  
 parl. = parallel.  
 part. = grammatical particle.  
 pass. = passive voice.  
 pers. = grammatical person, or personal.  
 pl. = plural.  
 pr. = present tense.  
 pron. = pronoun.  
 prp., prpl. = preposition, prepositional.  
 ptp., ptpl. = participle, participial.  
 R.C. = Roman Catholic.  
 ref. = reference.  
 rel. = relative pronoun.  
 sbj. = subjunctive mood.  
 sing. = singular number.  
 Sm. = P. Schmiedel, in *Handcommentar zum N.T.* (1893).  
 s.v. = *sub voce*, under this word.  
 syn. = synonym, synonymous.  
 Tert. = Tertullian.  
 Thd. = Theodoret, Greek Commentator.  
 Thp. = Theophylact, Greek Commentator.  
 vb., vbl. = verb, verbal.  
 Vg. = Latin Vulgate Translation.  
 W.H. = Westcott and Hort's *The New Testament in Greek: Critical Text and Notes*.  
 Wr. = Winer-Moulton's *Grammar of N.T. Greek* (8th ed., 1877).

The ordinary contractions are employed in the textual notes. Other abbreviations will explain themselves. The references in the marginal parallels and textual notes are made to the Greek Text of the O.T.; in the Commentary, to the English text, unless otherwise stated.

# ΠΑΤΑΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ

Η ΠΡΟΣ

ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΠΡΩΤΗ.<sup>1</sup>

Ι. Ι. ΠΑΥΛΟΣ <sup>a</sup> κλητὸς <sup>2</sup> ἀπόστολος Ἰησοῦ <sup>3</sup> Χριστοῦ, <sup>2</sup> διὰ θελήματος <sup>a</sup> Rom. i. 1, 6 f. (same double use), Jude. Θεοῦ, καὶ Σωσθένης <sup>o</sup> ὁ ἀδελφός, 2. τῇ <sup>d</sup> ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ <sup>d</sup> Θεοῦ τῇ οὐσῇ 1; 24 below; Rom. viii. 28; 2 Kings xv. 11. b 2 Cor., Eph., Col., 2 Tim.; Rom. xv. 32. c 2 Cor., Col., Phm.; xvi. 12 below; Rom. xvi. 23. d x. 32, xi. 16, 22, xv. 9; 2 Cor.; Gal. i. 13; 1 Th. ii. 14; 2 Th. i. 4; 1 Tim. iii. 5, 15; Acts xx. 28; Neh. xiii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> The oldest form of Title, in  $\Sigma$ ABCD, is ΠΡΟΣ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ  $\bar{\Lambda}$ . This was gradually extended as the epp. came to be treated as separate books. FG read Προς Κ. αρχεται  $\bar{\alpha}$  (G om.  $\bar{\alpha}$ ); so latt. with variations, and the oldest MSS. of vg. P: Παυλου επιστολη προς Κ.  $\bar{\alpha}$ . L: τ. αγιου κ. πανευφημου αποστ. Π. επιστολη προς Κ. πρωτη. The minuscules furnish a great variety of titles.

Stephens wrote Η προς τ. Κ. επιστολη πρωτη. The title of the T.R. and A.V. comes from Bz. and Elzevir, *without MS. authority*.

<sup>2</sup> AD, Cyr. om. κλητος.

<sup>3</sup> Χριστου Ιησου (?) in BDG, vg. (older copies), Chr., Ambrst., Aug.: the Western reading. Ιησ. Χρ.,  $\Sigma$ ALP, etc., cop. syrr., Cyr. Dam.: Alexandrian and Syrian. W.H. mark the group BDG as untrustworthy; but Pauline usage speaks for X. I.,—the certain reading in other Addresses where this combination occurs, exc. Rom. and Tit. The Edd. are doubtful; Tisch., Al., Tr., Nestle, prefer X. I.; W.H., I. X. in text, X. I. in margin.

THE INTRODUCTION. § 1. *The Title and Salutation*, i. 1-3. Πρὸς Κορινθίους  $\bar{\alpha}$  (see txtl. note) is a *sub-title*, marking the ep. as part of the collection bearing the general name 'Ο ἀπόστολος. With this agrees the oldest system of chapters (κεφάλαια), preserved by Cod. B, which divided the fourteen Letters into sections numbered consecutively throughout. In all ancient copies this ep. stands second in "The Apostle"; the Muratorian Canon sets it *primum omnium*.

CHAPTER I.—Vv. 1-3. The *salutation* is full and varied in the epp. of this group. As in Galatians and Romans, P. emphasises his apostleship (see ix. 1 f.), at present in dispute. The readers are (in 1 and 2 Cor.) "the Church" and

"the saints"—a transition from "the ch." of 1 and 2 Thess. ("the churches," Gal.) to "the saints" of Rom. and later epp. Here stress is thrown with a purpose, (1) on the sanctity of the Cor. Church, (2) on its fellowship with the general body of Christians.

Ver. 1. Παῦλος κλητὸς ἀπόστολος (so in Rom.)—not ap. by merit or human choice, but called thereto διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ (so in later epp.). *through an express intervention of the Divine will*, cf. ix. 16 f., Gal. i. 1, 15 f., Eph. iii. 2 ff., also Acts ix. 15, etc. "A called apostle" as the Cor. are "called saints": he summoned to be herald and dispenser (17, 23, iv. 1), *they* receivers of God's Gospel (26-31). The κλητοὶ are in P. identified with the ἐκλεκτοὶ (26 f., Rom.



e vii. 14; ἐν Κορίνθῳ,<sup>1</sup> ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις, σὺν  
 Rom. xv. 16; Heb. x. 10, 29; Jo. xvii. 17.  
 f 2 Cor., Eph., Ph., Col., Acts ix. 13, etc. g 2 Cor.; a Tim. ii. 22. h Acts ii. 21, ix. 14, 21, xxii. 16; Rom. x. 13; Gen. iv. 26, etc.; Ps. cxvii. 4; Joel ii. 32; Zech. xiii. 9.

<sup>1</sup> BD\*G, followed by Al., Tr., Tisch.<sup>7</sup>, place τη . . . Κορινθῷ after ηγιασμ. . . ἰησ.: probably a Western deviation.

viii. 29 f.), not distinguished as in Matt. xx. 16. The thought of the "call" of God as assigning to each Christian man his status is prominent in this ep.: see vv. 9, 24 ff., vii. 17-24.—Σωσθένης ὁ ἀδελφὸς is a party to the Letter, which notwithstanding runs in first pers. sing., as in Gal. after οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ of i. 2; otherwise in 2 Cor. and 1 and 2 Thess.: Sosthenes (only named here by P.) shares in this ep. not as joint-composer, but as witness and approver. He would scarcely be introduced at this point as amanuensis (cf. Rom. xvi. 22). S. is a person known to and honoured by the Cor., but now with the Ap. at Ephesus and in his confidence. He may, or may not, have been the Sosthenes of Acts xviii. 17—the name was fairly common. One ἀρχισυνάγωγος (Crispus) had been converted at Cor., why not another afterwards? P. would delight to make of a persecutor an ally. His former position would give an ex-Synagogue-leader weight, especially with Jewish Christians; and his subsequent conversion may account for Luke's exceptionally preserving Sosthenes' name as Paul's assailant (see M. Dods on the point, in *Exp. Bib.*). Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, i. 12) makes S. one of the Seventy of Luke x. 17—"a worthless tradition" (Lt.).

Ver. 2. τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ (in salutation of 1 and 2 Cor. only) gives supreme dignity to the assembly of Cor. addressed by the Ap. of Christ Jesus—the assembled citizens of God's kingdom and commonwealth (Eph. ii. 12, 19; cf. Tit. ii. 14, 1 Peter ii. 9 f.). τῇ ἐσθῇ ἐν Κορ., "that exists in Corinth"—*latum et ingens paradoxon* (Bg.): so far the Gospel has reached (2 Cor. x. 13 f.); in so foul a place it flourishes! (vi. 9 ff.). Not as earlier, "the assembly of Thessalonians," etc.: the conception of the *ecclesia* widens; the local Christian gathering is part of one extended "congregation of God," existing in this place or that (see last clause). Το τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τ. Θεοῦ is apposed, by way of pre-

dicative definition (hence anarthrous), ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, "the Church of God (consisting of men) sanctified in Christ Jesus": Church status is grounded on personal relationship to God in Christ. Now this relationship began with God's *call*, which summoned each to a holy life within the Christian fellowship; hence the further apposition, κλητοῖς ἁγίοις (see note on i. and Rom. i. 7; cf. Acts xviii. 10, λαὸς ἐστίν μοι πολὺς κ.τ.λ.). The pf. pass. ptp. expresses a determinate state: once for all the Cor. readers have been devoted to God, by His call and their consent. This initial sanctification is synchronous with justification (vi. 11), and is the positive as that is the negative side of salvation: ἐλευθερωθέντες ἀπὸ τ. ἁμαρτίας, ἐδουλώθητε τ. δικαιοσύνῃ (Rom. vi. 16-19). "Sanctified in Christ Jesus" (= "living to God in Christ Jesus," Rom. vi. 11) imports union with Christ (vi. 17, 19, xii. 11, Rom. viii. 9 f.) as well as salvation through Christ. His past work is the objective ground, His present heavenly being (implied by the name "Christ Jesus," as in this order) the active spring of this ζῆν τῷ Θεῷ: cf. ver. 30 and note. The repeated ref. to the *holiness* of the readers recalls them to their vocation; low practice calls for the reassertion of high ideals; *admonet Corinthios majestatis ipsorum* (Bg.). Cv. draws a diff. yet consistent inference: "Locus diligenter observandus, ne requiramus in hoc mundo Ecclesiam omni ruga et macula carentem". The adjunct σὺν πᾶσιν . . . τότε may qualify ἡγιασμένοις κ.τ.λ. (so some moderns), or the main predicate (Gr. Ff.): i.e., the Church shares (a) in its *Christian sanctity*, or (b) in the *Apostle's good wishes*, "with all that call upon the name," etc. (b) gives a better balanced sentence, and a true Pauline sentiment: cf. Eph. vi. 24, also the Benediction of Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.*, lxxv.—ἐν παντί τότε, an expression indefinitely large (see parl.), approaching "in all the world" of Rom. i. 8, Col. i. 6;

ἰ ἐν παντὶ τῷ πῶ, \* αὐτῶν τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ \* ἡμῶν. 3. ἡ χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη <sup>1</sup> *Cor. ii. 14; 1 Th. i. 8; 1 Tim. ii. 8; Mal. i. 11. Cf. Rom. xvi. 13; Eph. vi. 9. 1 Rom. i. 7. m xiv. 18; Rom. i. 8;*

ἀπὸ Θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 4. Εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου<sup>2</sup> πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ<sup>3</sup> χάριτι τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ<sup>4</sup> δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. 5. ὅτι ἐν παντὶ

and other Pauline Salutations; cf., however, 1 and 2 Tim., 1 and 2 Pet. m xiv. 18; Rom. i. 8; Ph. i. 3; Col. i. 3; 1 Th. i. 2; Phm. 4. n Twelve times in P.; in Jas. iv. 6 besides.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, without τε; so N<sup>2</sup>A\* (seemingly) BD\*G, latt. vg. syrach. cop., Or., Dam. τε a Syrian editorial insertion for smoother reading.

<sup>2</sup> N<sup>2</sup>B, æth. omit μου: harmonistic insertion from parl.

there is nothing here to indicate the limit given in 2 Cor. i. 1. The readers belong to a *widespread* as well as a holy community; Paul insists on this in the sequel, pointing in reproof to "other churches". To "call on the name of the Lord Jesus Christ"—to invoke Him in prayer as "Lord"—is the mark of the Christian, by which Saul, e.g., once recognised his victims (see parl.), the index of saving faith (xii. 3, Rom. x. 12 ff.). The afterthought αὐτῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, correcting the previous ἡμῶν (Cm., Cv., Gd., Sm.), heightens the sense of wide fellowship given by the previous clause; "one Lord" (viii. 6; Rom. x. 12, xiv. 9, Eph. iv. 5) unites all hearts in the obedience of faith. To attach these pronouns to τῷ πῶ (in *omni loco ipsorum et nostro*, Vg.) gives a sense strained in various ways: "their place and ours,"—belonging to us equally with them (Mr., El., Ed.); "illorum (prope Cor.), nostro (ubi P. et Sosth. versabantur," Bg.); in non-Pauline and Pauline Churches (Hn.); and so on.

Ver. 3. χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ Θεοῦ κ.τ.λ.: Paul's customary greeting; see note on Rom. i. 7. "The occurrence of the peculiar phrase 'grace and peace' in Paul, John, and Peter intimates that we have here the earliest Christian password or *symbolum*" (Ed.). κυρίου might grammatically be parl. to ἡμῶν, both depending upon πατρός, as in 2 Cor. i. 3, etc.; but 1 and 2 Thess. i. 1 (Θεῷ πατρὶ κ. Κυρίῳ Ἰ. Χ.) prove *Father and Lord* in this formula to be parl.: cf. viii. 6, 2 Cor. xiii. 13; nowhere does P. speak (as in John xx. 17) of God as Father of Christ and of men co-ordinately, and for ἡμῶν to come first in such connexion would be incongruous. "The union of" Θεοῦ and Κυρίου "under the vinculum of a common prp. is one of the numberless hints scattered through St. Paul's epp. of the con-

sciously felt and recognised co-ordination" of the Father and Christ (El.).

§ 2. THE THANKSGIVING, i. 4-9. The Pauline thanksgiving holds the place of the *captatio benevolentiae* in ancient speeches, with the diff. that it is in solemn sincerity addressed to God. The Ap. thanks God (1) for the *past grace* given the Cor. in Christ, ver. 4; (2) for the *rich intellectual development of that grace*, according with the sure evidence upon which they had received the Gospel, and attended by an eager anticipation of Christ's advent, vv. 5-7; (3) for the *certainty that they will be perfected in grace* and found unimpeached at Christ's return—a hope founded on God's fidelity to His own signal call, vv. 8 f. Paul reflects gratefully on the past, hopefully on the future of this Church; he is significantly silent respecting its present condition: contrast with this the Thess. and Phil. Thanksgivings. He extracts from a disquieting situation all the comfort possible.

Ver. 4. On εὐχαριστῶ κ.τ.λ., and the form of Paul's introductory thanksgivings, see Rom. i. 8. ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι κ.τ.λ.—ἐπὶ (at), of the *occasioning* cause; cf. xiii. 6, xiv. 16, etc. τ. δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν (aor. ptp.)—"the grace that was given you," sc. at conversion (see 6); contrast the pr. ptp. of continuous bestowment in xv. 57, and the pf. of abiding result in 2 Cor. viii. 1. For ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, see note on ver. 2. P. refers not to the general objective gift of grace in Christ (as in Rom. viii. 32), nor to its eternal bestowment in the thought of God (as in 2 Tim. i. 9), but to its actual conferment at the time when the Cor. became God's κλητοὶ ἄγιοι (2).

Ver. 5. ὅτι κ.τ.λ. stands in explicative apposition to the foregoing τ. χάριτι τ. δοθείσῃ, bringing out the matter of thanksgiving eminent in the conversion of the Cor.—(I mean), that in every-



ο 2 Cor. vi. \* ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ, ἐν παντὶ ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσῃ ᾗ γνώσει, δ. καθὼς  
 10, ix. 11 only; τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὁ ἐβεβαίωθη ἐν ὑμῖν. 7. ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ  
 12 times in LXX, ὕστερεῖσθαι ἐν μηδενὶ χαρίσματι, ὁ ἀπεκδεχομένους τὴν ἀποκά-  
 Gen. xiv. λυψιν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 8. ὅς καὶ βεβαίωσει  
 23, etc. ὑμᾶς ἕως τέλους ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν  
 p (In this sense) 17, ὁ 17, xii. 8, and nine times besides in P. q viii. 1 ff., xii. 3, xiii. 2, 8, xiv. 6; thrice (so) in 2 Cor.;  
 il. 1, 4, iv. 19 f., xii. 8, and nine times besides in P. q viii. 1 ff., xii. 3, xiii. 2, 8, xiv. 6; thrice (so) in 2 Cor.;  
 19 f., xii. 8, and nine times besides in P. q viii. 1 ff., xii. 3, xiii. 2, 8, xiv. 6; thrice (so) in 2 Cor.;  
 twice in Rom.; Eph. iii. 19; Col. ii. 3; 1 Tim. vi. 20; 2 Pet. i. 5 f.; Lk. xi. 52. r il. 1; 2 Th. i.  
 10; 1 Tim. ii. 6; 2 Tim. i. 8; μαρτυρία in John, exc. Rev. xv. 5. s 2 Cor. i. 21; Rom. xv. 8; Ph.  
 i. 7; Col. ii. 7; twice in Heb.; Mk. xvi. 20. t viii. 8, xii. 24, xvi. 17; thrice besides in P.; Heb.  
 xl. 37; Lk. xv. 14. u vii. 7, xii. 4 ff.; 2 Cor. i. 11; four times in Rom.; 1 Tim. iv. 14; 1 Pet. iv.  
 10. v Rom. viii. 19 ff.; Gal. v. 5; Ph. iii. 20; Heb. ix. 28; 1 Pet. iii. 20 only. w 2 Th. i. 7;  
 thrice in 1 Pet.; cf. Gal. i. 12, 16; Rom. viii. 19. x 2 Cor. i. 13 only. αχρη τ., Heb. vi. 11; Rev. ii.  
 26. μεχρι τ., Heb. iii. 6, 14. εις τελος, 1 Th. ii. 16. ly Col. i. 22; 1 Tim. iii. 10; Tit. i. 6 f. only.  
 z iii. 13, iv. 3, v. 5; 2 Cor. i. 14; 10 times besides in P.; Acts ii. 20; Joel iii. 31, etc.

1 Θεου in B\*G, a few minuscc., arm.

2 The Western reading is παρουσιᾶ: DG, etc. Ambrst., Pelagius, with vg., read in die adventus (conflate).

thing you were enriched," etc. For this defining δτι after a vbl. noun, cf. ver. 26 and 2 Cor. i. 8. The affluence of endowment conferred on the Cor. stirred the Apostle's deep gratitude (cf. 7, 2 Cor. viii. 9): this wealth appears in another light in iv. 6-10, v. 2, viii. 1-3; see also *Introd.*, p. 730 f. The Church doubtless dwelt upon this distinction in its recent letter, to which P. is replying. ἐν παντὶ is defined, and virtually limited, by ἐν παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ γνώσει (kindred gifts, linked by the single prp.): the exuberance of grace in the Cor. shone "in all (manner of) utterance and all (manner of) knowledge". λόγος in this connexion signifies not *the thing said* (as in 18), but *the saying of it, loquendi facultas* (Bz.). "Relatively to γνώσις, λόγος is the ability and readiness to say what one understands; γν. the power and ability to understand" (Hn.). "Knowledge" would naturally precede; but the Cor. excelled and delighted in "speech" above all: see ii. 1-4, 13, iv. 19 f., xiii. 1.

Ver. 6. τοῦ Χριστοῦ is objective gen. to τὸ μαρτύριον—"the witness to Christ,"—coming from both God and man (xv. 3-11, 2 Thess. i. 10); otherwise in ii. 1; cf. Rom. i. 2, "the good news of God about His Son". μαρτόριον indicates *the well-established truth of the message* (see, e.g., xv. 15), εὐαγγέλιον its *beneficial and welcome nature* (see Rom. i. 16 f.).—ἐβεβαίωθη ἐν ὑμῖν, "(the witness about Christ) was made sure among you"; its reality was verified. By outward demonstration—miracles, etc.; or by the inner persuasion of a firm faith, "interna Spiritus virtus" (Cv.)? The latter certainly, in Pauline usage (see parls.: but not to the exclusion of the former); cf. ii.

4 f., and notes; xii. 10, ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων; also 1 Thess. i. 5 f., ii. 13, Gal. iii. 5; the two went together—πολλῶν θαυμάτων, ἀφάτου χάριτος (Cm.). At first discouraged, Paul had preached at Cor. with signal power, and his message awakened a decided and energetic faith; see ii. 1-5, xv. 1, 11; Acts xviii. 5-11.

Ver. 7 describes the result of the firm establishment of the Gospel: ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ. (ὥστε with inf. of contemplated result: see Bn. §§ 369 ff.), "causing you not to feel behindhand in any gift of grace"; the mid. ὑστερεῖσθαι implies *subjective reflexion*, the consciousness of inferiority (Ev.): similarly in Rom. iii. 23, "find themselves short of the glory of God" (Sanday and Headl.); and in Luke xv. 14, "he began to feel his destitution". The pr. inf. and ptp. of the vbs. bear no ref. to the time of writing; their time is given by the governing ἐβεβαίωθη: the strong assurance with which the Cor. embraced the Gospel was followed by a shower of spiritual energies, of which they had a lively sense. Α χάρισμα (see parls.) is χάρις in some concrete result (see Cr. s. v.),—a specific endowment of (God's) grace, whether the fundamental charism, embracing all others, of salvation in Christ (Rom. v. 16), or, e.g., the special and individual charism of continence (vii. 7). No church excelled the Cor. in the variety of its endowments and the satisfaction felt in them. Chaps. xii.-xiv. enumerate and discuss the chief Cor. χαρίσματα, setting ἀγάπη in their midst; ethical qualities are included under this term, vv. 8 f.—ἀπεκδεχομένους τ. ἀποκάλυψιν κ.τ.λ., "while you

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ<sup>1</sup>. 9. \*πιστὸς δ' ὁ Θεὸς, δι' οὗ ἔκλήθητε εἰς \*κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

<sup>13</sup>; Heb. x. 23, xi. 11; Deut. vii. 9; Isa. xlix. 7. <sup>b</sup> Ver. 26, vii. 15 ff.; 10 times besides in P.; 1 Pet. i. 15, ii. 9, v. 10; 2 Pet. i. 3. <sup>c</sup> x. 16; 2 Cor. vi. 14 f.; Ph. iii. 10; 1 Jo. i. 3; cf. Heb. ii. 14, iii. 14.

<sup>1</sup> B om. Χριστοῦ, bracketed by W.H. as doubtful; cf. 2 Cor. i. 14.

eagerly awaited (or eagerly awaiting, as you did) the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ". The vb. is one of P.'s characteristic intensive compounds (see parls.). The anarthrous pr. ptp. implies a continuous state conditioning that of the foregoing clause: the unstinted plenty of Divine gifts continued while the recipients fixed their thought upon the day of Christ; xv. 12, 33 f. show that this expectation had been in many instances relaxed. Rom. viii. and Col. iii. (also 1 John ii. 28-iii. 3) illustrate the bearing of faith in the παρουσία on Christian character; cf. Matt. xxv., Luke xii. 32 ff., etc. It is an ἀποκάλυψις, an "unveiling" of Christ that the Cor. looked for; since although they are "in Christ," still he is hidden (Col. iii. 3 f.); His presence is a mystery (Col. i. 27, Eph. v. 32). "Παρουσία denotes the fact of Christ's (future) presence, ἐπιφάνεια its visibility" and splendour, "ἀποκάλυψις its inner meaning" (Ed.); φανέρωσις (it might be added: Col. iii. 4) its open display. The Cor. were richly blessed with present good, while expecting a good far exceeding it: "a tacit warning against fancied satisfaction in the present" (Gd.: cf. iv. 8).

Ver. 8. δὲ καὶ βεβαιώσει ὑμᾶς echoes ἐβεβαιώθη (6); cf. the thanksgiving of Phil. i. 6. ἔως τέλους (see parls.) points to a consummation, not a mere termination of the present order; cf. Rom. vi. 21 f. ἀνεγκλήτους, "unimpeached," synonymous with ἀμέμπτους (unblamed), but judicial in significance,—in view of the ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου: "free from charge when the day of the Lord shall come"; cf. Rom. viii. 33, τίς ἐγκαλέσει;—δὲ refers to the foregoing κύριος Ἰ. Χ., not to the distant Θεὸς of ver. 4; the Saviour "who will make sure" the innocence of the Cor. on that day is the Judge who will pronounce upon it (cf. Col. i. 22, Eph. v. 27, where Christ is to "present" the Church "unblemished and unimpeached" before Himself): He will then confirm them and vindicate their character, as they have confirmed the testimony about Him (cf. Luke ix. 26). P. does not say the Cor. are ἀνεγκλήτοι now; he hopes

that they will prove so then. "The day of our Lord Jesus Christ" (cf. note on iii. 13) is the O.T. "day of Jehovah" (LXX, τ. Κυρίου), translated into the "day of Christ," since God has revealed His purpose to "judge through Jesus Christ" (Rom. ii. 16, Acts xvii. 31).—ἐν τ. ἡμέρᾳ=ἐν τ. παρουσίᾳ τ. κυρ. Ἰ. Χ. (1 Thess. v. 23, etc.), with the added connotation of judgment, to which the ἀποκάλυψις of ver. 7 leads up: for this connexion of thought, see Rom. ii. 5, 2 Thess. i. 7 ff. P. does not say "His day," though δὲ recalls ὁ κύρ. Ἰ. Χ.: Christ's name is repeated ten times in the first ten vv.—six times, as here, in full style—with sustained solemnity of emphasis (cf. the repetition of "God" in 20-29); "P. thus prepares for his exhortations these Cor., who were disposed to treat Christianity as a matter of human choice and personal liking, under the sense that in a Christian Church Christ is the one thing and everything" (Hf.).

Ver. 9. The ground of Paul's hope for the ultimate welfare of the Cor. is God's fidelity. His gifts are bestowed on a wise and settled plan (21, Rom. viii. 28 ff., xi. 29); His word, with it His character, is pledged to the salvation of those who believe in His Son: πιστὸς δ' ὁ Θεὸς δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε = πιστὸς ὁ καλῶν of 1 Thess. v. 23 f.; the formula πιστὸς ὁ λόγος of the Past. Epp. is not very different. δι' οὗ is "through (older Eng., by) whom you were called"; cf. διὰ θελήματος Θεοῦ (1, see note), and δι' οὗ . . . τὰ πάντα (of God, Rom. xi. 36); similarly in Gal. iv. 7: God had manifestly interposed to bring the Cor. into the communion of Christ (see, further, 26-28); His voice sounded in the ears of the Cor. when the Gospel summons reached them (cf. 1 Thess. ii. 13). Christ (8) and God are both therefore security for the perfecting of their Christian life.—God's accepted call has brought the readers εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν—i.e., not "into a communion (or partnership) with His Son Jesus Christ our Lord" (nowhere else has this noun an objective



d iv. 16, xvi. 15; frequent in this sense in P.; also Heb. xiii. 19, 22; 1 Pet.; Jude 3. e Acts iv. 30, x. 43. f xii. 25; 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Rom. xii. 16, xv. 5; Ph. ii. 2, iv. 2. g xl. 18, xii. 25; Jo. vii. 43, ix. 16, x. 19.

10. Ἐπακαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, \* διὰ τοῦ \* ὀνόματος τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἵνα ἔτδ ἑαυτὸ λέγητε πάντες καὶ μὴ ἦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἑσχίσ-

gen. of the *person*: see parls.), but "into a communion belonging to (and named after) God's Son," of which *He* is founder, centre and sum. In this fellowship the Cor. partake "with all those that call on the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2); *κοινωνία* denotes *collective participation*. The *κοινωνία* τ. υἱοῦ is the same, both in content and constituency, as the *κοινωνία* τ. πνεύματος (see xii. 13, 2 Cor. xiii. 13, Phil. ii. 1, Eph. iv. 4-6). Its content—that which the Cor. share in—is *sonship to God*, since it is "a communion of His Son," with Christ for "first-born among many brethren" (Rom. viii. 29 f.; cf. Heb. ii. 10-16), and consequent *heirship to God* (Rom. viii. 17, Gal. iii. 26-iv. 7). The title "our Lord," added to "His Son Jesus Christ," invests the Christian communion with present grandeur and certifies its hope of glory; Christ's glory lies in His full manifestation as *Lord* (xv. 25, Phil. ii. 11), and its glorification is wrapped up in His (2 Thess. i. 12, ii. 14; also 1 Thess. ii. 12). Ver. 9 sustains and crowns the hope expressed in ver. 8. For *κοινωνία*, see further the notes on x. 16 f.

**DIVISION I. THE CORINTHIAN PARTIES AND THE GOSPEL MINISTRY, i. 10-iv. 21.** PAUL could not honestly give thanks for the actual condition of the Cor. Church. The reason for this omission at once appears. The Church is rent with factions, which ranged themselves under the names of the leading Christian teachers. On the causes of these divisions see *Introduction*, Chap. i. Out of their crude and childish experience (iii. 1-4) the Cor. are constructing prematurely a *γνώσις* of their own (viii. 1, see note), a *σοφία* resembling that "wisdom of the world" which is "foolishness with God" (18 ff., 30, iii. 18 f., iv. 9 f.); they think themselves already above the mere *λόγος τοῦ σταύρου* brought by the Ap., wherein, simple as it appeared, there lay the wisdom and the power of God. This conceit had been stimulated, unwittingly on his part, by the preaching of Apollos. Ch. iii. 3-7 shows that it is the Apollonian faction which most exercises Paul's thoughts at present; the irony of i. 18-31 and iv. 6-13 is aimed at the partisans of Ap., who exalted his *ὑπεροχὴ λόγου κ. σοφίας* in disparage-

ment of Paul's unadorned *κήρυγμα τοῦ σταύρου*. Mistaking the nature of the Gospel, the Cor. mistook the office of its ministers: on the former subject they are corrected in i. 18-ii. 5 showing in what sense and why the Gospel *is not*, and in ii. 6-iii. 2 showing in what sense and to whom the Gospel *is a σοφία*; the latter misconception is rectified in iii. 3-iv. 21, where, with express reference to Ap. and P., Christian teachers are shown to be no competing leaders of human schools but "fellow-workmen of God" and "servants of Christ," co-operative and complementary instruments of His sovereign work in the building of the Church. The four chapters constitute an *apologia* for the Apostle's teaching and office, parl. to those of 2 Cor. x.-xiii. and Gal. i.-iii.; but the line of defence adopted here is quite distinct. Here Paul pleads against Hellenising lovers of wisdom, there against Judaising lovers of tradition. Both parties stumbled at the cross; both judged of the Ap. *κατὰ σάρκα*, and fastened upon his defects in visible prestige and presence. The existence of the legalist party at Cor. is intimated by the cry, "I am of Cephas," and by Paul's words of self-vindication in ix. 1 f.; but this faction had as yet reached no considerable head; it developed rapidly in the interval between 1 and 2 Cor.

§ 3. THE REPORT ABOUT THE PARTIES, AND PAUL'S EXPOSTULATION, i. 10-17<sup>a</sup>. Without further preface, the Apostle warns the Cor. solemnly against their schisms (10), stating the testimony on which his admonition is based (11). The four parties are defined out of the mouths of the Cor. (12); and the Ap. protests esp. against the use of Christ's name and of his own in this connexion (13). In founding the Church he had avoided all self-exaltation, bent only on fulfilling his mission of preaching the good news (14-17<sup>a</sup>).

Ver. 10. "But I exhort (appeal to) you, brothers:" the reproof to be given stands in painful contrast (8<sup>a</sup>) with the Thanksgiving. It is administered "through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ," which the Ap. has invoked so often (see note on 8); all the authority and grace of the Name reinforce his appeal, "that you say the same thing,

ματα, ἥτε δὲ ἡ κατηρτισμένοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νοῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡ In ethical sense, 2  
 ἡ γνώμη · 11. ἡ ἐδηλώθη γάρ μοι περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί μου, ὑπὸ τῶν Cor. xiii.  
 Χλόης ὅτι ἡ ἔριδες ἐν ὑμῖν εἰσὶ · 12. ὡ λέγω δὲ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἕκαστος vi. 1; Gal.  
 ὑμῶν λέγει, “Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι ὁ Παῦλος,” “Ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ Ἀπολλῶν,” “Ἐγὼ δὲ Ps. xvi. 5.  
 Lk. vi. 40; Pet. v. 10; Heb. xiii. 21; 1  
 Cor. xiii. 11; Gal. vi. 1; Heb. xiii. 21; 1  
 Pet. v. 10; Lk. vi. 40; Ps. xvi. 5.

i. 16, xiv. 14 ff.; 14 times besides in P.; thrice besides in N.T. k vii. 25, 40; 2 Cor. viii. 10; Phm. 14; Acts xx. 3; Rev. xvii. 13, 17 only; Wisd. vii. 16; 2 Macc. iv. 39, etc. l iii. 13; Col. i. 8; Heb. ix. 8, xii. 27; 1 Pet. i. 11; 2 Pet. i. 14; Ex. vi. 3, etc. m Art. thus used, Rom. xvi. 10 f. n Pl., 2 Cor. xii. 20; Tit. iii. 9. Sing., iii. 3; Rom. i. 29, xiii. 13; Gal. v. 20; Ph. i. 15. o In this sense, x. 29; Gal. iii. 17. p Same gen., iii. 23, xv. 23; Rom. xiv. 8; Acts ix. 2, etc.

all (of you),” instead of “saying, each of you, I am of Paul,” etc. (12).—Τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν, “a strictly classical expression used of political communities which are free from factions, or of diff. states which entertain friendly relations with each other” (Lt.). Τὸ αὐτὸ φρονεῖν, in 2 Cor. xiii. 11, etc., is matter of temper and disposition; τὸ αὐτὸ λέγειν, of attitude and declaration: the former is opposed to self-interest, the latter to party zeal. On the weakened use of ἵνα after παρακαλῶ (purpose passing into purport) see Wr., pp. 420 ff.: more frequently in P., as in cl. usage, this vb. is construed with the inf.; so always in Acts; with ἵνα regularly in Synoptics. For the meanings of παρακαλῶ see iv. 13.

“And (that) there be not amongst you σχίσματα (clefts, splits),” defines negatively the ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες. The *schism* (see parls.) is a party division within the Church, not yet, as in eccl. usage, a culpable separation from it; ἔριδες (11) signifies the personal *contentions*, due to whatever cause, which lead to σχίσματα; αἰρέσεις (xi. 18 f.: see note) are *divisions of opinion*, or sects founded thereupon (Acts v. 17, etc.), implying a disagreement of principle. The schism is a rent in the Church, an injury to the fabric (cf. iii. 17, xii. 25); hence the further appeal, reverting to the positive form of expression,—“but that you be well and surely (pf. ptp.) adjusted” (coagmentati, Bg.).—“the exact word for the healing or repairing of the breaches caused by the σχίσματα” (Al.). καταρτίζω has a like political sense in cl. Gr. (Herod., iv. 161; v. 28, in opp. to στέσις); “the marked classical colouring of such passages as this leaves a much stronger impression of St. Paul’s acquaintance with cl. writers than the rare occasional quotations which occur in his writings” (Lt.). “In the same discernment (νοῦ), and in the same judgment (γνώμη):” “νοῦς geht auf die Einsicht, γνώμη auf das Urtheil” (Hn.); *gnomé* is the application of *nous* in prac-

tical judgment (see parls.). P. desiderates that ὁμονοεῖν and ὁμογνωμεῖν (see Thucyd., ii. 97, viii. 75; Aristot., *Polit.*, v. 6, 10; Demosth., 281. 21) in Christian matters, which will enable the Church to act as one body and to pursue Christ’s work with undivided strength.

Ver. 11. The appeal above made implies a serious *charge*; now the authority for it: “For it has been signified to me about you, my brothers, by the (people) of Chloë.”—ἐδηλώθη (see parls.) implies definite information, the disclosure of facts.—οἱ Χλόης, “persons of Chloë’s household”—children, companions, or possibly slaves (cf. Rom. xvi. 10): there is nothing further to identify them. “Chloë is usually considered a Cor. Christian, whose people had come to Eph.; but it is more in harmony with St. Paul’s discretion to suppose that she was an Ephesian known to the Cor., whose people had been at Cor. and returned to Eph.” (Ev., Hf.). “Chloë’s people” are distinct from the Cor. deputies of xvi. 17, or Paul would have named the latter here; besides, Stephanas was himself the head of a household.—Χλόη (Verdure) was an epithet of the goddess Demeter, as Φοῖβη of Artemis (Rom. xvi. 1): such names were often given to slaves, and C. may have been a freedwoman of property (Lt.). “That strifes exist among you” (cf. iii. 3, 2 Cor. xii. 20) was the information given; these ἔριδες, the next ver. explains, were generating the σχίσματα (see note on 10).

Ver. 12. “But I mean this (τοῦτο δὲ λέγω), that each one of you is saying (instead of your all saying the same thing, 10), ‘I am of Paul (am Paul’s man),’—‘But I of Apollos,’—‘But I of Cephas,’—‘But I of Christ!’”—ἕκαστος, distributive, as in xiv. 26: each is saying one or other of these things; the party cries are quoted as from successive speakers challenging each other.

The question of the *FOUR COR. PARTIES* is one of the standing pro-



q In this sense, vii. 34; Mt. xii. 25 f.; 3 Kings xvi. 21. <sup>p</sup> Κηφᾶ, <sup>r</sup> “Ἐγὼ δὲ <sup>p</sup> Χριστοῦ”. 13. <sup>a</sup> μεμέριται ὁ Χριστός; <sup>1</sup> μὴ Παῦλος ἔσταυρώθη ὑπὲρ <sup>2</sup> ὑμῶν, ἥ <sup>r</sup> εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἔβαπτίσ-

r x. 2; Gal. iii. 27; Mt. xxviii. 19; Acts viii. 16, xix. 3 f.

<sup>1</sup> Thd. 168, *ad loc.*: τοῦτο τινες ἀποφαντικῶς ἀνεγνώσαν, ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτο κατ’ ἐρωτησιν κεισθαι νομίζω. Ambrst. interprets *affirmatively*; so Lachm. and W.H. *text*, R.V. *marg.* See note below.

<sup>2</sup> περὶ in BD\* (hence W.H. *marg.*); all other Codd. *ὑπὲρ*.

blems of N.T. criticism. It is fully examined, and the judgments of different critics are digested, by Gd. *ad loc.*; see also Mr.-Hn., *Einleitung*, § 3; Weiss’ *Manual of Introd. to the N.T.*, § 19. After all, this was only a brief phase of Church life at Cor.; P. had just heard of it when he wrote, by the time of 2 Cor. a new situation has arisen. The three first parties are easy to account for: (1) The body of the Ch., converted under P.’s ministry, adhered to its own apostle; P. valued this loyalty and appeals to it, while he condemns its combative expression,—the disposition of men “more Pauline than Paul himself” (Dods) to exalt him to the disparagement of other leaders, and even to the detriment of Christ’s glory. (2) Apollos (*cf.* Acts xviii. 24 ff.) had preached at Cor., in the interval since Paul’s first departure, with brilliant effect. He possessed Alexandrian culture and a graceful style, whereas P. was deemed at Cor. *ἰδιώτης τῷ λόγῳ* (2 Cor. xi. 6). Some personal converts Ap. had made; others were taken with his genial method, and welcomed his teaching as more advanced than P.’s plain gospel-message. Beside the more cultured Greeks, there would be a sprinkling of liberally-minded Jews, men of speculative bias imbued with Greek letters, who might prefer to say *Ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶ*. Judging from this Ep., the Pauline and Apollonian sections included at present the bulk of the Church, divided between its “planter” and “waterer”. *Ἀπολλῶς*, of Attic 2nd decl., is probably short for *Ἀπολλώνιος*. (3) In a Judæo-Gentile Church the cry “I am of Paul,” or “I am of Apollos,” was certain to be met with the retort, “But I of Kephas!” Conservative Jewish believers, when conflict was afoot, rallied to the name of the preacher of Pentecost and the hero of the Church’s earliest victories. The use of *Κηφᾶς*, the Aramaic original of *Πέτρος*, indicates that this party affected Palestinian traditions. Some of them may, possibly, have been Peter’s converts in Judæa. Had Peter visited Cor., as

Dionysius of Cor. supposed (Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 125: Weiss and Harnack favour the tradition), the event would surely have left some trace in these Epp. Judging from the tenor of the two Letters, this faction was of small account in Cor. until the arrival of the Judæan emissaries denounced in 2 Cor., who found a ground of vantage ready in those that shouted “I am of Kephas”. In both Epp. P. avoids every appearance of conflict with Peter (*cf.* ix. 5, xv. 5). (4) *The Christ party* forms the crux of the passage:—(a) After F. C. Baur, *οἱ Χριστοῦ* has been commonly interpreted by 2 Cor. x. 7: “If any one is confident on his own part that he is Christ’s (*Χριστοῦ εἶναι*), let him take this into account with himself, that just as he is Christ’s, so also are we”. Now P.’s opponents of 2 Cor. were ultra-Judaists; so, it is inferred, these *οἱ Χριστοῦ* must have been. But the Judaizers of 2 Cor. presumed to be “of Christ” as His *ministers, apostles* (xi. 13, 23), deriving their commission (as they maintained P. did not) from the fountain-head; whereas the Christ-party of this place plumed themselves, at most, on being His *disciples* (rather than P.’s, etc.): the coincidence is verbal rather than real. Upon Baur’s theory, there were *two* parties at Cor., as everywhere else in the Church, diametrically opposed—a Gentile-Christian party, divided here into Pauline and Apollonian sections, and a Jewish-Christian party naming itself from Kephas or Christ as occasion served. Later scholars following Baur’s line of interpretation, distinguish variously the Petrine and Christine Judaists: (a) Weizsäcker associates the latter with *James*; (β) Reuss and Beyschlag see in them strict *followers of the example and maxims of Jesus* as the *διάκονος περιτομῆς*, from which Peter in certain respects deviated; (γ) Hilgenfeld, Holsten, Hausrath, Sm., think they had been in *personal relations with Jesus* (it is quite possible that amongst the “five hundred” of xv. 5 some had wandered to Cor.); (δ) Gd. strangely conjectures that

θητε; 14. "εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ<sup>1</sup> ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα, εἰ μὴ<sup>2</sup> See i. 4.  
 Κρίσπον καὶ Γάϊον, 15. ἵνα μὴ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι "εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα 29; six  
 ἐβάπτισα<sup>3</sup>. 16. ἐβάπτισα<sup>3</sup> δὲ καὶ τὸν Στεφάνῳ οἶκον·<sup>4</sup> λοιπὸν sides in  
 P.; Heb.  
 x. 13.

<sup>1</sup> N\*B, 67\*\*, with Chr. and Dam. (in comment.), *om.* τῷ Θεῷ. A strong group of witnesses; parls. suggested to copyists the inserted words.

<sup>2</sup> NABC\*, 67\*\*, and several good minusc., read βαπτισθητε; instead of ἐβάπτισα, as in CcDGLP, etc.—Western and Syrian reading, conformed to context.

<sup>3</sup> βαπτίκα replaces first βαπτισα in D\*G, and second also in D\*.

"they were Gnostics before Gnosticism, who formulated their title οἱ Χριστοῦ, after the fashion of Cerinthus, in *opp.* not merely to the names of the apostles, but even to that of Jesus!" He identifies them with the men who cried "Jesus is anathema" (xii. 2: see note). This notion is an anachronism, and has no real basis in the Epp.

(b) 1 Cor. iii. 22 f. (see notes, *ad loc.*) supplies a nearer and safer clue to the interpretation; this is the Apostle's decisive correction of the rivalries of i. 12. The human leaders pitted against each other all belong to the Church (not this teacher or that to this section or that), while *it belongs without distinction to Christ*, and Christ, with all that is His, *to God*. The catholic Ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ swallows up the self-assertive and sectarian Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ. Those who used this cry arrogated the common watchword as their peculium; they erred by despising, as others by glorying in men. "Ἐγὼ Χριστοῦ ad eos pertinet qui in contrariam partem peccabant; i.e., qui sese unius Christi ita dicebant, ut interim iis per quos quos Deus loquitur nihil tribuerent" (Bz.); similarly Aug., Bg., Mr., Hf., El., Bt.

(c) The Gr. Ff., followed by Cv., Bleek, Pfeiderer, Rübiger, and others, saw in the Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ the true formula which P. approves, or even which he utters *propria persona*. But the context subjects all four classes to the same reproach. It is a sufficient condemnation for the fourth party that they said "I am of Christ," in rejoinder to the partisans of Paul and the rest, lowering His name to this competition.

(d) Hn., finding the riddle of the "Christus-partei" insoluble, *eliminates it from the text*; "we are driven," he says, "to explain the Ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ as a gloss, which some reader of the original codex inscribed in the margin, borrowing it from iii. 23 as a counter-confession to the Ἐγὼ μὲν Παύλου κ.τ.λ."

Ver. 13. In his expostulation P. uses,

with telling contrast, the first and last only of the party names: "Is the Christ divided? Was Paul crucified on your behalf? or into the name of Paul were you baptised?" Lachmann, W.H., Mr., Bt., read μεμέρισται ὁ Χ. as an exclamation: "The Christ (then) has been divided!"—torn in pieces by your strife. But μερίζω (here in pf. of resultful fact) denotes *distribution*, not dismemberment (see parls.): the Christian who asserts "I am Christ's" in distinction from others, claims an *exclusive* part in Him, whereas the one and whole Christ belongs to every limb of His manifold body (see xii. 12; also xi. 3, Rom. x. 12, xiv. 7-9, Eph. iv. 3 ff., Col. ii. 19). A divided Church means a Christ *parcelled out*, appropriated κατὰ μέρος. ὁ Χριστὸς is the Christ, in the fullness of all that His title signifies (see xii. 12, etc.).—While μεμέρισται ὁ Χ.; is Paul's abrupt and indignant question to himself, μὴ Παῦλος ἐσταυρώθη; (aor. of historical event) interrogates the readers—"Is it Paul that was crucified for you?" From the cross the Ap. draws his first reproof, the point of which vi. 20 makes clear, "You were *bought* at a price": the Cor. therefore were not Paul's or Kephas's, nor some of them Christ's and some of them Paul's men, but only Christ's and all Christ's alike.

The cross was the ground of κοινωνία Χριστοῦ (9, x. 16); baptism, signalling personal union with Him by faith, its attestation (Rom. vi. 3); to this P. appeals asking, ἢ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Παύλου ἐβαπτίσθητε; His converts will remember how Christ's name was then sealed upon them, and Paul's ignored. What was true of his practice, he tacitly assumes for the other chiefs. The readers had been baptised as Christians, not Pauline, Apollonian, or Petrine Christians. Paul's horror at the thought of baptising in his name shows how truly Christ's was to him "the name above every name" (Phil. ii. 9; cf. 2 Cor. iv. 5).



u vii. 16; Jo. οὐκ ὁῖδα ἑῖ τινα ἄλλον ἐβάπτισα<sup>1</sup>. 17a. οὐ γὰρ ἠπέστείλε με  
 ix. 25;  
 Acts x. 18; Χριστὸς βαπτίζειν, ἀλλ' εὐαγγελίζεσθαι.<sup>3</sup>  
 xix. 2.  
 v ix. 1 f.; 17b. Οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τοῦ  
 Rom. x.  
 15; Acts  
 xii. 21, xvi. 17; Jo. xvii. 18, xx. 21; with inf., Lk. i. 19, iv. 18, etc. w Without obj., ix. 16, xv  
 2; Rom. i. 15, xv. 20; 2 Cor. x. 16; Gal. iv. 13; Lk. iv. 18 (isa. lxi. 1), ix. 6, xx. 1; Acts xiv. 7;  
 Nahum i. 15, etc. x ii. 1, 4, 13, xii. 8; Col. ii. 23, iii. 16 y ix. 15; 2 Cor. ix. 3; Rom. iv. 14;  
 Ph. ii. 7 only. z Gal. v. 11, vi. 12, 14; Ph. iii. 18.

<sup>1</sup> βαπτίκα replaces first βαπτισα in D\*G, and second also in D\*.

<sup>2</sup> ο Χριστός (for Χριστός), in BG—an instance of the faulty readings that mark B, or BD, in company of G.

<sup>3</sup> B, εὐαγγελισσάσθαι.

Vv. 14-16. In fact, P. had himself baptised very few of the Cor. He sees a providence in this; otherwise he might have seemed wishful to stamp his own name upon his converts, and some colour would have been lent to the action of the Paulinists—"lest any one should say that you were baptised into my name". For βαπτίζω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, cf. Matt. xxviii. 19 and other parls.; also βαπτίζω εἰς, x. 2; it corresponds to πιστεύω εἰς, and has the like pregnant force. "The name" connotes the nature and authority of the bearer, and His relationship to those who speak of Him by it. *Crispus* and *Gains*: both Roman names (see *Introd.*, p. 733); the former a cognomen (*Curly*), the latter an exceedingly common prænomen. These two were amongst Paul's earliest converts (Acts xviii. 8, Rom. xvi. 23), the former a Synagogue-ruler. On second thoughts ("he was reminded by his amanuensis," Lt.; or by Steph. himself), P. remembers that he had "baptised the house of Stephanas" (see xvi. 15, and note), the first family here won to Christ. Στεφανῆς (perhaps short for Στεφανηφόρος), like Κηφᾶς, takes the Doric gen. in -ᾶ usual with proper names in -ᾶς, whether of native or foreign origin (see Bm., p. 20).—λοιπὸν οὐκ οἶδα εἰ τινα κ.τ.λ.: P. cannot recall any other instance of baptism by his own hands at Cor.; this was a slight matter, which left no clear mark in his memory. λοιπὸν (more regularly, τὸ λοιπόν), "for the rest"—in point of time (vii. 29), or number—a somewhat frequent idiom with Paul (cf. iv. 2). In οὐκ οἶδα εἰ (*hard scio an*), the conjunction is indir. interr., as in vii. 16.

Ver. 17a justifies Paul's thanking God that he had baptised so few: "For Christ did not send me to baptise, but to evangelise". The inf. (cf. ii. 1 f., ix. 16, xv. 11; Rom. xv. 17-21) αἰε expe-

getical (of *purpose*); and pres., of continued action (*function*). οὐκ . . . ἀλλὰ—no qualified, but an absolute denial that Baptism was the Apostle's proper work. For the terms of Paul's commission see Gal. i. 15 f., Eph. iii. 7-9, 1 Tim. ii. 7; also Acts ix. 15, and parls. Baptism was the necessary sequel of preaching, and P. did not suppose his commission narrower than that of the Twelve (Matt. xxviii. 19 f.); but baptising might be performed vicariously, not so preaching. "To evangelise is to cast the net—the true apostolic work; to baptise is to gather the fish already caught and to put them into vessels" (Gd.). It never occurred to P. that a Christian minister's essential function was to administer sacraments. The Ap. dwells on this matter so much as to suggest (Cv.) that he tacitly contrasts himself with some preachers who made a point of baptising their own converts, as though to vindicate a special interest in them; cf. the action of Peter (Acts x. 48), and of Jesus (John iv. 1 f.).

§ 4. THE TRUE POWER OF THE GOSPEL, i. 17b-25. To "preach the gospel" meant, above all, to proclaim the cross of Christ (17b). In Cor. "the wisdom of the world" scouted this message as sheer folly (18). To use "wisdom of word" in meeting such antagonism would have been for P. to fight the world with its own weapons and to betray his cause, the strength of which lay in the Divine power and wisdom embodied in Christ, a force destined, because it was God's, to bring to shame the world's vaunting wisdom (19-25).

Ver. 17b. οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου is grammatical adjunct to ἀλλὰ (ἀπέστ. με Χρ.) εὐαγγελίζεσθαι; but the phrase opens a new vein of thought, and supplies the theme of the subsequent argument up to ᾧ 6. In vv. 14, 17a Paul

Χριστοῦ. 18. ὁ \*λόγος γὰρ ὁ τοῦ \*σταύρου ὁ τοῖς μὲν ὁ ἀπολλυμένοις ὁ ὡς ἔστι, ὁ τοῖς δὲ ὁ σωζομένοις, ἡμῖν, ὁ δύναμις ὁ Θεοῦ ἔστι. 19. γέγραπται γάρ, ὁ ὁ Ἀπολὼ τὴν σοφίαν τῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὴν ὁ σύνεσιν

xiii. 26, xiv. 3, xx. 32. b 2 Cor. ii. 15, iv. 3; Acts ii. 47; Lk. xiii. 23. c Vv. 21, 23, ii. 14, iii. 19 only. d Ver. 24, ii. 5; 2 Cor. vi. 7, xiii. 4; Rom. i. 16; 2 Tim. i. 8; 1 Pet. i. 5; Mt. xxii. 29; Acts viii. 10. e Isa. xxix. 14. f Eph. iii. 4; Col. i. 9, ii. 2; 2 Tim. ii. 7; Mk. xii. 33; Lk. ii. 47 only.

asserted that Christ sent him *not to baptise, but to preach*; further, what he has to preach is *not a philosophy to be discussed, but a message of God to be believed*: "L'évangile n'est pas une sagesse, c'est un salut" (Gd.). In this transition the Ap. silently directs his reproof from the Pauline to the Apollonian party.—In σοφία λόγου (see ii. 1-4, 13; cf. the opp. combination in xii. 8) the stress lies on *wisdom* (called in vv. 19 f. "the wisdom of the world")—sc. "wisdom" in the common acceptance, as the world understood it and as the Cor. expected it from public teachers: "in wisdom of word" = *in philosophical style*. "To tell good news in wisdom of word" is an implicit contradiction; "news" only needs and admits of plain, straightforward *telling*. To dress out the story of Calvary in specious rhetoric, or wrap it up in fine-spun theorems, would have been to "empty (κενώθη) the cross of Christ," to *eviscerate* the Gospel. The "power of God" lies in the facts and not in any man's presentment of them: "to substitute a system of notions, however true and ennobling, for the fact of Christ's death, is like confounding the theory of gravitation with gravitation itself" (Ed.).—For κενόω, ractive of κενός (cf. xv. 14), see parls.; the commoner syn., καταργέω (28, etc.), means to *deprive of activity, make impotent* (in effect), κενόω to *deprive of content, make unreal* (in fact).

Ver. 18. What P. asserted in ver. 17 as intrinsically true, he supports by experience (18) and by Scripture (19), combining their testimony in ver. 20.—ὁ λόγος γάρ, ὁ τοῦ σταύρου, "For the word, namely that of the cross". ὁ λόγος (distinguish from the anarthrous λόγος above) takes its sense from εὐαγγελίζεσθαι (17); it is "the tale" rather than "the doctrine of the cross," synonymous with μαρτύριον (6) and κήρυγμα (21).—τοῖς μὲν ἀπολλυμένοις . . . τοῖς δὲ σωζομένοις, the two classes into which P. sees his hearers divide themselves (see parls.). The ptps. are strictly pr.—not expressing *certain expectation* (Mr.), nor *fixed predestination* (Bz.); the rejectors and receivers of "the word" are *in course*

of perishing and being saved respectively (cf. xv. 2; contrast the aor. of σώζω in Rom. viii. 24, and the pf. in Eph. ii. 5). "In the language of the N.T. salvation is a thing of the past, a thing of the present, and a thing of the future. . . . The divorce of morality and religion is fostered by failing to note this, and so laying the whole stress either on the past or on the future—on the first call or on the final change" (Lt.). Paul paints the situation before his eyes: one set of men deride the story of the cross—these are manifestly perishing; to another set the same story is "God's power unto salvation". The appended pers. pron. (τ. σωζομένοις) ἡμῖν, "to the saved, viz., ourselves," speaks from and to experience: "You and I know that the cross is God's saving power". Cf. with the whole expression Rom. i. 16, also John iii. 14-17.—The antithesis to ὡς ἔστι is not, in the first instance, σοφία, but δύναμις Θεοῦ—a practical vindication against false theory; saved men are the Gospel's apology. Yet because it is δύναμις, the word of the cross is, after all, the truest σοφία (see 30, ii. 6 ff.). The double ἔστιν emphasises the *actuality* of the contrasted results.

Ver. 19. As concerns "the perishing," the above sentence agrees with God's ways of judgment as revealed in Scripture: γέγραπται γάρ κ.τ.λ. The quotation Ἀπολὼ κ.τ.λ. (suggested by τ. ἀπολλυμένοις) belongs to the cycle of Isaiah's prophecies against the worldly-wise politicians of Jerus. in Assyrian times (xxviii.-xxxii.), who despised the word of Jehovah, relying on their shallow and dishonest statecraft; their policy of alliance with Egypt will lead to a shameful overthrow, out of which God will find the means of vindicating His wisdom and saving His people and city. The O.T. and N.T. situations are analogous: Gentile and Jewish wisdom, united in rejection of the Gospel, are coming to a like breakdown; and P. draws a powerful warning from the sacred history.—ἀθετήσω (a reminiscence, perhaps, of Ps. xxxiii. 10) displaces the less pointed κρύψω; otherwise the LXX text of Isa. is followed; in the Heb. the



Mt. xl. 25; τῶν "συνετῶν ἀθετήσω". 20. <sup>1</sup>ποῦ σοφός; <sup>1</sup>ποῦ <sup>2</sup>γραμματεὺς  
 Lk. x. 21; Acts xiii. <sup>1</sup>ποῦ <sup>1</sup>συνζητητῆς <sup>1</sup>τοῦ <sup>3</sup>αἰῶνος <sup>3</sup>τούτου; οὐχὶ <sup>2</sup>ἐμώρανε ὁ Θεός  
 7only; Isa. v. 21; Jer. xviii. 18, xlix. 6. <sup>2</sup>Θεοῦ οὐκ <sup>2</sup>ἔγνω ὁ κόσμος διὰ τῆς σοφίας τὸν <sup>2</sup>Θεόν, <sup>2</sup>εὐδόκησεν <sup>3</sup>  
 Gal. ii. 21, iii. 15; 1 <sup>2</sup>ὁ Θεός <sup>4</sup>διὰ τῆς <sup>1</sup>μωρίας τοῦ <sup>2</sup>κηρύγματος <sup>2</sup>σῶσαι τοὺς <sup>1</sup>πιστεύοντας.  
 Tim. v. 12; Heb. x. 28; Jude 8; Mk. vii. 9; Lk. vii. 30. i In this manner, xii. 17, 19, xv. 55; Rom. iii. 27; Gal. iv. 15; Isa. xxxiii. 18. k Epp., here only. Syn. Gosp., *passim*; Εἰσα vii. 6. l Here only; -τείν, Lk. xlii. 23, xxiv. 15; Acts vi. 9, ix. 29; six times in Mk.; -τησις, Acts xxviii. 29. m Il. 6 f., iii. 18; eight times besides in P.; Lk. xvi. 8, xx. 34; Mt. xii. 32. n Rom. i. 22; Mt. v. 13; Isa. xix. 11; Jer. x. 14. o Ver. 24; Rom. xi. 33; Eph. iii. 10; Lk. xi. 49. p xv. 34; Rom. i. 21; Gal. iv. 9; 2 Th. i. 8; Tit. i. 16; 1 Jo. iv. 6 ff.; Jo. xiv. 7; Heb. viii. 11 (from Jer.). q Gal. i. 15; Col. i. 19; Lk. xli. 32. r See ver. 18. s Il. 4, xv. 14; Rom. xvi. 25; 2 Tim. iv. 17; Tit. i. 3; Mt. xii. 41. xv. 2; Rom. x. 9; Eph. ii. 8; Jas. ii. 14, v. 15; Mt. ix. 22; Mk. x. 52, xvi. 16; 5 times in Lk.; Acts xiv. 9, xv. 11, xvi. 31.

<sup>1</sup>συνζητητῆς: all uncc. exc. LP. The unassimilated form of prp. in such compounds prevails in oldest MSS.

<sup>2</sup>τουτου wanting in  $\aleph^* \text{ABC}^* \text{D}^* \text{E}^* \text{P}$ . Added in  $\aleph^* \text{C}^3 \text{DeGL}$ , syrr. cop. latt. vg.; the addition is late Western and Syrian. Cf. τ. αἰῶνος τουτου above, and iii. 19.

<sup>3</sup>ηυδοκησεν: C, Athan.; a characteristic Alexandrian emendation.

<sup>4</sup>For ο Θε., τῷ Θεῷ in G, latt. vg. (*placuit Deo*),—a Latinism.

vbs. are pass., "the wisdom . . . shall perish," etc. Isa. xxix. is rich in matter for N.T. use: vv. 13, 18 gave our Lord texts, in Matt. xv. 8 f., xi. 5 respectively; the Ap. quotes the chap. twice elsewhere, and ch. xxviii. thrice.

Ver. 20. ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεὺς; and (possibly) ἐμώρανε . . . τὴν σοφίαν, are also Isaianic allusions—to Isa. xix. 11 f. (mocking the vain wisdom of Pharaoh's counsellors), and xxxiii. 18 (predicting the disappearance of Sennacherib's revenue clerks and army scouts, as a sign of his defeat). The LXX γραμματικός becomes γραμματεὺς, in consistency with the *sophér* of the latter passage; συνζητητῆς (cf. ζητοῦσιν, 22), in the third question, is Paul's addition. — γραμματεὺς unmistakably points, in the application, to the Jewish Scribe (cf. our Lord's denunciation in Matt. xxiii.); of the parl. terms, σοφός is supposed by most moderns to be *general*, comprehending Jewish and Gr. wise men together, συνζητητῆς to be *specific* to the Gr. philosopher—a distinction better reversed, as by Lt. after the Gr. Ff. συνζητέω, with its cognates, is employed in the N.T. of Jewish discussions (Acts vi. 9, xxviii. 29, etc.), and the adjunct τ. αἰῶνος τουτου gives to the term its widest scope, whereas σοφός, esp. at Cor., marks the Gr. intellectual pride; καλεῖ σοφὸν τὸν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ στωμυλίᾳ κοσμούμενον (Thd.; cf. Rom. i. 23).—ποῦ σοφός (not ὁ σοφός); κ.τ.λ.: "Where is a wise man? where a scribe?

where a disputer of this age?" These orders of men are swept from the field; all such pretensions disappear (cf. 29)—"Did not God make foolish the wisdom of the world?" The world and God are at issue; each counts the other's wisdom folly (cf. 18, 25, 30). But God actually turned to foolishness (*infatuavit*, Bz.: cf. Rom. i. 21 f., for μωραίνω; also Isa. xlv. 25) the world's imagined wisdom: how, vv. 21-25 proceed to show. On αἰὼν see parl., and Ed.'s note; also Trench's *Synon.*, lix., and Gm., for the distinction between αἰὼν and κόσμος; "αἰὼν, like *saeculum*, refers to the prevailing ideas and feelings of the present life, κόσμος to its gross, material character" (Lt.).

Vv. 21-25. The ἐπειδὴ of ver. 21 and that of vv. 22-25 are parl., the second restating and expanding the first (cf. the double ὅταν in xv. 24, and in xv. 27 f.: see notes), rather than proving it; together they justify the assertion implied in ver. 20b, which virtually repeats ver. 18.

Ver. 21. ἐπειδὴ γάρ (*quoniam enim*, Cv.) introduces the *when* and *how* of God's stultifying the world's wisdom by the λόγος τοῦ σταύρου: "For since, in the wisdom of God, the world through its wisdom did not know God, God was pleased," etc.—οὐκ ἔγνω . . . διὰ τ. σοφίας τ. Θεὸν records Paul's experience, e.g., at Athens, in disclosing the ἄγνωστον Θεὸν to philosophers. Of the emphatic adjunct, ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ,

22. ἐπειδὴ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι ἠσήμειον<sup>1</sup> αἰτοῦσι, καὶ Ἕλληνες σοφίαν<sup>2</sup> Mt. xii. 38  
 ἠζητοῦσιν. 23. ἡμεῖς δὲ κηρύσσομεν<sup>3</sup> Χριστὸν ἑσταυρωμένον, L. xvi. 1,  
 xxiv. 3;  
 8; 7 times Lk. xxiii.  
 in Jo.; Acts iv. 30. v Prov. ii. 4, xiv. 6; Eccl. vii. 26. w xv. 12; 2 Cor. i. 19, xi. 4; Ph. i. 15;  
 i Tim. iii. 16; Acts viii. 5, ix. 20, xix. 13. x ii. 2; Gal. iii. 1; Mt. xxviii. 5.

σημεῖα: all uncc. (with anc. verss.) exc. L. T.R. conforms to Gosp. parls.

there are two explanations, following the line of Rom. i. 19 f. or Rom. xi. 32 f.: on the former view, the clause qualifies ἔγνω—"the world did not come to know God in His wisdom," evidenced in creation and Providence—so most interpreters ("amid the wisdom of God," Bt.; *in media luce*, Cv.; *in nature and Scripture*, addressed to Gentile and Jew, Bg.; Mr.); on the other hand, Rückert, Reuss, Al., Lt., Ev. attach the clause to οὐκ ἔγνω,—*in God's wise plan* of the world's government, the world's wisdom failed to win the knowledge of Him. The latter is the sounder explanation, being (a) in accord with Paul's reff. elsewhere to σοφία Θεοῦ, (b) presenting a pointed antithesis to σοφία κόσμου, and (c) harmonising with Paul's theory of the education of mankind for Christ, expounded in Gal. iii. 10-iv. 5 and Rom. v. 20 f., vii. 7-25, xi. "Through its (Greek) wisdom the world *knew not* God," as through its (Jewish) righteousness it *pleased not* God; both results were brought about "in the wisdom of God"—according to that "plan of the ages," leading up to "the fulness of the seasons," which embraced the Gentile "times of ignorance" (Acts xvii. 26-31) no less than the Jewish dispensations of covenant and law. "It is part of God's wise providence that He will not be apprehended by intellectual speculation, by 'dry light'" (Ev.). The intellectual was as signal as the moral defeat; the followers of Plato were "shut up," along with those of Moses, εἰς τ. μέλλουσιν πιστῶν (Gal. iii. 22 f.).

Now that God's wisdom has reduced the self-wise world to ignorance, εὐδόκησεν σώσαι: man's extremity, God's opportunity. "It was God's good will" (*placuit Deo*: see parls. for the vb.); εὐδοκία P. associates with θέλημα, βουλὴ on the one hand, and with χάρις, ἀγαθωσύνη on the other: God's sovereign grace rescues man's bankrupt wisdom. διὰ τ. μωρίας τ. κηρύγματος states the *means*, τοὺς πιστεύοντας defines the *qualified objects* of this deliverance. "Through the folly (as the wise world calls it, 18) of the κήρυγμα"—which last term signifies not the act of proclamation

(κήρυξις), but *the message proclaimed* by God's herald (κήρυξ, see parls.: *the heralding* suggests thoughts of the *kingdom*; cf. Acts xx. 25, Luke viii. 1, etc.). P. designates Christians by the act which makes them such—"those that believe" (see parls.). God saves by *faith*. Faith here stands opposed to Greek knowledge, as in Rom. to Jewish law-works.

Vv. 22-25 open out the thought of ver. 21: "the world" is parted into "Jews" and "Greeks"; μωρία becomes σκάνδαλον and μωρία; the κήρυγμα is defined as that of Χριστὸς ἑσταυρωμένος; and the πιστεύοντες reappear as the κλητοί. Both Mr. and Al. make this a new sentence, detached from vv. 20 f., and complete in itself, with ἐπειδὴ καὶ κ.τ.λ. for protasis, and ἡμεῖς δὲ κ.τ.λ. for apodosis,—as though the mistaken aims of the world *supplied Paul's motive for preaching Christ*; the point is rather (in accordance with 20) that his "foolish" message, in contrast with (δε, 23) the desiderated "signs" and "wisdom," *convicts the world of folly* (20); thus the whole of vv. 22-24 falls under the regimen of the 2nd ἐπειδὴ, which with its καὶ, emphatically resumes the first ἐπειδὴ (21)—"since indeed". God turned the world's wise men into fools (20) by bestowing salvation through faith on a ground that they deem folly (21)—in other words, by revealing His power and wisdom in the person of a crucified Messiah, whom Jews and Greeks unite to despise (22-24).

Ver. 22. Ἰουδαῖοι . . . Ἕλληνες—*anathrours*; "Jews" *quia* Jews, etc.: in this "asking" and "seeking" the characteristics of each race are "hit off to perfection" (Ed.: see his interesting note); αἰτεῖν expresses "the importunity of the Jews," ζητεῖν "the curious, speculative turn of the Greeks" (Lt.). For the *Jewish* requirement, cf. parls. in the case of Jesus; the app., doubtless, were challenged in the same way—P. perhaps publicly at Cor.: "non reperias Corinthi signum editum esse per Paulum, Acta xviii." (Bg.). Respecting this demand, see Lt., *Biblical Essays*, pp. 150 ff. Such dictation Christ never allowed;



y Rom. ix. Ἰουδαίους μὲν ὁ σκάνδαλον, Ἕλλησι<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὁ μωρίαν, 24. αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς  
 33; Gal. v. 11; 1 Pet. 2 κλητοῖς, Ἰουδαίους τε καὶ Ἕλλησι, Χριστὸν ὁ Θεοῦ ὁ δύνάμιν καὶ  
 ii. 8.  
 z See ver. 1. ὁ Θεοῦ ὁ σοφίαν. 25. ὅτι ὁ τὸ ὁ μωρὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ σοφώτερον τῶν  
 a See ver. 18.  
 b Ver. 27, ὁ ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ, καὶ ὁ τὸ ὁ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ ἰσχυρότερον τῶν  
 iii. 18, iv. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 23; Tit. iii. 9. For  
 neuter idiom, Rom. ii. 4, viii. 3; 2 Cor. iv. 17, viii. 8. c For constr., Mt. v. 20; Jo. v. 36; 1 Jo.  
 ii. 2. d Ver. 27, iv. 10, xii. 22; 2 Cor. x. 10; Gal. iv. 9; Heb. vii. 18; Wisd. ii. 11, xiii. 18. For  
 constr., see b. e Ver. 27, iv. 10, x. 22; Mt. iii. 11; Lk. xi. 22; Mic. iv. 3.

<sup>1</sup> ἐθνῶσιν: all uncc. exc. C<sup>3</sup>De, all verss. exc. arm. Ἕλλησιν (as in context): all minuscc. exc. (about) twelve.

<sup>2</sup> ἐστι wanting in NB 17, 67\*. N<sup>c</sup>ACLP, etc. (Alex. and Syr.) insert at end; DG (Western), before τ. ἀνθρώπων.

His miracles were expressions of pity, not concessions to unbelief, a part of the Gospel and not external buttresses to it. Of the Hellenic σοφίαν ζητεῖν Philosophy is itself a monument; cf., amongst many cl. parls., Herod., iv., 77, "Ἕλληνες πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι πρὸς πᾶσαν σοφίην"; also Ælian, *Var. Hist.*, xii., 25; Juvenal, *Sat.*, I., ii., 58 f.

Ver. 23. Instead of working miracles to satisfy the Jews, or propounding a philosophy to entertain the Greeks, "we, on the other hand, proclaim a crucified Christ"—Χριστὸν ἐσταυρωμένον, i.e., Christ as crucified (predicative adjunct), not "Christ the crucified," nor, strictly, "Christ crucified"; cf., for the construction, 2 Cor. iv. 5, κηρύσσομεν Χ. Ἰ. κύριον, "We preach (not ourselves but) Christ Jesus as Lord". Not a warrior Messiah, flashing His signs from the sky, breaking the heathen yoke, but a Messiah dying in impotence and shame (see 2 Cor. iv. 10, xiii. 4: *hattalúy*, Deut. xxi. 23—the *hangéd*—He is styled in the Talmud) is what the app. preach for their good news! "To Jews indeed a σκάνδαλον": this word (cl. σκανδάλη-θρον) signified first the *trap-stick*, then any obstacle over which one stumbles to one's injury, an "offence" (syn. with προσκοπή, πρόσκομμα: see viii. 9, 13), a moral hindrance presented to the perverse or the weak (see parls.).—τοῖς δὲ ἔθνεσιν μωρίαν: for the "folly" of offering the *infelix lignum* to cultured Gentiles, see Cicero, *pro Rabirio*, v.: "Nomen ipsum crucis absit non modo a corpore civium Romanorum, sed etiam a cogitatione, oculis, auribus"; and Lucian, *De morte Peregrini*, 13, who mocks at those who worship τὸν ἀνεσκολοπισμένον τὸν σοφιστήν,—"that gibbeted sophist!" For reff. in the early Apologists see Justin M., *Tryph.*, lxix., and *Apol.*, i.,

13; Tertull., *adv. Jud.*, § 10; Aristo of Pella, in Routh's *Rel. Sacr.*, i., 95; and the graffito of the *gibbeted ass* discovered on the wall of the Pædagogium in the Palatine. To Jews the λόγος τοῦ σταύρου announced the shameful reversal of their most cherished hopes; to Greeks and Romans it offered for Saviour and Lord a man branded throughout the Empire as amongst the basest of criminals; it was "outrageous," and "absurd".

Ver. 24. αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς κλητοῖς, *ipsis autem vocatis* (Vg.): for the emphatic prefixed αὐτοῖς, cf. 2 Cor. xi. 14, 1 Thess. 16, etc.; it "marks off those alluded to from the classes to which they nationally belonged" (El.)—"to the called however upon their part, both Jews and Greeks"—cf. the οὐ . . . διαστολή of Rom. iii. 9, 22 ff. ("We proclaim a Christ (to these) God's power and God's wisdom." Of God reiterated four times, with triumphant emphasis, in the stately march of vv. 24 f. Θεοῦ δύν., Θεοῦ σοφ. are predicative, in antithesis to ἐσταυρωμένον (23): the app. "preach as power and wisdom" One who wears to the world the aspect of utter powerlessness and folly.—Δύναμις and Σοφία Θεοῦ were synonyms of the Λόγος in the Alexandrian-Jewish speculations, in which Apollos was probably versed; these surpassing titles Paul appropriates for the Crucified.—Θεοῦ δύνάμιν reaffirms, after explanation, the δύναμις Θεοῦ of ver. 18; now Θεοῦ σοφίαν is added to it, for "power" proves "wisdom" here (see note on 30); the universal efficacy of the Gospel demonstrates its inner truth, and faith is finally justified by reason.—δύναμιν matches the σημεῖον of ver. 22 (see, e.g., 2 Thess. ii. 9); believing Jews found, after all, in the cross the mightiest miracle, while Greeks found the deepest wisdom. The "wisdom of God," secretly

26. Ὡς βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ σάρκα, οὐ πολλοὶ δυνατοί, οὐ πολλοὶ εὐγενεῖς.

etc. g vii. 20; Rom. xi. 29; Eph. iv. 1, 4; Ph. iii. 14; 2 Th. i. 11; 2 Tim. i. 9; Heb. iii. 1; 2 Pet. i. 10. h iv. 15; Acts i. 5, xxvii. 14. i x. 18; 17 times besides in P.; cf. Jo. viii. 15. k Acts xxv. 5. l Lk. xix. 12; Acts xvii. 11 (another sense) only; Job i. 3; 2 Macc. x. 13.

working in the times of preparation (20), is thus at length brought to human recognition in Christ. On κλητοῖς see note to ver. 2: this term is preferable to οἱ σωζόμενοι, or οἱ πιστεύοντες, where the stress rests upon God's initiative in the work of individual salvation; cf. vv. 9, 26, Rom. viii. 28 ff.

Ver. 25. What has been proved in point of fact, viz., the stultification by the cross of man's wisdom, the Ap. (as in Rom. iii. 30, xi. 29, Gal. ii. 6) grounds upon an axiomatic religious principle, that of the absolute superiority of the Divine to the human. That God should thus confound the world one might expect: "because the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men". Granted that the λόγος τ. σταυροῦ is folly and weakness, it is God's folly, God's weakness: will men dare to match themselves with that? (cf. Rom. ix. 20).—τὸ μωρόν (not μωρία as before), τὸ ἀσθενές are concrete terms—the foolish, weak policy of God (cf. τὸ χρηστόν, Rom. ii. 4), the folly and weakness embodied in the cross.—ἰσχυρός (ἰσχύς) implies *intrinsic strength*; δύναμις is *ability*, as relative to the task in view.

§ 5. THE OBJECTS OF THE GOSPEL CALL, i. 26-31. § 4 has shown that the Gospel does not come ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου (17b) by the method of its operation; this will further be evidenced by the status of its recipients. If it were, humanly speaking, a σοφία, it would have addressed itself to σοφοί, and won their adherence; but the case is far otherwise.

Ver. 26. Βλέπετε γὰρ τὴν κλήσιν ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί,—“For look at your calling, brothers”: God has called you into the fellowship of His Son (9); if His Gospel had been a grand philosophy, would He have addressed it to fools, weaklings, base-born, like most of you? P.'s experience in this respect resembled his Master's (Matt. xi. 25, John vii. 47-49, Acts iv. 13). This argument cuts two ways: it lowers the conceit of the readers (cf. vi. 9-11, and the scathing irony of iv. 7-13), while it discloses the true mission of the Gospel. On κλησιν see the note to κλητοῖς (2), also on vii. 20: it signifies not one's temporal voca-

tion in the order of Providence, but one's summons to enter the kingdom of Grace; ὑμῶν is objective gen. For τ. κλήσιν ὅτι, see note on ὅτι, ver. 5.—οὐ πολλοὶ (thrice repeated) suggests at least a few of each class amongst the readers: see *Introd.*, p. 730.—οὐ πολλοὶ σοφοί: “hinc *Athenis* numero tam exiguo lucrifacti sunt homines” (Bg.).—σοφοί is qualified by κατὰ σάρκα (see parls., and cf. σοφία σαρκική, 2 Cor. i. 12), in view of the distinction worked out in § 4 between the world's and God's wisdom: the contrast implied resembles that between ἡ κατὰ Θεὸν λύπη and ἡ τοῦ κόσμου λύπη in 2 Cor. vii. 9 ff. The “wise after the flesh” include not only philosophers (20), “but educated men in general, the πεπαιδευμένοι as opposed to the ἰδιῶται. The δυνατοί were men of rank and political influence, opp. to δῆμος. The εὐγενεῖς meant, in the aristocratic ages of Greece, men of high descent;” but in later degenerate times “men whose ancestors were virtuous and wealthy, the honesti as opposed to the humiliores of the Empire. Few intellectual men, few politicians, few of the better class of free citizens embraced Christianity” (Ed.). In a Roman colony and capital, the εὐγενεῖς would chiefly be men of hereditary citizenship, like P. himself; the δυνατοί, persons associated with Government and in a position to influence affairs; the former word is applied in an ethical sense to the Bercean Jews in Acts xvii. 11. “That the majority of the first converts from heathenism were either slaves or freedmen, appears from their names” (Lt.); the inscriptions of the Catacombs confirm this. The low social status of the early Christians was the standing reproach of hostile critics, and the boast of Apologists: see the famous passage in Tacitus' *Annals*, xv., 44; Justin M., *Apol.*, ii., 9; Origen, *contra Celsum*, ii., 79; Minuc. Felix, vii., 12 (*indocti, impoliti, rudes, agrestes*). As time went on and Christianity penetrated the higher ranks of society, these words became less strictly true: see Pliny's *Ep. ad Trajanum*, x., 97, and the cases of Flavius Clemens and Domitilla, cousins of the emperor Domitian (Ed.),



m See ver. 27. ἀλλὰ τὰ <sup>m</sup>μωρὰ τοῦ κόσμου <sup>n</sup>ἐξελέξατο<sup>1</sup> ὁ Θεός,<sup>1</sup> ἵνα καταισ-  
 25.  
 n Eph. i. 4; χυρήν<sup>2</sup> τοὺς σοφοὺς<sup>2</sup>. καὶ τὰ <sup>4</sup>ἀσθενῇ τοῦ κόσμου <sup>n</sup>ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός,  
 Ja. ii. 5;  
 Acts i. 2, ἵνα <sup>o</sup>καταισχυρήν τὰ <sup>o</sup>ἰσχυρά. 28. καὶ τὰ <sup>p</sup>ἀγενῇ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ  
 24, xiii. 17,  
 xv. 7; Mk. <sup>q</sup>ἐξουθενημένα <sup>n</sup>ἐξελέξατο<sup>1</sup> ὁ Θεός,<sup>1</sup> καὶ <sup>8</sup>τὰ <sup>r</sup>μη<sup>7</sup> ὄντα, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα  
 xiii. 20;  
 Lk. ix. 35;  
 Jo. vi. 70, xiii. 18, xv. 16. o xi. 4 f., 22; 2 Cor. vii. 4, ix. 4; thrice in Rom.; 1 Pet. ii. 6, iii. 16;  
 Lk. xiii. 17; frequent in O.T. p N.T. h.l.; in cl. Gr. commonly *γεννησ.* q vi. 4, xvi. 11;  
 2 Cor. x. 10; Rom. xiv. 3, 10; Gal. iv. 14; 1 Th. v. 20; four times besides. r Rom. iv. 17.

<sup>1</sup> AG, with above 15 minusc., following some common (? Western) exemplar, jump from ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός in ver. 27 to the same words in ver. 28, omitting all between. Similar omissions occur in other individual MSS. in this context, where there is much repetition.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς σοφοὺς καταισχυρήν: all uncc. The T.R. rests on minusc. only.

<sup>3</sup> SAC\*D\*G, 17, om. καί; ins. by B and Syrian Codd. W.H. bracket the conj.

The ellipsis of predicate to οὐ πολλοὶ κ.τ.λ. is commonly filled up by understanding ἐκλήθησαν, as implied in κλησιν: "not many wise, etc. (were called)". Mr., Bt., and others, supply εἰσιν, or preferably ἐστέ: "(there are) not many wise, etc. (among you)," or "not many (of you are) wise, etc."; the omission of ὑμεῖς courteously veils the disparagement.

Vv. 27-28. "Nay, but (ἀλλὰ, the *but* of exclusion) the foolish . . . the weak . . . the base-born things of the world God did choose out (when He chose you)." —ἐξελέξατο (*selected, picked out for Himself*) is equivalent to ἐκάλεσεν (2, 9, 26), εὐδόκησεν . . . σῶσαι (21), τὴν χάριν ἔδωκεν ἐν Χ. 'Ι. (4); this word indicates the relation in which the saved are put both *to God* and *to the world*, out of (ἐξ) which they were taken (see parls.); nothing here suggests, as in Eph. i. 4, the idea of *eternal* election. —ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός: the astonishing fact thrice repeated, with solemn emphasis of assurance. The *objects* of God's saving choice and the *means* of their salvation match each other; by His τὸ μωρὸν and τὸ ἀσθενές (25) He saves τὰ μωρὰ and τὰ ἀσθενῇ: "the world laughs at our beggarly selves, as it laughs at our beggarly Gospel!" The neut. adj. of vv. 27 f. mark the *category* to which the selected belong; their very foolishness, weakness, ignobility determine God's choice (cf. Matt. ix. 13, Luke x. 21, etc.). —τοῦ κόσμου is partitive gen.: out of all the world contained, God chose its (actually) foolish, weak, base things—making "fæx urbis lux orbis!" In this God acted deliberately, pursuing the course maintained through previous ages, ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ (see note, 21): He "selected the foolish

things of the world, that He might shame its wise men (τοὺς σοφοὺς) . . . the weak things of the world, that He might shame its strong things (τὰ ἰσχυρά), and the base-born things of the world and the things made absolutely nothing of . . . the things non-existent, that He might bring the things existent to naught". In the first instance a class of *persons*, immediately present to Paul's mind (cf. 20), is to be "put to shame"; in the two latter P. thinks, more at large, of worldly *forces and institutions* (cf. vii. 31, 2 Cor. x. 4-6). The pride of the cultured and ruling classes of paganism was to be confounded by the powers which Christianity conferred upon its social outcasts; as, e.g., Hindoo Brahminism is shamed by the moral and intellectual superiority acquired by Christian Pariahs.—τὰ ἀγενῇ τοῦ κόσμου, third of the categories of disparagement, is reinforced by τὰ ἐξουθενημένα (from ἐξ and οὐδέν, pf. pass.: *things set down as of no account whatever*), then capped by the abruptly apposed τὰ μὴ ὄντα, to which is attached the crowning final clause, ἵνα τὰ ὄντα καταργήσῃ. For καταργέω (*ut enervaret*, Bz.), see note on κενώ (17), and parls.; the scornful world-powers are not merely to be robbed of their glory (as in the two former predictions), but of their *power and being*, as indeed befell in the end the existing social and political fabric. In τὰ μὴ ὄντα, "μὴ implies that the non-existence is not absolute but *estimative*" (Al.); the classes to which Christianity appealed were *non-entities* for philosophers and statesmen, cyphers in their reckoning: contrast οὐκ ὢν, of objective matter of fact, in John x. 12, Acts vii. 5; also Eurip., *Troad.*, 600.—τὰ ὄντα connotes more than bare ex-

\* καταργήσῃ· 29. ὅπως \* μὴ \* καυχῆσθαι \* πᾶσα σὰρξ \* ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ.<sup>1</sup> 30. \* ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστε \* ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἐγενήθη ἡμῖν<sup>2</sup> σοφία<sup>2</sup> \* ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, \* δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ \* ἁγιασμός καὶ \* ἀπολύτρωσις· 31. ἵνα, \* καθὼς \* γέγραπται, “Ὁ \* καυχώμενος, ἐν Κυρίῳ \* καυχάσθω”.

iv. 21, 23, v. 5, vi. 8. t iii. 21, iv. 7, xiii. 3; 2 Cor., *passim*; nine times elsewhere in P.; only Jas. i. 9, iv. 16 besides. Rare and poetical in cl. Gr. u Hebraistic (or οὐ . . . πας, *lo'* . . . *hkol*: Rom. iii. 20; Eph. iv. 29, v. 5; 2 Pet. i. 20; frequent in Epp. of Jo. and Rev.; Mt. xxiv. 22. v Frequent in P., Lk., and Rev.; never in Mt. or Mk. w viii. 6; 2 Cor. v. 18; Rom. xi. 36; Jo. viii. 23, 42, etc. x 2 Cor. v. 17, xii. 2; Rom. viii. 1, xvi. 7, 11; Gal. i. 22, iii. 28, etc. y Ver. 3, iv. 5, vi. 19, etc. z Rom. i. 17, iii. 21, 25; 2 Cor. v. 21. a Rom. vi. 19, 22; 1 Th. iv. 4, 7; 2 Th. ii. 13; 1 Tim. ii. 15. Only Heb. xii. 14; 1 Pet. i. 2 besides b Rom. iii. 24, viii. 23; Eph. i. 7, 14, iv. 30; Col. i. 14. Only Heb. ix. 15, xi. 35; Lk. xxi. 28 besides. c ii. 9; Rom. *passim*; 2 Cor. viii. 15, ix. 9; Acts vii. 1, 2, xv. 15; Mt. *ri*. 24; Mk. i. 2, ix. 13, xiv. 21; Lk. ii. 23.

<sup>1</sup> ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ: all uncc. exc. C\*, which is followed by minuscc., vg., both syrr., in reading αὐτου (to avoid repetition).

<sup>2</sup> σοφία ἡμῖν (in this order): pre-Syrian uncials.

istence; “ipsum verbum εἶναι eam vim habet ut significet in aliquo numero esse, rebus secundis florere” (Pflugk, on Eurip., *Hecuba*, 284, quoted by Mr.); it is τὰ ὄντα κατ' ἐξοχὴν: cf. the adv. ὄντως in 1 Tim. vi. 19.

Ver. 29. God's purposes in choosing the refuse of society are gathered up into the general and salutary design, revealed in Scripture (see parls.), “that so no flesh may glory in God's presence” (a condensed quotation) = πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ (x. 31). For ὅπως, which carries to larger issue the intentions stated in the previous clauses, cf. 2 Cor. viii. 14, 2 Thess. i. 12. Two Hebraisms, characteristic of the LXX, here: μὴ . . . πᾶσα (*khōl* . . . *lo'*), for μηδμία; and σὰρξ (*bāsār*), for humanity in its mortality or sinfulness. Cf., for this rule of Divine action, 2 Cor. xii. 9 f.; also Plato, *Ion*, 534 E, ἵνα μὴ διατάζωμεν ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρώπινα ἐστί τὰ καλὰ ταῦτα ποιήματα οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ θεῖα καὶ θεῶν . . . ὁ θεὸς ἐξεπλήδυνε διὰ τοῦ φανλοτάτου ποιητοῦ τὸ καλλίστον μέρος ᾗσεν.

Ver. 30. ἐξ αὐτοῦ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ: is ἐν Χ. Ἰησοῦ or ἐξ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Θεοῦ) the predicate to ἐστέ? Does P. mean, “It comes of Him (God) that you are in Christ Jesus”—i.e., “Your Christian status is due to God” (so Mr., Hn., Bt., Ed., Gd., El.)? or, “It is in Christ Jesus that you are of Him”—“Your new life derived from God is grounded in Christ” (Gr. Ff., Cv., Bz., Rückert, Hf., Lt.)? The latter interpretation suits the order of words and the trend of thought (see Lt.): “You, whom the world counts as

nothing (26 ff.: note the contrastive δέ), are of Him before whom all human glory vanishes (29); in Christ this Divine standing is yours”. Thus Paul exalts those whom he had abased. The conception of the Christian estate as “of God,” if Johannine, is Pauline too (cf. viii. 6, x. 12, xii. 6, 2 Cor. iv. 6, v. 18, etc.), and lies in Paul's fundamental appropriation, after Jesus, of God as πατὴρ ἡμῶν (i. 4, and *passim*), and in the correlative doctrine of the νιοθεσία; the whole passage (18-29) is dominated by the thought of the Divine initiative in salvation. This derivation from God is not further defined, as in Gal. iii. 26; enough to state the grand fact, and to ground it “in Christ Jesus” (see note, 4).

The relative clause, “who was made wisdom,” etc., unfolds the content of the life communicated “to us from God” in Christ. Of the four defining complements to ἐγενήθη ἡμῖν, σοφία stands by itself, with the other three attached by way of definition—“wisdom from God, viz., both righteousness, etc.”; Mr., Al., Gd., however, read the four as co-ordinate. On σοφία the whole debate, from ver. 17 onwards, hinges: we have seen how God turned the world's wisdom to folly (20-25); now He did this not for the pleasure of it, but for our salvation—to establish His own wisdom (24), and to bestow it upon us in Christ (“us” means Christians collectively—cf. 17—while “you” meant the despised Cor. Christians, 26). This wisdom (how diff. from the other! see 17, 19; Jas. iii. 15 ff.) comes as sent “from God” (ἀπὸ of ultimate source: ἐξ of direct derivation). It is a vitalising moral force—



a 1 Tim. ii. 2 only.  
In LXX, λόγου ἡ σοφίας, <sup>b</sup> καταγγέλλων ὑμῖν τὸ ὁ μαρτύριον <sup>1</sup> τοῦ Θεοῦ. 2. οὐ  
1 Ki. ii. 3;  
2 Macc.  
iii. 11, etc. b ix. 14, xi. 26; Rom. i. 8; Ph. i. 17 f.; Col. i. 28; often in Acta. c See i. 6;  
with τ. Θεοῦ only here.

<sup>1</sup> μαρτυριον: <sup>1</sup> N<sup>c</sup>BDGLP, vg. sah. syr<sup>p</sup>, Gr. Ff.; W.H. *mg.*, R.V. *mg.*, Tisch., Tr. μυστηριον: <sup>1</sup> N<sup>c</sup>\*AC, cop. syr<sup>sch</sup>, Lat. Ff.; W.H. *txt.*, R.V. *txt.* The former is the Western and Syrian reading, the latter Alexandrian; the Neutral txt. is doubtful. μυστ. has rather the look of an Alex. harmonistic correction, due to ver. 7 (*cf.* iv. 1, Col. ii. 2, Rev. x. 7). μαρτ. suits better καταγγέλλων: see note below.

δύναμις καὶ σοφία (24)—taking the shape of δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ ἀγασμός, and signally contrasted in its spiritual reality and regenerating energy with the σοφία λόγου and σοφία τ. κόσμου, after which the Cor. hankered. Righteousness and Sanctification are allied “by their theological affinity” (El.): *cf.* note on vi. 11, and Rom. vi. *passim*—hence the double copula τε . . . καὶ; καὶ ἀπολύτρωσις follows at a little distance (so Lt., Hn., Ed.; who adduce numerous cl. parls. to this use of the Gr. conjunctions): “who was made wisdom to us from God—*viz.*, both righteousness and sanctification, and redemption”.—δικαιοσύνη carries with it, implicitly, the Pauline doctrine of Justification by faith in the dying, risen Christ (see vi. 11, and other parls.; esp., for Paul’s teaching at Cor., 2 Cor. v. 21). With the *righteousness* of the believer justified in Christ *sanctification* (or *consecration*) is concomitant (see note on the kindred terms in 2); the connexion of chh. v. and vi. in Rom. expounds this τε . . . καὶ; all δικαιοσύνη ἐν Χριστῷ is εἰς ἀγασμόν. (Vbl. nouns in -μός denote primarily a process, then the resulting state.)—Ἀπολύτρωσις (based on the λύτρον of Matt. xx. 28, 1 Tim. ii. 6, with ἀπὸ *separation, release*), *deliverance by ransom*, is the widest term of the three—“primum Christi donum quod inchoatur in nobis, et ultimum quod perficitur” (Cv.); it looks backward to the cross (18), by whose blood we “were bought” for God (vi. 19), so furnishing the ground both of justification (Rom. iii. 24) and sanctification (Heb. x. 10), and forward to the resurrection and glorification of the saints, whereby Christ secures His full purchased rights in them (Rom. viii. 23; Eph. i. 14, iv. 30); thus Redemption covers the entire work of salvation, indicating the essential and just means of its accomplishment (see Cr. on λύτρον and derivatives).

Ver. 31. “In order that, as it stands

written, he who glories, *in the Lord* let him glory;” by “the Lord” the readers could only understand *Christ*, already five times thus titled; so, manifestly, in 2 Cor. x. 17 f., where the citation reappears. Paul quotes the passage as a general Scriptural principle, which eminently applies to the relations of Christians to Christ; ἐν Κυρίῳ belongs to his adaptation of the original: God will have no flesh (see note, 29) exult in his wisdom, strength, high birth (*cf.* the objects of false glorying in Jer.) before Him; He *will* have men exult in “the Lord of glory” (ii. 8; *cf.* Phil. ii. 9 ff.), whom He sent as His own “wisdom” and “power unto salvation” (24, 30). What grieves the Ap. most and appears most fatal in the party strifes of Cor., is the extolling of human names by the side of Christ’s and at his expense (see notes on 12-15; also iii. 5, 21-23, and 2 Cor. iv. 5, Gal. vi. 14). Christians are specifically οἱ καυχώμενοι ἐν Χ. <sup>1</sup>l., Phil. iii. 3. The irregularity of mood after ἵνα—καυχάσθω for subj. καυχᾶται—s accounted for in two ways: either as in *anacoluthon*, the impv. of the origina. being transplanted in lively quotation (*cf.* Rom. xv. 3, 21); or as an *ellipsis*, with γένηται or πληρωθῇ mentally supplied (*cf.* Rom. iv. 16, Gal. ii. 9, 2 Cor. viii. 13)—explanations not materially different. Clem. Rom. (§ 13) quotes the text with the same peculiarity.

§ 6. PAUL’S CORINTHIAN MISSION, ii. 1-5. Paul has justified his refusing to preach ἐν σοφίᾳ λόγου on two grounds: (1) the nature of the Gospel, (2) the constituency of the Church of Cor.; *it* was no philosophy, and *they* were no philosophers. This refusal he continues to make, in pursuance of *the course adopted from the outset*. So he returns to his starting-point, *viz.*, that “Christ sent” him “to bring good tidings,” such as neither required nor admitted of “wisdom of word” (i. 17).

Ver. 1. Κἀγὼ ἐλθὼν . . . ἦλθον:

γὰρ <sup>d</sup> ἔκρινα τοῦ <sup>1</sup> εἰδέναι <sup>1</sup> τι <sup>1</sup> ἐν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ ἰησοῦν <sup>f</sup> Χριστόν \* καὶ <sup>d</sup> τοῦτον <sup>f</sup> ἐσταυρωμένον \* 3. καὶ ἐγὼ <sup>1</sup> ἐν <sup>g</sup> ἀσθενείᾳ καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἐν <sup>h</sup> φόβῳ

Lk. vii. 43, xii. 57; Acts. iii. 13, etc. e vi. 6, 8; Rom. xiii. 11; Eph. ii. 8; Ph. i. 28; 3 Jo. 5. f See i. 23. g xv. 43; five times in 2 Cor.; Rom. viii. 26; Gal. iv. 13; 1 Tim. v. 23; see also i. 25, viii. 11. h 2 Cor. vii. 15; Eph. vi. 5; Ph. ii. 12; Gen. ix. 2; Exod. xv. 16; Ps. liv. 6, etc.

<sup>1</sup> τι εἰδέναι (om. του), BD\*CP 17, 37; εἰδέναι τι, BAG; του εἰδέναι τι, DbL and most others. The two other readings are successive grammatical emendations of the first; cf. Acts xxvii. 1, and the T.R. of vii. 37 below.

"And I at my coming . . . came": the repeated vb. draws attention to Paul's arrival,—to the circumstances and character of his original work at Cor. The emphasis of *καὶ γὰρ*—"And I"—may lie in the correspondence between the message and the messenger—both "foolish" and "weak" (i. 25; so Ed.); but the form of the sentence rather suggests allusion to the nearer i. 26—"As it was with you, brothers, to whom I conveyed God's call, so with myself who conveyed it; you were not wise nor mighty according to flesh, and I came to you as one without wisdom or strength". Message, hearers, preacher matched each other for folly and feebleness! "I came not in the way of excellence—*καθ' ὑπεροχήν*, *cum eminentia* (Bz.)—of word or wisdom,"—not with the bearing of a man distinguished for these accomplishments, and relying upon them for his success: this clause is best attached to the emphatic ἦλθον, which requires a descriptive adjunct (so Or., Cv., Bz., Hf.: cf. 3); others make it a qualification of *καταγγέλλων*. Paul's humble mien and plain address presented a striking contrast to the pretensions usual in itinerant professors of wisdom, such as he was taken for at Athens.—*ὑπεροχή*, from *ὑπερέχω* (Phil. ii. 3, iii. 8, iv. 7), *to overtop, outdo*. For *λόγου ἢ σοφίας*, see note on *σοφία λόγου* (i. 17).

The manner of Paul's preaching was determined by its *matter*; with such a commission he could not adopt the arts of a rhetorician nor the airs of a philosopher: "I came not like a man eminent in speech or wisdom, in proclaiming to you the testimony of God".—*τ. μαρτύριον τ. Θεοῦ* (subjective gen.: cf. note on i. 6) = *τ. εὐαγγέλιον τ. Θεοῦ* (Rom. i. 2, 1 Thess. ii. 2, 13, etc.; cf. 1 John v. 9 f.), with the connotation of solemnly attested truth (cf. 2 Cor. i. 18 f.); P. spoke as one through whom God was witnessing. *κηρύσσω* (i. 23), denoting official declaration, gives place to *καταγγέλλω*, signifying full and clear proclamation

(see parls.).—*καταγγέλλων*, pr. ptp., "in the course of preaching"; cf. 2 Cor. x. 14.

Ver. 2. οὐ γὰρ ἔκρινά τι (or ἔκρινα τι) εἰδέναι κ.τ.λ.: "For I did not determine (judge it fit) to know anything (or, know something) among you, except (or, only) Jesus Christ, and Him crucified". This explains Paul's unadorned and matter-of-fact delivery.—οὐ negatives ἔκρινα, not εἰδέναι (the rendering "I determined not to know" contravenes the order of words); nor is there any instance of οὐ coalescing with κρίνω as in οὐ φημι (*nego*) and the like—these interpretations miss the point: had P. chosen another subject, he might have aimed at a higher style; he avoided the latter, "for" he did not entertain the former notion. His failure at Athens may have emphasised, but did not originate the Apostle's resolution to know nothing but the cross: cf. Gal. iii. 1, 1 Thess. iv. 14, v. 9 f., Acts xiii. 38 f., relating to earlier preaching. For the use of ἔκρινα (*statui*, Bz.) as denoting a practical moral judgment or resolution, cf. vii. 37, 2 Cor. ii. 1. Ev. renders τι εἰδέναι (thus accented), "to be a know-something" (*aliquid scire*)—to play the philosopher—according to the well-known Attic idiom of Plato's *Apol.*, § 6, and *passim*, where οἶται τι εἰδέναι = *doceat se scire*; cf. viii. 2, and the emphatic εἶναι τις (τι); also iii. 7, Gal. ii. 6, vi. 3, Acts v. 36. This rendering accounts well for εἰδέναι, and gives additional point to the ὑπεροχή of ver. 1: P. brought with him to Cor. none of the prestige of the professional teachers, who claimed to "know something"; Christ and the cross—this was all he knew. For εἰ μὴ in the corrective sense "only," demanded by this interpretation, see vii. 17. —εἰδέναι is *to possess knowledge*, to be a master; γινώσκειν (i. 21), *to acquire knowledge*, to be a learner. On ἐσταυρωμένον (pf. ptp., of pregnant fact), cf. notes to i. 17, 23.

Vv. 1, 2 say how P. *did not come*, vv. 3-5 how he actually *did come*, to Cor.



i xv. 10; 2 Cor. iii. 7; Rom. xvi. 7; Ph. ii. 7; 1 Th. ii. 5; 1 Tim. ii. 14; Lk. xxii. 44; Acts xii. 11; Rev. i. 10, iv. 2. k See i. 21. 1 H.L.; cl. Gr. *πιθανός*.

<sup>1</sup> *πειθοι* . . . *λογων*, or . . . *λογου*, in several minusc., latt. am. (*persuasione sapientia verbi*), sah.: a translator's error due to the adj. being *h.l.* W.H. follow AD\*P, and analogy, in spelling *πιθοις* (see Gm.).

<sup>2</sup> *Om. ανθρωπινης* BBDG 17, latt. am. syr<sup>sch</sup>. Borrowed from ver 13.

Ver. 3. "In weakness": cf. i. 25, 27; also 2 Cor. x. 10, and xiii. 3 f. This condition was bodily—the Cor. had received an impression of Paul's physical feebleness; but the phrase expresses, more broadly, his conscious want of resources for the task before him (cf. 2 Cor. ii. 16, iii. 5). Hence he continues, "and in fear and in much trembling"—the inward emotion and its visible expression (see parls.). P. stood before the Cor. at first a timid, shaken man: on the causes see *Introd.*, ch. i.

For *γίνομαι ἐν* (*versari in*), to be in a state of, cf. parls.—*πρὸς ὑμᾶς* qualifies the whole foregoing sentence: "I was weak, timid, trembling before you (when I addressed you)": *ἐγενόμην* . . . *πρὸς ὑμᾶς* might be construed together, *ἐγενόμην* becoming a vb. of motion—"I came to (and was amongst) you in weakness," etc. (Ed., as in xvi. 10); this would, however, needlessly repeat ver. 1.

Ver. 4. "And my word and my message": *λόγος* recalls i. 18; *κῆρυγμα*, i. 21, 23 (see notes). The former includes all that Paul says in proclaiming the Gospel, the latter the specific announcement of God's will and call therein.

*οὐκ ἐκ πιθοῦς σοφίας λόγους*, "not in persuasive words of wisdom": the adj. *πιθός* (= *πιθανός*, see txl. note), from *πιθόμαι*, analogous to *φιδός* from *φείδωμαι*. "Words of wisdom," substantially = "wisdom of word" (i. 17); that expression accentuating the matter, this the manner of teaching—"exquisita eloquio, quæ artificio magis quam veritate nitatur et pugnet" (Cv.). For the unfavourable nuance of *πιθός*, see Col. ii. 4 (*πιθανολογία*), also Gal. i. 10, Matt. xxviii. 14. Eusebius excellently paraphrases (*Praep. Ev.*, i., 3), *τὰς μὲν ἀπατηλὰς κ. σοφιστικὰς πιθανολογίας παραιτούμενος*. "With a contemptuous touch of irony that reminds one of Socrates in the *Gorgias* and *Apology* [cf. *Ev.*, as previously cited, on *τὸ εἰδέναι*], he disclaims all skill in rhetoric, the spurious art of persuading without in-

structing, held nevertheless in high repute in Cor. But when the Ap. speaks of the demonstration of the Spirit, he soars into a region of which Socrates knew nothing. Socr. sets *σοφία* against *πειθῶ*; the Ap. regards both as being on well-nigh a common level, from the higher altitude of the Spirit" (Ed.); since the time of Socrates, however, Philosophy had sunk into a *πιθανολογία*.—*ἀποδείξαις*, "the technical term for a proof drawn from facts or documents, as opposed to theoretical reasoning; in common use with the Stoics in this sense" (Hn.); see Plato, *Theat.*, 162 E, and Arist., *Eth. Nic.*, i., 1; ii., 4, for the like antithesis (Ed.).

*ἀποδ. πνεύματος καὶ σοφίας* gathers up the force of the *δύναμιν Θεοῦ* of i. 24, and *ἐγένετο σοφία κ.τ.λ.* of i. 30 (see notes); the proof of the Gospel at Cor. was experimental and ethical, found in the new consciousness and changed lives that attended its proclamation: cf. vi. 11, ix. 1, 2 Cor. iii. 1 ff., 1 Thess. ii. 13 (*λόγους Θεοῦ, ὅς κ. ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τ. πιστεύουσιν*).—*πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως* are not objective gen. (*in ostendendo Spiritum*, etc.), but subjective: the Spirit, with His power, gives the demonstration (similarly in xii. 7, see note); cf. vv. 10, 12, 2 Cor. iii. 3-18, Rom. viii. 16, xv. 19, for Paul's thoughts on the *testimonium Spiritus sancti*; also John xv. 26, 1 John v. 6 f.—*Δύναμις*, specially associated with *Πνεῦμα* after Luke xxiv. 49 (see reff. for P.), is certainly the spiritual power that operates as implied in i. 30, vi. 11, but not to the exclusion of the supernatural physical "powers" which accompanied Apostolic preaching (see note on *ἐξεβαιώθη*, i. 6; also xii. 1, 7-11, and the combination of Rom. xv. 17 ff.): "latius accipio, nempe pro manu Dei potente omnibus modis per apostolum se exerente" (Cv.). The art. is wanting with *πνεύματος*, though personal, after the anathorous *ἀποδείξει*, according to "the law of correlation" (Wr., p. 175: contrast this with xii. 7, also the double

ἀλλ' ἐν ἡ ἀποδείξει ἡ Πνεύματος καὶ ὁ δυνάμει· 5. ἵνα ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν μὴ ᾖ ἐν σοφίᾳ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡ δυνάμει ἡ Θεοῦ.

6. Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς ἡ τελείοις· σοφίαν δὲ οὐ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἡ τούτου, οὐδὲ τῶν ἡ ἀρχόντων τοῦ ἡ αἰῶνος ἡ τούτου τῶν

often in P., πν. is anarthrous in like connexion. o In combination with πν., xii. 10; Rom. i. 4, xv. 13, 19; 1 Th. i. 5; 2 Tim. i. 7; Heb. ii. 4; Lk. i. 17, iv. 14, xxiv. 49; Acts i. 8, x. 38. p See i. 18. q xiii. 10, xiv. 20; Eph. iv. 13; Ph. iii. 15; Col. i. 28, iv. 12; Heb. v. 14; Jas. i. 4; Mt. v. 48, xix. 21. r See i. 20. s Jo. xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11, with κοσμου; in pl. ἡ.ἡ.; cf. Eph. ii. 2, vi. 12. oi ἀρχόντες, Rom. xiii. 3; Mt. xx. 25; Lk. xxiii. 13, 35, xxiv. 20; Acts iiii. 17, and six other places; Jo. vii. 26, 48, xii. 42.

art. of *τ* with the anarthrous phrase of i. 18). The prpl. clause affirms not the agency *by* which, but the sphere of action *in* which, Paul's word operated.

Supply to this verse ἐγένετο from the ἐγενόμην of ver. 3.

Ver. 5. The Apostle's purpose in discarding the orator's and the sophist's arts was this: "that your faith might not rest in wisdom of men, but in (the) power of God". The καὶ ἡλθον of ver. 1 dominates the paragraph; P. lives over again the experience of his early days in Cor.; this purpose then filled his breast: so Hf., Gd., with the older interpreters; most moderns read into the ἵνα the *Divine* purpose suggested by i. 27-31. Paul was God's mouthpiece in declaring the Gospel; he therefore sought the very end of God Himself, *viz.*, that God alone should be glorified in the faith of his hearers (i. 31; cf. i. 15). Had he persuaded the Cor. by clever reasonings and grounded Christianity upon their Greek philosophy, his work would have perished with the wisdom of the age (see 6, also i. 19, iii. 19 f.).

The disowned σοφία ἀνθρώπων is the σοφ. τ. κόσμου of i. 10 (see note) in its moral character, α σοφ. σαρκική (2 Cor. i. 12)—"wisdom of men" as opposed to that of God,—ἀνθρωπίνη, ver. 13. Yet not God's *wisdom*, but primarily His *power* (see notes on i. 18, 24, 30) supplied the ground on which P. planted his hearers' faith. All through, he opposes the practical to the speculative, the reality of God's work to the speciousness of men's talk. The last ἵνα clause of this long passage corresponds to the first, ἵνα μὴ κενωθῇ ὁ σταυρὸς τ. Χριστοῦ (i. 17). ἐν should be construed with ᾗ (consistat in, Bz.) rather than πίστις, pointing not to the object of faith but to its substratum: for this predicative ἐν—"should be (a faith) in," etc.—cf. iv. 20, Eph. v. 18, Acts iv. 12.

SUMMARY. Thus the Apostle's first ministry at Cor., in respect of his *bearing* (ver. 1), *theme* (2), *temper* (3), *method*

(4), *governing aim* (5), illustrated and accorded with the Gospel, as that is a message from God through which His power works to the confounding of human wisdom by the seeming impotence of a crucified Messiah (i. 17 b-31).

§ 7. THE GOSPEL CONSIDERED AS WISDOM, ii. 6-9. So far Paul has been maintaining that his message is a "folly," with which "wisdom of word" is out of keeping; yet all the while he makes it felt that it is wisdom in the truest sense—"God's wisdom," convicting in its turn the world of folly. If relatively the Gospel is not wisdom, absolutely it is so,—to persons qualified to understand it. This P. now proceeds to show (ii. 6-iii. 2: cf. *Introd.* to Div. II.). The message of the cross is wisdom to the right people (§ 7), qualified to comprehend it (§ 8).

Ver. 6. Σοφίαν δὲ λαλοῦμεν κ.τ.λ.: "(there is) a wisdom, however, (that) we speak amongst the full-grown". The anarthrous, predicative σοφίαν asserts that to be "wisdom" which in ironical deference to the world has been styled "folly" (i. 21 ff.). ἐν τοῖς τελείοις, *the mature, the initiates* (opp. to νήπιος, παῖδια, iii. 1, xiv. 20; see parls.) = πνευματικοί in contrast with the relatively σάρκινοι (iii. 1; cf. note on μυστήριον, ver. 7). "The curtain must be lifted with a caution measured by the spiritual intelligence of the spectators, ἐπόπται" (Ev.). This τελειότης the Cor. had by no means reached; hence they failed to see where the real wisdom of the Gospel lay, and estimated its ministers by worldly standards. ἐν signifies not *to*, nor *in relation to*, but *amongst* the qualified hearers—in such a circle P. freely expounded deeper truths. λαλέω (cf. 7, 13), *to utter, speak out*: P. uses the pl. not thinking of Sosthenes in particular (i. 1), but of his fellow-preachers generally, including Apollos (i. 23, and xv. 11, etc. iii. 6, iv. 6).

The "wisdom" uttered in such company is defined first *negatively*: "but a



See i. 28. ἡ καταργουμένων · 7. ἀλλὰ λαλοῦμεν σοφίαν<sup>1</sup> ἡ Θεοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὁ μυστηρίῳ,  
 u See i. 21. τὴν ἡ ἀποκεκρυμμένην, ἣν ἡ προώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς ἡ πρὸ τῶν ἡ αἰώνων  
 v iv. i; Eph. i. 9, iii. 4; Col. ii. 2;  
 iv. 3; Rev. x. 7; Mt. xiii. 35. w Eph. iii. 9; Col. i. 26; Lk. x. 21; cf. Rom. xvi. 25. x Rom.  
 viii. 29 f.; Eph. i. 5, 11; Acts iv. 28. y H. L.; cf. 2 Tim. i. 9; Tit. i. 2; also Eph. i. 4; 1 Pet.  
 i. 20; Jo. xvii. 24; see x. 11 below.

<sup>1</sup> Θεοῦ σοφίαν:  $\Sigma$ ABCDGP, 15 minuscc. σοφίαν Θ., L, etc.; a Syrian emendation; cf. ver. 6.

wisdom not of this age, nor of the rulers of this age, that are being brought to nought". For αἰών, see note to i. 20; it connotes the transitory nature of the world-powers (i. 19, 28; cf. vii. 31, 2 Cor. iv. 18; also 1 John ii. 17, 1 Peter i. 24 ff.). The ἄρχοντες τ. αἰῶνος τούτου were taken by Marcion, Or., and other ancients, to be the *angelic*, or *demonic* (Satanic), rulers of the nations—sc. the "princes" of Dan. x. xii., and Jewish angelology, the κοσμοκράτορες τ. σκότους τούτου of Eph. vi. 12 (cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4, Eph. ii. 2, John xii. 31, xiv. 30, xvi. 11—where ἄρχων is applied to *Satan*; also Gal. iii. 19, Acts vii. 53, touching the office of *angels* in the Lawgiving): so Sm., after F. C. Baur—"the angels who preside over the various departments of the world, the Law in particular, but possess no perfect insight into the counsels of God, and lose their dominion—from which they take their name of ἄρχαί (= ἄρχοντες)—with the end of the world (xv. 24)"; see also, at length, Everling, *Die Paulin. Angelologie u. Dämonologie*, pp. 11 ff. But these super-terrestrial potentates could not, without explanation, be charged with the crucifixion of Christ (8); on the other hand, i. 27 ff. shows P. to be thinking in this connexion of *human* powers. Unless otherwise defined, οἱ ἄρχοντες denotes "the rulers" of common speech, those, e.g., of Rom. xiii. 3, Luke xxiii. 35. On τῶν καταργουμένων, see note to i. 17 (κενῶν), 28, xv. 24, and other parls. The *Jewish* rulers, whose overthrow is certain and near (1 Thess. ii. 16, Rom. ix. 22, xi.), are aimed at, as being primarily answerable for the death of Jesus (cf. Acts xiii. 27 f.); but P. foresaw the supersession of all existing world-powers by the Messianic kingdom (xv. 24; cf. Rom. xi. 15, Acts xvii. 7); the pr. ptp., perhaps, implies a "gradual nullification of their potency brought about by the Gospel" (El.). P. cannot have meant by οἱ ἄρχοντες the *leaders of thought* (as Thd., Thp., Neander suppose, because of the association with σοφία); he held a broad, practical

conception of wisdom (sagacity) as shown in *power*; the secular rulers, wise in their own way but not in God's, must come to nought. Statcraft, equally with philosophy, failed when tested by the cross.

Ver. 7. "(We speak . . . a wisdom not of this world . . .) but (ἀλλά, of diametrical opposition) a wisdom of God, in (shape of) a mystery."—ἐν μυστηρίῳ qualifies λαλοῦμεν, rather than σοφίαν (as Hn., Ev., Lt. read it—"couched in mystery"), indicating how it is that the App. do not speak in terms of worldly wisdom, and express themselves fully to the τέλει alone: their message is a Divine secret, that the Spirit of God reveals (10 f.), while "the age" possesses only "the spirit of the world" (12). Hence to the age God's wisdom is uttered "in a mystery" and remains "the hidden (wisdom)"; cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4; also Matt. xiii. 13 ff. (ἐν παραβολαῖς . . . λαλῶ), Luke x. 21 f.: λαλῶ ἐν μυστηρίῳ = ἀποκρύπτω.—μυστήριον (cf. xv. 51) has "its usual meaning in St. Paul's Epp.,—something not comprehensible by unassisted human reason" (El.; for a full account see Ed., or Bt., on the term). The Hellenic "mysteries," which flourished at this time, were practised at night in an imposing dramatic form; and peculiar doctrines were taught in them, which the initiated were sworn to keep secret. This popular notion of "mystery," as a sacred knowledge disclosed to fit persons, on their subjecting themselves to prescribed conditions, is appropriated and adapted in Bibl. Gr. to Divine revelation. The world at large does not perceive God's wisdom in the cross, being wholly disqualified; the Cor. believers apprehend it but partially, since they have imperfectly received the revealing Spirit and are "babes in Christ" (iii. 1 ff.); to the App., and those like them (10 ff.), a full disclosure is made. When he "speaks wisdom among the ripe," P. is not setting forth esoteric doctrines diff. from those preached to beginners, but the same "word of the cross"—for he knows nothing greater or higher (Gal.

\* εἰς ἡμῶν. 8. ἣν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου <sup>z xv. 43; 2 Cor. iii. 18; iv. 17; 10 times in P. besides;</sup>  
 ἔγνωκεν, εἰ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν, οὐκ ἂν τὸν Κύριον τῆς δόξης ἔσταύρω-  
 cf. Heb. ii. 10; 1 Pet. v. 1, 4, 10; Jo. xvii. 22. a Jas. ii. 1; similarly, Acts vii. 2 (Ps. xxviii. 3, xxiii. 7, 9); Eph. i. 17; cf. Heb. ix. 5. b See i. 23; cf. Mt. xx. 19, xxvi. 2; Lk. xxiii. 33; Jo. xix. 18; Acts ii. 36, iv. 10.

vi. 14)—in its recondite meaning and larger implications,—as, e.g., in xv. 20-27 of this Ep. (where he relents from the implied threat of iii. 1 ff.), in Rom. v. 12-21, and xi. 25 ff., or Col. i. 15 ff., Eph. v. 22-32.—τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην expands the idea of ἐν μυστηρίῳ (see parls.): P. utters, beneath his plain Gospel tale, the deepest truths “in a guise of mystery” —“that (wisdom) hidden away (ἀπὸ τ. αἰώνων, Col. i. 26), which God predetermined before the ages unto (εἰς, aiming at) our glory”. That the Gospel is a veiled mystery to many accords with past history and with God’s established purpose respecting it; “est occulta antiquam expromitur: et quum expromitur, tamen occulta manet multis, imperfectis” (Bg.). The “wisdom of God” now revealed, was destined eternally “for us” —“the believers” (i. 21), “the called” (i. 24), “the elect” (i. 27 ff.), “those that received the Spirit of God” (10 ff.), as men who fulfil the ethical conditions of the case and whom “it has been God’s good pleasure to save” (i. 21); see the same thought in Eph. i. 4 ff. This δόξα is not the heavenly glory of the saints; the entire “ministry of the Spirit” is ἐν δόξῃ and carries its subjects on ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν (2 Cor. iii. 8-18); His ἀπαρχὴ effects a glorious transformation, by which the base things of the world put to shame its mighty (i. 27 ff.), and “our glory” overthrows “the rulers of this world” (6), “increasing as theirs wanes” (Lt.), cf. Rom. viii. 30. This present (moral) glory is an “earnest” of “that which shall be revealed” (Rom. viii. 18 f.). For προώρισεν, marked out beforehand, see parls., and notes to Rom. viii. 29 f.

Ver. 8. ἣν οὐδεὶς κ.τ.λ.: “which (wisdom) none of the rulers of this age has perceived”—all blind to the significance of the rise of Christianity.—ἔγνωκεν, a pf., approaching the pr. sense (novi) which οἷα had reached, but implying, as that does not, a process—has come to know, won the knowledge of.—οἱ ἄρχοντες κ.τ.λ., repeated with emphasis from ver. 6—sc. “the rulers of this (great) age,” of the world in its length of history and fulness of experience (see x. 11, and note; cf. Eph. i.

10, iii. 5, Rom. xvi. 25 f.). The leaders of the time showed themselves miserably ignorant of God’s plans and ways in dealing with the world they ruled; “for if they had known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory”. The Lord of glory is He in whom “our glory” (7) has its manifestation and guarantee—first in His earthly, then in His heavenly estate (cf. xv. 43, 49).—τῆς δόξης, gen. of characterising quality (cf. Eph. i. 17, Acts vii. 2). This glory of the Son of God the disciples saw (John i. 14); of it believers now partake (Rom. viii. 29 f.), and will partake in full hereafter (2 Cor. iii. 18, Phil. iii. 21, etc.), when it culminates in a universal dominion (xv. 23-29, Phil. ii. 9 ff., Heb. i.). Paul’s view of Christ always shone with “the glory of that light” in which he first saw Him on the road to Damascus (Acts xxii. 11). Caiaphas and the Sanhedrin, Pilate and the Roman court (cf. Acts xiii. 27 f., 1 Tim. vi. 13) saw nothing of the splendour clothing the Lord Jesus as He stood before them; so knowing, they could not have crucified Him. The expression κύριος τῆς δόξης is no syn. for Christ’s Godhead; it signifies the entire grandeur of the incarnate Lord, whom the world’s wise and great sentenced to the cross. Their ignorance was a partial excuse (see Luke xxiii. 34, Acts xiii. 27); but it was guilty, like that of Rom. i. 18 f. The crucifiers fairly represented worldly governments. Mark the paradox, resembling Peter’s in Acts iii. 15: “Cruis servorum supplicium—eo Dominum gloriae affecerunt” (Bg.). The levity of philosophers in rejecting the cross of Christ was only surpassed by the stupidity of politicians in inflicting it; in both acts the wise of the age proved themselves fools, and God thereby brought them to ruin (i. 28). For εἰ . . . ἂν, stating a hypothesis contrary to past fact (the *modus tollens* of logic), see Bn. § 248; and cf. xi. 31.

Ver. 9 confirms by the language of Scripture (καθὼς γέγραπται) what has just been said. The verse is open to three different constructions: (1) It seems best to treat the relatives, αἱ, ὅσα, as in apposition to the foregoing ἣν clauses of vv. 7, 8 (the *form* of the pro-



c See i. 31. **σαν**. 9. ἀλλὰ ° καθὼς ° γέγραπται, ° “Α ° ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε καὶ  
d Isa. lxi. 4. ° οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ ἐπὶ ° καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἠνέβη, α<sup>1</sup>  
(see note below). ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ° ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν”.  
e Rom. xi. 8 (Deut. xxix. 4); Mt. xiii.  
13, Acts xxviii. 27 (Is. vi. 10). f Hebraism: Acts vii. 23; Is. lxxv. 17; Jer. iii. 16. With *ev*, Lk.  
xxiv. 38. g viii. 3; Rom. viii. 28; Mt. xxii. 37 and Lk. x. 27 (Deut. vi. 5); 1 Jo. iv. 20 f., v. 2;  
Lk. xi. 42; Jo. v. 42. h iii. 13, xiv. 30; Rom. i. 17; Gal. i. 16, iii. 23; Eph. iii. 5; Mt. xi. 25, xiii.  
11. i Rom. v. 5, viii. 11; Eph. iii. 16; Ph. i. 19; 2 Tim. i. 14; Tit. iii. 5; Acts i. 2, xxi. 4.

<sup>1</sup> **σα**, ABC, Clem. Rom., Cyr., Hier. α, **NDGLP**, etc., with many Ff.; Western and Syrian. **σα** is easily corrupted into α, not *vice versa*; and the simple relative in parl. clauses would make against **σα** in copying.

<sup>2</sup> **γαρ**, B, 37 and seven minusc., sah. cop., Clem., Bas., Euthal.; W.H., Tr. *mg.* **δε**, **ACDGLP**, etc., latt. vg. syrr., Or., Ath., Did., etc.; Tisch., Tr. *txt.* **δε** is superficially easier; **γαρ** intrinsically better.

<sup>3</sup> **απεκαλυψεν** ο **Θ**.: all uncc. exc. L; all oldest verss. exc. sah.

<sup>4</sup> **Ομ. αὐτου** **Ν**\*ABC. Add **αυτου** **Ν**<sup>c</sup>DGL, etc.; Western and Syrian.

noun being dictated by the LXX original), and thus supplying a further obj. to the emphatically repeated λαλοῦμεν of vv. 6, 7: “but (we speak), as it is written, things which eye,” etc. (so Er., Mr., Hn., Al., Ed., El., Bt.). (2) Hf., Ev., after Lachmann, prefix the whole sentence to ἀπεκάλυψεν of ver. 10; but this subordination requires the doubtful reading **δέ** (for γάρ) in ver. 10, to which it improperly extends the ref. of the formula καθὼς γέγραπται, while it breaks the continuity between the quotation and the foregoing assertions (cf. i. 19, 31). (3) Bg., D.W., Gd., Lt., and others, see an anacoluthon here, and supply **ἐστίν**, *factum est*, or the like, as a peg for the ver. to hang upon, as in Rom. xv. 3—“But, as it is written, (there have come to pass) things which eye,” etc. This, however, seems needless after the prominent λαλοῦμεν, and weakens the concatenation of vv. 6-9. The ἀλλὰ follows on the οὐδεὶς of ver. 8, as ἀλλὰ in ver. 7 (see note) on the οὐ of ver. 6. The entire sentence may be thus arranged:—

λαλοῦμεν Θεοῦ σοφίαν . . . τ. ἀποκε-  
κρυμμένην,  
ἣν προώρισεν ὁ Θεὸς κ.τ.λ.,  
ἣν οὐδεὶς τ. ἀρχόντων . . .  
ἔγνωκν κ.τ.λ.  
ἀλλὰ . . . α ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν . . .  
ὅσα ἡτοίμασεν ὁ Θεὸς τ. ἀγα-  
πῶσιν αὐτόν.

The words cited do not appear, connect-  
edly, in the O.T. Of the four clauses,  
the 1st, 2nd, and 4th recall Isa. lxi. 4 f.  
(Heb., 3 f.)—after the Hebrew text; the  
3rd occurs in a similar strain in Isa. lxxv.  
17 (LXX, 16); see other parl. In

thought, as Hf. and Bt. point out, this  
passage corresponds to Isa. lxi. 4: in P.  
God does, as in Isaiah He is besought  
to do, things unlooked for by the world,  
to the confusion of its unbelief; in each  
case these things are done for fit per-  
sons—Isaiah’s “him that waiteth for  
Him,” etc., being translated into Paul’s  
“those that love Him”; ἐποίησεν is  
changed to ἡτοίμασεν, in conformity  
with προώρισεν (7). A further analogy  
appears between the “terrible things in  
righteousness” which the prophet fore-  
sees in the coming theophany, and the  
καταργεῖν that P. announces for “the  
rulers of this world”. Clement of Rome  
(*ad Cor.*, xxxiv. 8) cites the text briefly as  
a Christian saying, but reverts from Paul’s  
τ. ἀγαπῶσιν to the Isaianic τ. ὑπομένου-  
σιν αὐτόν, manifestly identifying the O.  
and N.T. sayings.

Or. wrote (on Matt. xxvii. 9), “In nullo  
regulari libro hoc positum invenitur, nisi  
in *Secretis Eliae prophetae*”—a lost Apo-  
cryphum; Jerome found the words both  
in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Apoca-  
lypse of Elias*, but denies Paul’s indebt-  
edness to these sources; and Lt. makes  
out (see note, *ad loc.*) that these books  
were later than Paul. Origen’s sugges-  
tion has been adopted by many expositors,  
but is really needless; this is only an  
extreme example of the Apostle’s freedom  
in adopting and combining O.T. sayings  
whose substance he desires to use. The  
Gnostics quoted the passage in favour of  
their method of esoteric teaching.

ὅσα, of the last clause, is a climax to  
α of the first—“so many things as God  
prepared for those that love Him”: cf.  
2 Cor. i. 20, Phil. iv. 8, for the pronomi-

τὸ γὰρ Πνεῦμα πάντα <sup>k</sup> ἐρευνᾷ,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰ <sup>l</sup> βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ. **ΙΙ.** τίς γὰρ <sup>k</sup> Rom. viii. 27; 1 Pet. i. 11; Jo. v. 39, vii. 52; Rev. ii. 23. οἶδεν ἀνθρώπων τὰ <sup>m</sup> τοῦ <sup>n</sup> ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὴ τὸ <sup>n</sup> πνεῦμα <sup>m</sup> τοῦ <sup>m</sup> ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ; οὕτω καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν<sup>2</sup> εἰ μὴ τὸ Πνεῦμα

Eph. iii. 18, in this connexion; Rev. ii. 24, only other inst. of plural. Cf. Judith viii. 14. <sup>l</sup> Rom. xi. 33; generic art. in sing., Mt. xv. 11 ff., and in the expression ο υἱος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. <sup>m</sup> n v. 3 f., xiv. 14; Rom. i. 9, viii. 16, xii. 11; somewhat frequently in P. of human spirit; also Acts xvii. 16, xix. 21; Lk. i. 47; Jo. xiii. 21.

<sup>1</sup> ἐραυνᾷ, **Σ**AB<sup>3</sup>C. So elsewhere in N.T.

<sup>2</sup> ἐγνώκειν, **Σ**ABCDP, Euthal., Bas. (G ἐγνώ). οἶδεν, L, etc., conforming to first clause of the verse.

nal idiom.—In ἡτοίμασεν κ.τ.λ. Paul is not thinking so much of the heavenly glory (see note on δόξα, 7), as of the magnificence of blessing, undreamed of in former ages, which comes already to believers in Christ (cf. i. 5-7).—τ. ἀγαπ. αὐτὸν affirms the moral precondition for this full blessedness (cf. John xiv. 23)—a further designation of the ἅγιοι, πιστεύοντες, κλητοί, ἐκλεκτοί of chap. i.

§ 8. THE REVEALING SPIRIT, ii. 10-iii. 2. The world's rulers committed the frightful crime of "crucifying the Lord of glory," because in fact they have only "the spirit of the world," whereas "the Spirit of God" informs His messengers (10-12), who communicate the things of His grace in language taught them by His Spirit and intelligible to the spiritual (13-16). For the like reason the Cor. are at fault in their Christian views, being as yet but half-spiritual men (iii. 1-3).

Ver. 10. The true reading, ἡμῖν γὰρ (cf. i. 26), links this ver. to the foregoing by way of illustration: "For to us (being of those that love Him) God revealed (them), through the Spirit": cf. i. 18, viii. 3, xiii. 2, 1 John iv. 7; also ἀπεκαλύφθη τ. ἀγίοις ἀποστόλοις κ.τ.λ., Eph. iii. 5, indicating the like ethical receptivity. ἀπεκάλυψεν echoes ἐν μυστηρίῳ and τ. ἀποκεκρυμμένην (7), signifying a supernatural disclosure (see notes on i. 7, xiv. 6); cf. esp. Rom. xvi. 25, κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν μυστηρίου, and Eph. i. 17 in connexion with vv. 6 f. above. The tense (aor.) points to the advent of Christianity, "the revelation given to Christians as an event that began a new epoch in the world's history" (Ed.).—The Spirit reveals,—"for the Spirit investigates everything (πάντα ἐραυνᾷ), even the depths of God": He discloses, for He first discovers—οὐκ ἀγνοίας, ἀλλ' ἀκριβοῦς γνώσεως τὸ ἐρευνᾶν δεικτικόν (Cm.). The phrase describes an Intelligence everywhere active, everywhere penetrating (cf. Ps. cxxix, 1-7). For

the complementary truth concerning the relation of Father and Spirit, see Rom. viii. 27. The Spirit is the organ of mutual understanding between man and God. P. conceives of Him as internal to the inspired man, working with and through, though immeasurably above his faculties (see iii. 16, Rom. viii. 16, 26, etc.). τὰ βάθη (pl. of noun βάθος), are those inscrutable regions, below all that "the eye sees" and that "comes up into the heart of a man" (9), where God's plans for mankind are developed: cf. Rom. xi. 33 ff., Eph. i. 9 ff., iii. 18, and by contrast Rev. ii. 24. These deep-laid counsels centre in Christ, and are shared by Him (Matt. xi. 27, John v. 20, xvii. 10, 25); so that it is one thing to have the Spirit who "sounds the deeps of God" and to "have the mind of Christ" (16). The like profound insight is claimed, in virtue of his possessing the Holy Spirit, by the writer of the *Wisdom of Solomon* (vii.), but in a ὑπεροχὴ λόγον καὶ σοφίας that goes to discredit the assumption; cf. also Sirach xlii. 18. The attributes there assigned to the half-personified "Wisdom," N.T. theology divides between Christ and the Spirit in their several offices towards man. The "Spirit" is apprehended in *Wisdom* under physical rather than, as by Paul, under psychological analogies.

Ver. 11. "For amongst men, who knows (οἶδεν) the things of the man, except the spirit of the man that is within him? So also the things of God none has perceived (ἐγνώκειν), except the Spirit of God." Far from being otiose, ἀνθρώπων is emphatic: P. argues from human to Divine personality; each heart of man has its secrets (τὰ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου); "nor even the dearest soul, and next our own, knows half the reasons why we smile or sigh"; there is a corresponding region of inner personal consciousness with God (τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ). As the man's own spirit lifts the veil and lights the



o Rom. viii. 15; Acts viii. 15 ff., ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ 2; Jo. xx. 22; cf. 2 Tim. i. 7. πίνης σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου, 1 πνευ- κοσμον, h.l.; cf. Eph. ii. 2. p Rev. xi. 11; απο in same connexion, vi. 19; παρα, Jo. xv. 26. q Passive, Ph. i. 29; Phm. 22; Acts iii. 14; cf. Rom. viii. 32; Gal. iii. 18; Ph. ii. 9; Acts xxvii. 24. r Jo. vi. 45 (Isa. liv. 13); cf. 1 Th. iv. 9. s iv. 3, x. 13; Rom. vi. 19; Jas. iii. 7; 1 Pet. ii. 13; Num. v. 6 t See ver. 4. u iii. 1, xiv. 37; Gal. vi. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Om. α γ ι ο υ all uncc. but DcLP. The insertion is a Syrian emendation.

recesses penetrable by no reasoning from without, so God's Spirit must communicate His thoughts,—or we shall never know them. This reserve belongs to the rights of self-hood. Paul's axiomatic saying assumes the personality of God, and man's affinity to God grounded therein. P. does not in this analogy limit the ἁγιον πνεῦμα by human conditions, nor reduce Him to a mere Divine self-consciousness (τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, 12, guards us against this); the argument is a *minor ad majus* (as in Gal. iii. 15, Rom. v. 7, Luke xi. 13), and valid for the point in question. The Ap. ascribes to a man a natural πνεῦμα (cf. v. 5, 1 Thess. v. 23), which manifests itself in νοῦς and συνείδησις (Rom. ii. 15, vii. 25, etc.; see Cr. on these terms), akin to and receptive of the πνεῦμα θεοῦ; but not till quickened by the latter is the πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου regnant in him, so that the man can be called πνευματικός (see note on 15).—On οἶδεν, as diff. from ἔγνωκεν, see note to ver. 8: “while οἶδα is simple and absolute, γινώσκω is relative, involving more or less the idea of a process of examination” (Lt.): “no one has got to know τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ”—has by searching (10) found Him out (Job xi. 7, xxiii. 9, etc.; John xvii. 25)—only His own Spirit knows, and therefore reveals Him.

Ver. 12. ἡμεῖς δέ, “But we”: cf. the emphatic ἡμῖν of ver. 10 (see note) and the ἡμεῖς δέ of i. 23, standing in contrast with the σοφοὶ and δυνατοὶ of the world. The κόσμος whose “spirit” the App. “did not receive,” is that whose “wisdom God has reduced to folly” (i. 20 f.), whose “rulers crucified the Lord” (8), its spirit is broadly conceived as the power animating the world in its antipathy to God (cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4, Eph. ii. 2, John xii. 31, etc., 1 John iv. 1-6). Others (Est., Cv., Bz., Hn., Sm.) read the phrase in a more abstract—perhaps too modern—sense, “sapientia mundana et sæcularis,” or “the world-consciousness” (Hf.), or “l'esprit

de l'humanité . . . ce que les Païens appellent *la muse* et qui se concentre dans les génies” (Gd.).—“(Not the spirit of the world we received), but the Spirit which is from (issues from: ἐκ, *antitheton* ἐν, Bg.) God” (compare ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ, 2 Cor. ii. 17); the phrase recalls the teaching of Jesus in John xiv. 26, xv. 26; see also Rom. v. 5, Gal. iv. 6. “The spirit of the world” breathes in men who are a part of the world; “the Spirit that is from God” visits us from another sphere, bringing knowledge of things removed from natural apprehension (see Isa. lv. 9). ἐλάβομεν implies actual, objective receiving (*taking*), as in iii. 8, xi. 23, etc.—ἵνα εἰδῶμεν κ.τ.λ. (see note on οἶδα, 11; and cf. the emphatic οἶδα of 2 Cor. v. 1, 2 Tim. i. 12)—a bold word here—“that we may know (*certo scire*, Cv.) the things that by God were bestowed in His grace upon us”. τὰ χαρισθέντα, aor. ptp., points to the historic gifts of God to men in Christ, which would have been idle boons without the Spirit enabling us to “know” them: cf. Eph. i. 17 ff., ἵνα δωῇ . . . πνεῦμα . . . εἰς τ. εἰδέναι. χαρίζομαι (*to deal in χάρις*: see note on χάρισμα, i. 7), *to grant by way of grace, in unmerited favour* (cf. esp. Rom. viii. 32, Gal. iii. 18).

Ver. 13. ἀ καὶ λαλοῦμεν—the vb. of 6, 7 (see note): there opposed to μυστήριον, here to εἰδῶμεν (cf. John iii. 11)—“which things indeed we speak out”; knowing these great things of God, we *tell* them (cf. John xviii. 20; also 2 Cor. iv. 2 ff., Luke xii. 2 f., Acts xxvi. 16). P. has no esoteric doctrines, to be whispered to a select circle; if the τέλειοι and πνευματικοὶ alone comprehend his Gospel, that is not due to reserve on his part. “The καὶ λαλοῦμεν makes it clear that P. does not mean (in 6 and iii. 1 f.) to distinguish two sorts of Gospel; his preaching has always the entire truth for its content, but expressed suitably to the growth of his hearers” (Hn.).

ματικῶς<sup>1</sup> πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες. 14. ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος<sup>ix. 11, x. 3 f., xiv. 1 ff., Rom. i. 11, vii. 14, xv. 27; Eph. i. 3, v. 19, vi. 12; Col. i. 9, iii. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 5. w 2 Cor. x. 12; see note below. x xv. 44, 46; Jas. iii. 15; Jude 19; four times in Lk. and Acts in this sense. y Thrice in 2 Cor., and in 1 and 2 Th. z See i. 18.</sup> οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ Θεοῦ· μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστίν,

<sup>1</sup> πνευματικῶς: B, 17; so W.H. mg. A good binary group.

The *mode of utterance* agrees with the character of the revealing Spirit: οὐκ ἐν διδακτοῖς ἀνθρωπίνης σοφίας λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν διδακτοῖς κ.τ.λ. ("which things we speak out), not in human-wisdom-taught words, but in (words) Spirit-taught"—*verba rem sequuntur* (Wetstein). The opposed gens. depend on διδακτοῖς, denoting *agent* with vbl. adj.—a construction somewhat rare, but cl. (so in John vi. 45, Isa. liv. 13; diff. in 1 Macc. iv. 7, διδακτοὶ πολέμου); they are anarthrous, signifying opposite *kinds* of wisdom.—διδακτὸς in earlier Gr. meant *what can or ought to be taught*; later, *what is taught* (cf. γνωστός, Rom. i. 19). Paul affirms that his *words* in matters of revelation, as well as thoughts, were taught him by the Spirit; he claims, in some sense, verbal inspiration. In an honest mind thought and language are one, and whatever determines the former must mould the latter. Cor. critics complained both of the imperfection of Paul's dialect (2 Cor. x. 10: see 1 above) and of the poverty of his ideas; here is his rejoinder. We arrive thus at the explanation of the obscure clause, πνευματικοῖς πνευματικὰ συγκρίνοντες,—*combining spiritual things with spiritual*, wedding kindred speech to thought (for the ptp. qualifies λαλοῦμεν): so Er., Cv., Bz., D.W., Mr., Hn., Lt., El., Bt.; "with spiritual phrase matching spiritual truth" (Ev.). Ver. 13 asserts the correspondence of Apostolic *utterance and thought*; in ver. 14 P. passes to the correspondence of *men and things*. Other meanings are found for συγκρίνω, and πνευματικοῖς may be masc. as well as neut.; thus the following variant renderings are deduced: (1) *comparing sp. things with sp.* (Vg., E.V., Ed.)—forming them into a correlated system; (2) *interpreting, or proving, sp. things by sp.*—sc. O.T. types by N.T. fulfilments (Cm. and Ff.); (3) *adapting, or appropriating, sp. things to sp. men* (Est., Olshausen, Gd.), with some strain upon the vb.; (4) *interpreting sp. things to sp. men* (Bg., Rückert, Hf., Stanley, Al., Sm.). The last explanation is plausible, in view of the sequel; but it

misses the real point of ver. 13, and is not clearly supported by the usage of συγκρίνω, which "means properly to *combine*, as διακρίνω to separate" (Lt.).

Ver. 14. With the App. all is *spiritual*—words and thoughts; for this very reason men of the world reject their teaching: "But a natural man does not accept the things of the Spirit of God" (cf. Rom. viii. 5; John xv. 18-21, 1 John iv. 5).—Of the vbs. for *receiving*, λαμβάνω (12) regards the object, δέχομαι the manner and spirit of the act—to *welcome* (see parls.); there is *no receptivity*—"non vult admittere" (Bg.). Ψυχικός, in all N.T. instances, has a disparaging sense, being opposed to πνευματικός (as ψυχή is not to πνεῦμα), and almost syn. with σάρκινος or σαρκικός (iii. 1 f.). The term is in effect *privative*—δ μόνην τ. ἐμφυτον καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην σύνεσιν ἔχων (Cm.), "quemlibet hominem solis naturæ facultatibus præditum" (Cv.).—positive evil being implied by consequence. Adam's body was ψυχικός, as not yet charged, like that of Christ, with the Divine πνεῦμα (xv. 44-49. syn. with χοϊκός, and contrasted with ἐπουράνιος). "The word was coined by Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.*, III., x., 2) to distinguish the pleasures of the soul, such as ambition and desire for knowledge, from those of the body (ἡδοναὶ σωματικαί)." "Similarly Polybius and Plutarch (*de Plac. Phil.*, i., 9: ψυχικαὶ χαραὶ, σωματικαὶ ἡδοναί). "Contrasted with the ἀκατής, the ψυχικός is the noblest of men. But to the πνευματικός he is related as the natural to the supernatural" (Ed.: see Cr., s. v.). This epithet, therefore, describes to the Cor. the unregenerate nature *at its best*, the man commended in philosophy, actuated by the higher thoughts and aims of the natural life—not the sensual man (the *animalis* of the Vg.), who is ruled by bodily impulse. Yet the ψυχικός, μὴ ἔχων πνεῦμα (Jude 19), may be lower than the σαρκικός, where the latter, as in iii. 3 and Gal. v. 17, 25, is already touched but not fully assimilated by the life-giving Πνεῦμα.—μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ., rendered by Krenkel (*Beiträge*, pp. 379 ff.), "For



a Rev. xi. 8. καὶ οὐ δύναται γινῶναι, ὅτι ἁ πνευματικῶς ἁ ἀνακρίνεται. 15.<sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ  
 b iv. 3 f., ix.  
 3, x. 25, 27, ἁ πνευματικὸς ἁ ἀνακρίνει μὲν ἁ πάντα, ἁ αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἁ ἀνα-  
 xiv. 24;  
 Lk. xxiii. κρίνεται. 16. ὁ τίς γὰρ ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου, ὃς ἁ συμβιβάσει αὐτόν;  
 14, and  
 five times  
 in Acts. c Is. xi. 13; Rom. xi. 34; cf. Wisd. ix. 13. d Eph. iv. 16; Col. ii. 2, 19; Acts ix. 22,  
 xvi. 10, xix. 33.

<sup>1</sup> Ver. 15 omd in Ν\* and harl.\*, by *homoteleuton*, ἀνακρίνεται being repeated in vv. 14 and 15 (cf. txtl. note on i. 27).

<sup>2</sup> Om. μὲν ACDG; Ν\*BLP, etc., insert it. The foregoing δε would condemn it with stylists.

<sup>3</sup> τα πάντα: ACD\*P, 17; W.H. mg. (bracketed). πάντα, Ν\*BGL, etc. The chief copies that omit μὲν, substitute for it τα before πάντα.

folly belongs (cleaves) to him, and he cannot perceive that he is spiritually searched" (cf. xiv. 24 ff., ἀνακρίνεται)—an ingenious and grammatically possible translation, but not consistent with the emphatic ref. of μωρία in ch. i. to the world's judgment on the Gospel, nor with the fact that "the things of God" (σοφία Θεοῦ, πνευματικά) are the all-commanding topic of this paragraph. We adhere therefore to the common rendering: "For to him they are folly; and he cannot perceive (them), for (it is) spiritually (that) they are tried"—and he is unspiritual. For γινῶναι, see note on ἔγνωκεν (8).—ἁ ἀνακρίνω must be distinguished from κρίνω, to judge, deliver a verdict; and from διακρίνω, to discern, distinguish diff. things; it signifies to examine, inquire into, being syn. on the one side with ἐραυνάω of ver. 10, and on the other with δοκιμάζω of 1 Thess. v. 21 (see parls.; also Lt. *ad loc.*, and in his *Fresh Revision*, pp. 69 ff.): "ἀνάκρισις was an Athenian law-term for a preliminary investigation—corresponding *mutatis mutandis* to the part taken in English law-proceedings by the Grand Jury" (cf. Acts xxv. 26). The Gospel appears on its trial before the ψυχικοί; like the Athenian philosophers, they give it a first hearing, but they have no organon to test it by. The inquiry is stultified, *ab initio*, by the incompetence of the jury. The unspiritual are out of court as religious critics; they are deaf men judging music.

Ver. 15. "But the spiritual man tries (tests) everything"—a maxim resembling, perhaps designedly, the Stoic dicta concerning "the wise man". Paul sees "in the Πνεῦμα, the Divine power creatively working in the man and imparted to him, the κριτήριον for the right estimate of persons and things, Divine and human. The Stoa on its part was intently con-

cerned 'to know the standard according to which man is judged by man' (Arrian-Epictetus, II., xiii., 16) . . . it found this criterion in the moral use of Reason. . . . The Christian believer and the Stoic philosopher both practise an ἀνακρίνειν; both are conscious of standing superior to all judgment from without; but the ground of this superiority, and the inferences drawn from it, are equally opposed in the two cases. The Stoic's judgment on the world leads him, under given conditions, to suicide ('The door stands open,' Epict.): the Christian's judgment on the world leads to the realisation of the victory of the children of God" (Hn.).—πάντα (not every one, but neut. pl.) is quite general—everything; cf., for the scope of this faculty, vi. 2 f., x. 15, 1 Thess. v. 21, 1 John ii. 20 f., iv. 1, Rev. ii. 2. Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.*, III., iv.) says of ὁ σπουδαῖος (the man of character), ἕκαστα κρίνει ὀρθῶς, καὶ ἐν ἐκάστοις τῶν αὐτῶ φαίνεται . . . ὥσπερ κανὼν καὶ μέτρον αὐτῶν ὢν; Plato, *De Rep.*, iii., 409 D (quoted by Ed.), ascribes the same universally critical power to ἡ ἀρετή. Paul's πνευματικὸς judges in virtue of a Divine, all-searching Presence within him; Aristotle's σπουδαῖος, in virtue of his personal qualities and attainments. Paul admirably displays in this Ep. the powers of the πνευματικὸς as ὁ ἀνακρίνων πάντα. There are, of course, limits to the exercise of the ἀνακρίνειν, in the position and opportunities of the individual.

αὐτὸς δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνακρίνεται, "while he himself is put on trial by none,"—since none other possesses the probe of truth furnished by the Πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ; the πνευματικὸς stands on a height from which he overlooks the world, and is overlooked only by God. The statement is ideal, holding good of "the spiritual man" as, and so far as, he

ἡμεῖς δὲ νοῦν Χριστοῦ<sup>1</sup> ἔχομεν. III. 1. Καὶ<sup>2</sup> ἐγώ,<sup>2</sup> ἀδελφοί, οὐκ<sup>3</sup> σαρκι-  
 νους, <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> 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b xlii. 11, xiv. 20. ῥηπίους ἐν Χριστῷ. 2. \*γάλα ὑμῶς ἑπότισα, καὶ ὁδὸν βρῶμα. (νηπιᾶζω); οὕτω γὰρ ἡδύνασθε.<sup>2</sup>  
 Rom. ii. 20; Gal. iv. 1, 3; Eph. iv. 14; 1 Th. ii. 7; Heb. v. 13; Mt. xi. 25, xxi. 16; Lk. x. 21; Ps. xviii. 8. c ix. 7; Heb. v. 12 f.; 1 Pet. ii. 2. d xii. 13. Rom. xii. 20; Rev. xiv. 8; Mt. x. 42. e In sing. viii. 8, 13, x. 3; Rom. xiv. 15, 20; Jo. iv. 34. f (ἀλλ' οὐδε), iv. 3; 2 Cor. vii. 12; Gal. ii. 3; Acts xix. 2; Lk. xxiii. 15. g In this sense, 2 Cor. i. 12, x. 4; 1 Pet. ii. 11. h In the like sense, Col. iii. 11; Heb. ix. 16, x. 18; Ja. iii. 16; 2 Pet. ii. 11. i Rom. xiii. 13; 2 Cor. xii. 20; Gal. v. 20; Sir. xl. 5. ζῆλος alone, in this use, Acts v. 17, xiii. 45; Ja. iii. 14, 16. εἰς, see i. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Om. καὶ ἡ ABGP, 17, vg. syr. cop. Ins. καὶ DGL, etc.: Western interpolation

<sup>2</sup> εδύνασθε: all uncc. but DL. Yet all but C have ἡδυνήθην in ver. 1.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδε: all uncc. but L. <sup>4</sup> B om. εἰ, bracketed by Lachm. and W.H.

<sup>5</sup> D\*G read σαρκῖνοι (twice), in conformity with ver. 1; G reads, perversely σαρκικοῖς there: instances of Western license.

<sup>6</sup> Om. καὶ διχοστασίαι all uncc. but DGL. Harmonistic importation from Gal. v. 20.

is one of standpoint, not of degree: in the σάρκινος the original "flesh" remains (a sort of *excuse*, as in Rom. vii. 14); the σαρκικός manifests its disposition. Both words may, or may not (ix. 11, 2 Cor. iii. 3), connote *the sinful*, according to the σὰρξ in question.

The apposed ὡς νηπίους ἐν Χριστῷ softens, almost tenderly, the censure: the Cor. are "in Christ"; they possess, in a measure, His Spirit; but they are "babes in Christ," not fairly grown out of "the flesh" (*cf.* Gal. v. 13-18); the new nature in them is still confronted with the old. The νήπιοι are the opp. of the τέλει (ii. 6; see other parls.). "I could not" suggests that Paul had attempted to carry his Cor. converts further, but had failed.

Ver. 2. "(Since you were babes), I gave you milk to drink, not meat:" a common figure for the simpler and more solid forms of instruction contrasted (see parls.). The teaching of 1 Thess. (see ii. 7 f.) is γάλα as compared with the βρῶμα of Rom. or Coloss.; so the Synoptics, in comparison with the Fourth Gospel. The zeugma ἐπότισα . . . βρῶμα is natural in Paul's conversational style; see ix. 7, *per contra*.—οὕτω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε: "for not yet (while I was with you) were you equal to it." This absolute use of δύναιμι (= δυνατός εἰμι) is cl., but *h.l.* for the N.T.; the tense impf., of continued state.

§ 9. GOD'S RIGHTS IN THE CHURCH, iii. 3-9. One idea runs through this chapter and into the next,—that of God's Church, God's temple at Corinth, in whose construction so many various builders

are engaged (5-17). For this building's sake, and because it is His, God beats down the pride of human craft, making all things, persons, times, serve His people, while they serve Christ, as Christ serves God (18-23). To God His servants are responsible; it is His to judge and commend them (iv. 1-5). Thus the thought that the Gospel is "God's power, God's wisdom," pursued since i. 18, is brought to bear upon the situation in Corinth. God who sends the message of the cross, admitting in its communication no mixture of human wisdom (ch. i.), chose and inspired His own instruments for its impartation (ch. ii.). What presumption in the Cor. parties to appropriate the diff. Christian leaders, and inscribe their names upon rival banners!

Ver. 3. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐτι νῦν δύνασθε: "Nay, but not even yet (after this further interval), at the present time, are you strong enough (*immo ne nunc quidem adhuc potestis*, Bz.), for you are yet carnal". For ἐτι, *cf.* xv. 17, Gal. i. 10, v. 11; for σαρκικοί, see note on σάρκῖνοι (1). The Cor. are weak (otherwise than in x. 28) just where they think themselves strong (viii. 1), *viz.*, in spiritual apprehension; their gifts of "word and knowledge" are a source of weakness, through the conceit and strife they engender. The ἀλλ' οὐδὲ clause, with its strong disjunctives, is better joined to ver. 3 (Al., W.H., Sm.) than to ver. 2. The foregoing οὕτω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε sufficiently explained the οὐκ ἡδυνήθην of Paul's previous ministry (1); οὐδὲ ἐτι νῦν δύνασθε describes the *present condition of the Cor.* (3 f.). It is *reluctantly* and with misgiving that the

κοί<sup>1</sup> ἔστε καὶ <sup>k1</sup> κατὰ <sup>1</sup> ἄνθρωπον <sup>k</sup> περιπατεῖτε; 4. ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ <sup>k2</sup> 2 Cor. x. 2  
 "τις, "Ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι <sup>1</sup> Παῦλον," <sup>m</sup> ἕτερος δέ, "Ἐγὼ <sup>n</sup> Ἀπολλῶ," <sup>f.; Rom.</sup>  
 οὐχί<sup>2</sup> <sup>4</sup> σαρκικοί<sup>3</sup> ἔστε; 5. τίς<sup>4</sup> οὖν ἐστὶ Παῦλος,<sup>5</sup> τίς<sup>4</sup> δὲ<sup>6</sup> <sup>4, xiv. 15;</sup>  
 Ἀπολλῶς,<sup>5</sup> ἀλλ' <sup>7</sup> ᾧ<sup>7</sup> <sup>2</sup> διδάκονοι δι' <sup>ων</sup> <sup>a</sup> ἐπιστεύσατε, καὶ ἐκάστῳ<sup>1</sup> <sup>Eph. ii. 2;</sup>  
<sup>2</sup> Jo. 6.  
<sup>1</sup> ix. 8, xv.  
<sup>32</sup>; Gal. i.  
<sup>11</sup>, iii. 15;

Rom. iii. 5, vii. 22. m Lk. ix. 57, 59, 61; xi. 15 f. n See i. 12. o *ἄνθρωποι*, ver. 21, i. 25, etc.; frequent in P. in such disparaging use, Heb. vii. 28; Acts xiv. 11; Jo. iii. 19; Mt. x. 17, xv. 9 (Isa. xxix. 13); Gen. vi. 5 f.; Isa. ii. 22, etc. p In this sense, 2 Cor. iii. 6, vi. 4, xi. 15, 23; Eph. iii. 7; Col. i. 7, 23, 25; 1 Tim. iv. 6. q See i. 21; also, in absolute use, 2 Cor. iv. 13; Acts viii. 13, xiii. 12, 48, xiv. 1, 7<sup>7</sup>; xvii. 12, 34, xviii. 8.

<sup>1</sup> D\*G read *σαρκίνοι* (twice), in conformity with ver. 1; G reads, perversely, *σαρκίοις* there: instances of Western license.

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ (before *ἀνθρ.*), *Σ*\*ABC, 17. ουχι, DLP; Western and Syrian: parl. to ver. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *ἄνθρωποι*: all uncc. but *Σ*<sup>c</sup>LP (Syrian) with *syr<sup>utr</sup>*, which carry over *σαρκίνοι* from ver. 3.

<sup>4</sup> τι (twice), *Σ*\*AB, 17, latt. vg. æth., Lat. Ff. *τις*, CDGLP, *syr<sup>utr</sup>*, cop., Chr., etc.; seemingly a Western emendation, but not followed by Lat. cdd.

<sup>5</sup> Ἀπολλῶς . . . Παῦλος, in this order, all uncc. but DbL, which are followed by the bulk of minusc. and *syr<sup>utr</sup>*, reversing the order to guard P.'s dignity.

<sup>6</sup> τι δε ἐστιν: *Σ*ABCP, 17. Western and Syrian txts. om. *ἐστιν*.

<sup>7</sup> All uncc., but DbcLP, om. ἀλλ' η, —a Syrian insertion.

Apostle later in the Ep. enters into deep doctrine (*βρῶμα*, cf. note on ii. 6).—*ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.*, "for where (not *when*, nor *whereas*—Vg. *cum*, Mr. *quandoquidem*) amongst you there is jealousy and strife": this seems to *limit* the censure (cf. xv. 12, 34); the use of party-names was universal (i. 12), but not due in all cases to *ζήλος καὶ ἔρις*. Otherwise the *ὅπου* clause must be read as a general principle applied to the Cor. = *ὅπου γὰρ ζήλος καὶ ἔρις, ὡς ἐν ὑμῖν*—a construction inconsistent with the position of *ἐν ὑμῖν*. So far as these evils exist, the readers are *σαρκικοί*, not *πνευματικοί*. For *ἔρις*, see note to i. 11; *ζήλος* is the *emulation*, then *envy*, which is a chief cause of *ἔρις*. These are companion "works of the flesh" in Gal. v. 20: for the *honourable* sense of *ζήλος*, prevailing in cl. Gr., see 2 Cor. vii. 7, etc.; also Trench, *Syn.*, § xxvi.; *zealous* and *jealous* reproduce the diff.

Paul seems to hear the Cor. denying the allegation made in 3a, *Ἔτι σαρκικοί ἔστε*, and so puts it to them again as a question prefaced by the reason (and limitation), *ὅπου ἐν ὑμῖν ζήλος, κ.τ.λ.*, and with the further challenge, *οὐχί . . . καὶ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε*; To "walk according to man" (*non secundum Deum, humano more*, Bg.) is to behave as men are apt to do—the *σάρκινος*, the *ψυχικός*. This Pauline phrase (confined to the epp. of this group) has *κατὰ Θεὸν* for its tacit anti-

thesis (cf. 4b); Mr.-Hn. quote the parl. *καθ' υἱοὺς τ. ἀνθρώπων εἶναι*, Sir. xxxvi. 28 (Vg. 25; E.V. 23); also Soph., *Ajax*, 747, 764, *κατ' ἀνθρώπων φρονεῖν*.

Ver. 4 is parl. to ver. 3. The protasis, *ὅταν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*, restates in *concreto* the charge made in *ὅπου γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*; while the interr. apodosis, *οὐκ ἄνθρωποι ἔστε*; gathers into a word the reproach of the foregoing *οὐχί σαρκικοί ἔστε κ.τ.λ.*: *where* and *when* the Cor. act in the manner stated, they justify P. in treating them as "carnal". To say "Are you not *men*?" is at once to accuse and to excuse: see parls.; also *'adām* (*mere man*) as distinguished from *'ish* (Isa. ii. 9, etc.); cf. Xenoph., *Anab.*, vi., 1. 26, *Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἤδομαι μὲν ὑπὸ ὑμῶν τιμώμενος, εἴπερ ἄνθρωπός εἰμι*; *Cyrop.*, vii., 2. 4; and the familiar saying, *Humanum est errare*.—*ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ τις*: "For whenever any one says" (pr. sbj. of recurring contingency); every such utterance shows you to be *men*. On *Ἐγὼ . . . Παύλου*, see note to i. 12. The Ap. refers to the Pauline and Apollonian parties only: (1) Because they suffice, by way of example, to make good his point; (2) the main cause of strife, *viz.*, the craving for *λόγος σοφίας*, lay between these two parties; (3) P. avoided bringing Cephas' name into controversy, while he deals freely with that of his friend and disciple, Apollos, now with him (xvi. 12).

Ver. 5. The Cor. Christians were



r Mt. xv. 13, ὡς ὁ Κύριος ἔδωκεν; 6. ἐγὼ ἔφύτευσα, Ἀπολλῶς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλ' ὁ Θεὸς ἠΰξανε· 7. ὥστε οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων ἐστὶ τι οὔτε ὁ ποτίζων, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐξάνων Θεός. 8. ὁ φυτεύων δὲ καὶ ὁ ποτίζων ἐν εἰσιν· ἕκαστος δὲ τὸν ἴδιον μισθὸν λήψεται κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον κόπον.

figura-  
tively as  
here. See  
ix. 7.  
Transi-  
tively, 2  
Cor. ix.  
10 only;  
see also 2 Cor. x. 15; Eph. ii. 21; Col. i. 10, ii. 19; Acts vi. 7, xii. 24, xix. 20. t Neut., in this  
collective sense, xii. 12; Eph. ii. 14; Jo. x. 30, xvii. 11, 21 ff. u vii. 7, xv. 23, 38; Gal. vi. 5, 9;  
Rom. viii. 32, x. 3; Lk. vi. 44; Jo. i. 11, v. 18, viii. 44, xiii. 1. v ix. 17 f.; Rom. iv. 41; 1 Tim.  
v. 18; 2 Jo. 8; Mt. v. 12, 46, vi. 1 ff.; x. 41 f., xx. 8; Mk. ix. 41; Jo. iv. 36. w xv. 58, and eight  
times in P.; Jo. iv. 38; Rev. ii. 2, xiv. 13.

quarrelling over the claims of their teachers, as though the Church were the creature of men: "What therefore (I am compelled to ask) is Apollos? what, on the other side (δὲ), is Paul?" —τί is more emphatic than τίς; it breathes *disdain*; "as though Apollos or Paul were anything!" (Lt.). *Abollos* precedes, in continuation of ver. 4. For both, the question is answered in one word—*διάκονοι*, "non auctores fidei vestrae, sed ministri duntaxat" (Er.); cf. 2 Cor. i. 24, iv. 5.: ὁ Κύριος in the next clause is its antithesis. Paul calls himself *διάκονος* in view of specific service rendered (2 Cor. iii. 6, vi. 4, etc.), but *δούλος* in his personal relation to Christ (Gal. i. 10, etc.). "Through whose ministration you believed:" *per quos, non in quos* (Bg.: cf. i. 15). To "believe" is the decisive act which makes a Christian (see i. 21); for the relation of saving faith to the Apostolic testimony, cf. xv. 1-11; 2 Cor. i. 18-22, etc. Some Cor. had been converted through Apollos.

The above-named are servants, each with his specific gift: καὶ ἕκαστῳ ὡς ὁ Κύρ. κ.τ.λ., "and in each case, (servants in such sort) as the Lord bestowed (on him)".—*ἕκαστῳ* is emphatically projected before the ὡς; cf. vii. 17, Rom. xii. 3. The various disposition of Divine gifts in and for the Church is the topic of ch. xii. "The Lord" is surely Christ, as regularly in Paul's dialect, "through whom are all things" (viii. 6, xii. 5; Eph. iv. 7-12, etc.)—the sovereign Dispenser in the House of God; from "Jesus our Lord" (ix. 1) P. received his own commission; the Apostolic preachers are alike "ministers of Christ" (iv. 1): so Thp., Rückert, Bt., Gd. However, Cm., and most modern exegetes, see *God* in ὁ Κύριος on account of vv. 6-9; but the relation of this ver. to the sequel is just that of the δι' αὐτοῦ to the ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα of viii. 6; cf. note on ἐξ αὐτοῦ, i. 30; and for the general principle, Matt. xxv. 14 ff.

Vv. 6, 7. The grammatical obj. of

this sentence has been given by the foregoing context, viz., the Cor. Church of believers (cf. iv. 15).—Φυτεύω Paul uses besides only in ix. 7; his regular metaphor in this connexion is that of ver. 10. "Planting" and "watering" happily picture the relative services of P. and Ap. Ποτίζω, to give drink, to irrigate, may have for obj. men (2, xii. 13, etc.), animals (Luke xiii. 15), or plants. In ver. 2, Paul was the ποτίζων γάλα. The vb. takes a double acc., of person and thing (Wr., p. 284).—The ἀλλὰ of the last clause goes beyond a mere contrast (δὲ) between God and men in their several parts, excluding the latter from the essential part: "but God—He only, and no other—made it to grow". The planting and watering of Christ's servants were occasions for the exercise of God's vitalising energy. While the former vbs. are aor., gathering up the work of the two ministers into single successive acts, ἠΰξανε is impf. of continued activity: "God was (all the while) making it to grow." Several of the Ff.—Aug. e.g.—saw in ποτίζειν the baptism, in φυτεύειν the instruction of catechumens,—"illustrating a general fault of patristic exegesis, the endeavour to attach a technical sense to words in the N.T. which had not yet acquired this meaning" (Lt.).—ὥστε, itaque (and so, so then), with ind. (cf. vii. 38, xi. 27, xiv. 22), points out a result immediately flowing from what has been said: "the planter" and "the waterer," in comparison with "the Lord" who dispensed their powers and "God" who makes their plants to grow, are reduced to nothing; "God who gives the growth" (qui dat vim crescendi, Bz.) alone remains. To the subject, ὁ αὐξάνων Θεός, the predicate τὰ πάντα ἐστίν is tacitly supplied from the negative clauses foregoing.—For ἐστίν τι (anything of moment), cf. Gal. ii. 6, vi. 3, Acts v. 36, and note on τι εἶδέναι, ii. 2. The pr. ptp. with ὁ becomes, virtually, a (timeless) substantive—the planter, waterer, Increaser (Wr., p. 444).

9. \* Θεοῦ γὰρ ἔσμεν \* συνεργοί· Θεοῦ ὁ γεώργιον, Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή\*  
 ἔσται Th. iii. 2; 2 Cor. vi. 1; συνεργος more generally; nine times in P.; 3 Jo. 8.

10. Κατὰ τὴν ἁγρίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν ἁδοθεϊσάν μοι, ὡς ὁ σοφὸς  
 ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων ὁ θεμέλιον ὁ τέθεικα,<sup>1</sup> ἄλλος δὲ ὁ οἰκοδομεῖ· ἕκαστος  
y H.J. in N.T.; Prov. xxiv. 5, xxx. i. 16; γεωργος, Jo. xv. 1; -γεν, Heb. vi. 7. z In this sense (concrete), Eph. ii. 21; also Mt. xxiv. 1. a See I. 4. b In such connexion, here only in N.T.; cf. Exod. xxxv. 10. c H.J. in N.T.; cf. Isa. iii. 3; Sir. xxxviii. 27; 2 Macc. ii. 29. d Lk. vi. 48, xiv. 29. For θεμ., see also Rom. xv. 20; Eph. ii. 20; 1 Tim. vi. 19; 2 Tim. ii. 19; Heb. vi. 1. e Eph. ii. 20; Col. ii. 7; Jude 20; cf. Rom. xv. 20.

<sup>1</sup> εθηκαα, N\*ABC\*, 17: Neutral and Alexandrian.

Ver. 8. In comparison with God, Ap. and P. are simply nothing (7): in relation to each other they are not rivals, as their Cor. favourers would make them (4): "But the planter and the waterer are one" (ἐν, one thing)—with one interest and aim, viz., the growth of the Church; cf. xii. 12, 20; also John x. 30. Their functions are complementary, not competitive: a further answer to the question, τί οὖν ἐστὶν Ἀπολλῶς κ.τ.λ.; The servants of God are nothing before Him, "one thing" before His Church: vanity and variance are alike impossible.

While one in aim, they are distinct in responsibility and reward: "But each will get his own (proper) wage, according to his own toil".—ἴδιος, appropriate, specific (cf. vii. 7, xv. 23, 28): "congruens iteratio, antitheton ad unum" (Bg.).—ἔργον (13-15) denotes the work achieved, κόπος the exertion put forth (see parls., and κοπιᾶω, xv. 10, etc.): τί γὰρ εἰ ἔργον οὐκ ἐτέλεσεν;—ἐκοπίασεν δὲ (Thp.). The contrast ἐν εἰσιν . . . ἕκαστος δέ, between collective and individual relationships, is characteristic of Paul: cf. xii. 5-11, 27, xv. 10 f., Gal. vi. 2-5, Rom. xiv. 7-10. He forbids the man either to assert himself against the community or to merge himself in it. The fixed ratio between present labour in Christ's service and final reward is set forth, diff. but consistently, in the two parables of the Talents and Pounds, Matt. xxv. 14-30, Luke xix. 11-28.

Ver. 9. Θεοῦ . . . συνεργοί sums up in two words, and grounds upon a broad principle (γὰρ), what vv. 6 ff. have set out in detail: "we are God's fellow-workmen"—employed upon His field, His building; and "we are God's fellow-workmen"—labouring jointly at the same task. The συν- of συνεργοί takes up the ἐν εἰσιν of ver. 8; the context (cf. xii. 6) forbids our referring it to the dependent gen. (cf. also 2 Cor. i. 24, vi. 1, Phil. iii. 17, 3 John 8), as though P. meant "fellow-

workers with God": "the work (Arbeit) of the διάκονος would be improperly conceived as a Mit-arbeit in relation to God; moreover the metaphors which follow exclude the thought of such a fellow-working" (Hn.); also Bg., "operarii Dei, et co-operarii invicem".

As in regard to the labourers, so with the objects of their toil, God is all and in all: Θεοῦ γεώργιον, Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή ἔσται, "God's tilth (arvum, land for tillage, Ed.), God's building you are". For God as γεωργῶν, cf. John xv. 1; as οἰκοδομῶν, Heb. iii. 4, xi. 10. "Of the two images, γεώργ. implies the organic growth of the Church, οἰκοδ. the mutual adaptation of its parts" (Lt.); the one looks backward to vv. 6 ff., the other forward to vv. 10 ff.—Οἰκοδομή displaces οἰκοδόμημα in later Gr.—Θεοῦ, anathrous by correlation (see note on ἀποδ. Πν., ii. 4): the three gens. are alike gens. of possession—"God's workmen, employed on God's field-tillage and God's house-building". Realising God's all-comprehending rights in His Church, the too human Cor. (3 f.) will come to think justly of His ministers.

§ 10. THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE HUMAN BUILDERS, iii. 10-17. After the long digression on Wisdom (i. 17-iii. 2), occasioned by the Hellenic misconception of the Gospel underlying the Cor. divisions, the Ap. returned in vv. 3 ff. to the divisions themselves, dealing particularly with the rent between Apollonians and Paulinists. His first business was to reduce the Church leaders to their subordinate place, as fellow-servants of the one Divine cause (§ 9). They are temple-workmen—not himself and Apollos alone, but all who are labouring on the foundation which he has laid down—and must therefore take heed to the quality of their individual work, which will undergo a searching and fiery test.

Ver. 10. Κατὰ τὴν ἁγρίαν κ.τ.λ.: while "the grace of God" has been



f Lk. v. 15; δὲ ὁ βλέπῃ πῶς ὁ ἐποικοδομεῖ. 11. ὁ θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς  
 Lk. viii. 18. For δύναται ὁ θεῖναι ὁ παρὰ τὸν ἡ κείμενον, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ 1 Χριστός.<sup>1</sup>  
 βλεπῃ (Impv.), 12. εἰ δὲ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ ἐπὶ τὸν ὁ θεμέλιον τοῦτον<sup>2</sup> ὁ 1<sup>k</sup> χρυσόν,<sup>3</sup>  
 viii. 9, x. 12, xvi. 10, and frequently. g παρὰ = η, Lk. iii. 13; Heb. i. 4, xi. 4. See note below. h Mt. v. 14;  
 Rev. iv. 2, xxi. 16. i Acts iii. 6, xx. 33; 1 Pet. i. 18. For χρυσόν, 1 Tim. ii. 9; Heb. ix. 4; 1 Pet.  
 i. 7; Rev. xxi. 18, 21. k Rev. xviii. 4, xviii. 12, 16. For λιθ. τιμ., Rev. xxi. 11, 19.

<sup>1</sup> Ἰησ. Χρ., NABLP, above fifty minn., syr<sup>ch</sup>. sah. cop. Χρ. Ἰησ., C<sup>3</sup>D, some minn., latt. vg. syr<sup>p</sup>. (Western). Χρ., C\*. Ἰησ. ο. Χρ. (T.R.), a few minn.

<sup>2</sup> Om. τοῦτον N\*ABC\*—a Western and Syrian addition, as in N<sup>c</sup>C<sup>3</sup>DLP.

<sup>3</sup> χρυσιον, αργυριον: NB (C in latter inst., defective in former), 73, Clem., Or., Bas. B, æth. ins. και; so W.H. mg.

given to all Christians, constituting them such (see i. 4), to the Ap. a special and singular "grace was given," "according to" which he "laid a foundation," whereon the Church at Cor. rests: see the like contrast in Eph. iii. 2-9, iv. 7-16; and for Paul's specific gift as founder, xv. 10, 2 Cor. iii. 5 ff., Rom. i. 1-5, xv. 15 ff. The office of the founder is his own, and incommunicable: "you have not many fathers" (iv. 15).

σοφός is a correct attributive to ἀρχιτέκτων: see σοφία (τ. ἀρχόντων), ii. 6, and note; so in the LXX, Exod. xxxv. 31, Isa. iii. 3, it characterizes the craftsman's skill; in Arist., *Eth. Nic.*, σοφία is the ἀρετὴ τέχνης—indeed this was its primitive sense (see Ed.). The Church architect (*Christ*, in the first instance, Matt. xvi. 18) is endowed with the σοφία τοῦ Θεοῦ, the νοῦς Χριστοῦ (ii. 6-16; cf. 2 Cor. iii. 4-6, Rom. xv. 16-20). The Gr. ἀρχιτέκτων was not a designer of plans on paper; he was like the old cathedral builders, the *master-mason*, developing his ideas in the material. "As a wise master-builder, I laid a foundation (θεμέλιον ἔθηκα), but another builds thereupon" (ἄλλος δὲ ἐποικοδομεῖ): P. knew that by God's grace his part was done wisely; let his successors see to theirs. Not "*the* foundation"—that will be defined immediately (11b): P. contrasts himself as *foundation-layer* with later workmen; hence the vbs. are respectively *past* and *pr.* The θεμέλιον, laid out once for all by the ἀρχιτέκτων, determines the site and ground-plan of the edifice (cf. Eph. ii. 20).—With the distributive ἄλλος cf. ἕκαστος (11): if Apollos, by himself, were intended, ἐποικοδομεῖ would have to be read as impf. (for ἐπωκ., was building: cf. aor., 14), since *he* is not now at Cor. Many Christian teachers are busy there (iv. 15). For this indef. ἄλλος, cf. xii. 8 ff., xv. 39; and for ἐγὼ . . . ἄλλος

δέ, Luke ix. 19, John iv. 37, xiv. 16, xxi. 18. For the compound vb., see parls.; ἐπ- points to the *basis*, which gives the standard and measure to all subsequent work.—Hence the warning, ἕκαστος δὲ βλέπῃ πῶς κ.τ.λ.: "But let each man see (to it) *how* he is building thereupon!" Working upon the foundation, he must follow the lines laid down; he must use fit material. Not "*how he is to build*" (as in vii. 32, aor. sbj.), but "*how he is a-building*" (pr. ind.)—the work is going on. For the moods of the Indirect Question, see Wr., pp. 373 ff., Bn., §§ 347-356.

Ver. 11 is a parenthetical comment on θεμέλιον: As to the foundation, that is settled; the workman has to *build upon it*, not to shift it, nor add to it.—θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ κ.τ.λ.: "For another *foundation* none can lay, beside (*other than*. παρὰ, possibly suggesting also in *competition with*; or *contrary to*) that which is laid down, which is JESUS CHRIST;" other builders there are beside the architect, but no other *ground* for them to build upon.—κεῖμαι serves as pf. pass. to τίθημι (Phil. i. 16, etc.), connoting *fixity of situation* (*positum est*), and so of *destination*, as in Luke ii. 34. The work of the Apostolic founders is done, once and for ever; so long as the Church lasts, men will build on what they laid down.—θεμέλιον, here *masc.* (read as adj., sc. λίθον), as in 2 Tim. ii. 19, Heb. xi. 10, Rev. xxi. 14, 19, and sometimes in LXX; *neut.* in Acts xvi. 26, as in the κοινὴ, and commonly in LXX.—ὅς ἐστιν—continuative, rather than definitive (as in 5): "There is but one foundation, and it is Jesus Christ"; cf. ii. 2, xv. 1-11, etc.—Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (not Χ. ἰ., nor ὁ Χ.), the actual historical person, not any doctrine or argument about Him—"Jesus" revealed and known as "Christ"; see Acts ii. 22, 36, xvii. 3, etc., for the formation of the

ἄργυρον,<sup>1</sup> λίθους<sup>2</sup> τιμίους<sup>3</sup>—<sup>1</sup>ξύλα, <sup>2</sup>χόρτον, <sup>3</sup>καλάμην—13. ἐκάσ-<sup>1</sup> N.T., h.l.;  
του τὸ ἔργον<sup>4</sup> φανερόν<sup>5</sup> γενήσεται· ἡ γὰρ<sup>6</sup> ἡμέρα<sup>7</sup> δηλώσει, ὅτι ἐν<sup>8</sup> Else-  
<sup>9</sup>πυρὶ<sup>10</sup> ἀποκαλύπτεται· καὶ ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον<sup>11</sup> ὅποιόν ἐστι τὸ<sup>12</sup> "grass,"  
Mt. vi. 30,  
etc.  
n N.T., h.l.; Exod. v. 12, xv. 7; Isa. v. 24. o xi. 19, xiv. 25; Ph. i. 13; Mk. vi. 14; Lk. viii. 17; Acts  
vii. 13. p See i. 8. q See i. 11. r In like connexion, 2 Th. i. 8; Heb. x. 27, xii. 29; 1 Pet.  
i. 7; 2 Pet. iii. 7; Jude 7; frequent in Rev. and Mt.; Mk. ix. 43, 48 f.; Jo. xv. 6. s See ii. 10.  
t Gal. ii. 6; 1 Th. i. 9; Acts xxvi. 29; Ja. i. 24.

<sup>1</sup> χρυσιον, αργυριον: NB (C in latter inst., defective in form 73, Clem.  
Or., Bas. B, aeth. ins. και; so W.H. mg.

name; and for this, with Paul the rarer, order, cf. ii. 2, Rom. v. 15, xvi. 25, etc.,—also Heb. xiii. 8; in each instance *Jesus Christ* connotes the recognised facts as to His life, death, etc. (cf. note on i. 2).

Ver. 12. After the interjected caution to let the foundation alone, P. turns to the superstructure, to which the work of his coadjutors belongs; δὲ indicates this transition.—ἐλ δὲ τις ἐποικοδομεῖ, ἐλ with ind. (as in 14 f. etc.),—a supposition in matter of fact, while εἰ with subj. (as in iv. 15) denotes a likely contingency. The doubled prp. ἐπὶ (with acc.)—an idiom characterising later Gr., which loves emphasis—implies growth by way of accession: "if any one is building-on,—onto the foundation"; contrast ἐν with dat. in Eph. ii. 20. The material superimposed by the present Cor. builders is of two opposite kinds, rich and durable or paltry and perishing: "gold, silver, costly stones—wood, hay, straw,"—thrown together—"in lively ἀσύνδετον" (Mr.). The latter might serve for poor frail huts, but not for the temple of God (17).—λίθοι τίμιοι, the marbles, etc., used in rearing noble houses; but possibly Isa. liv. 11 f. (cf. Rev. xxi. 18-21) is in the writer's mind. The figure has been interpreted as relating (a) to the diff. sorts of persons brought into the Church (Pelagius, Bg., Hf.), since the Cor. believers constitute the Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή (9), the ναὸς Θεοῦ (16)—"my work are you in the Lord" (ix. i.; cf. Eph. ii. 20 ff., 2 Tim. ii. 19 ff., 1 Peter ii. 4 f.; also the striking parl. in Mal. iii. i ff., iv. 1); (b) to the moral fruits resulting from the labours of various teachers, the character of Church members, this being the specific object of the final judgment (2 Cor. v. 10, Rom. ii. 5-11; cf. 1 Cor. xiii. 13) and that which measures the work of their ministers (1 Thess. ii. 19 ff., etc.)—so Or., Cm., Aug., lately Osiander and Gd.; (c) to the doctrines of the diff. teachers, since for this they are primarily answerable and here lay the point of

present divergence (cf. viii. 10 f., Rom. xiv. 15; 2 Cor. xi. 1 ff., 13 ff., Gal. i. 7, etc.)—so Clem. Al., and most moderns. The three views are not really discrepant: teaching shapes character, works express faith; unsound preaching attracts the bad hearer and makes him worse, sound preaching wins and improves the good (see i. 18, 24; 2 Tim. iv. 3; John iii. 18 ff., x. 26 f.). "The materials of this house may denote doctrines moulding persons," or "even persons moulded by doctrines" (Ev.),—"the doctrine exhibited in a concrete form" (Lt.).

Ver. 13. "The work of each (ἐκάστου resuming the ἕκαστος of 10) will become manifest;" while the Wheat and Tares are in early growth (Matt. xiii. 24 ff.), they are indistinguishable; one man's work is mixed up with another's—"for the Day will disclose (it)".—"Ἡ ἡμέρα can only mean *Christ's Judgment Day*: see parls., esp. i. 8, iv. 3 ff., and notes; also Rom. ii. 16, Acts xvii. 31, Matt. xxv. 19. "The day" suggests (cf. 1 Thess. v. 2 ff., Rom. xiii. 11 ff.) the hope of daylight upon dark problems of human responsibility. But this searching is figured as the scrutiny of fire, which at once detects and destroys useless matter: ὅτι ἐν πυρὶ ἀποκαλύπτεται, "because it (the Day) is revealed in fire". For ἀποκαλύπτεται (pr., implying certainty, perhaps nearness), see notes on i. 7, ii. 10—a supernatural, unprecedented "day," dawning not like our mild familiar sunrise, but "in" splendour of judgment "fire": cf. 2 Thess. i. 8. This image comes from the O.T. pictures of a Theophany: Dan. vii. 9 f., Mal. iv. 1, Isa. xxx. 27, lxiv. 1 ff., etc.—καὶ ἐκάστου τὸ ἔργον ὅποιόν ἐστι κ.τ.λ.: "and each man's work, of what kind it is,—the fire will prove it". The pleonastic αὐτὸ is due to a slight anacoluthon: the sentence begins as though it were to end, "the fire will show"; φανερώσει is, however, replaced by the stronger δοκιμάσει suitable to πῦρ, and this



<sup>1</sup> xl. 28; <sup>2</sup> τ πῦρ <sup>1</sup> δοκιμάσει. 14. εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον ἔμενει <sup>2</sup> δ ὁ ἐπικδομήσει,<sup>3</sup> Cor. viii. 8, xiii. 5; <sup>4</sup> μισθὸν λήψεται. 15. εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται, ἡ ζημιωθήσεται, αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτω δὲ ὥς διὰ πυρός. 16. οὐκ ἐσθλὸν οἴδατε ὅτι ἡ βαδὺς Θεοῦ ἐστε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ οἴκει <sup>4</sup> ἐν <sup>4</sup> xiii. 13; <sup>2</sup> Cor. iii. 11, ix. 9; Rom. ix. 11; Heb. x. 34, xii. 27, xiii. 1, 14; Jo. iii. 36, vi. 27, ix. 41. w Ver. 8 x Mt. iii. 12, xiii. 30, 40; 2 Pet. iii. 10; Jo. xv. 6. y Mt. xvi. 26 and parls., for this sense; cf. 2 Cor. vii. 9; Ph. iii. 8. z iv. 1, ix. 26; Eph. v. 28, 33; Ph. iii. 17; 1 Th. ii. 4; Jas. ii. 12; Lk. xxiv. 24. a Ten times in this Ep.—v. 6, etc.; Rom. vi. 16; Jas. iv. 4. b vi. 19; 2 Cor. vi. 16; cf. Eph. ii. 21 f.; also 2 Th. ii. 4; Rev. iii. 12, xi. 1; Jo. ii. 19; Mt. xxvi. 61. c Rom. vii. 18, 20, viii. 9, 11; 1 Tim. vi. 16.

<sup>1</sup> το πῦρ αὐτο δοκιμῇ: ABCP, 17, 37, 73, other minn., syrch. Om. αὐτο  
 NDL, etc., latt. vg. sah. cop.: Western.

<sup>2</sup> μενεῖ: latt. (manscrit), Aug., Ambrst., sah. cop. So Lachm., Tisch., Al., El., W.H., and nearly all modern edd.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπικοδομήσεν: all uncc. but B<sup>3</sup>C. See Wr., p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν ὑμῖν οἴκει (?) BP, 17 (a good group); preferred by W.H. in *txt.*

altered vb. requires with it αὐτό, to recall the object τὸ ἔργον. Mr. and El. attach the pronoun to το πῦρ, "the fire itself," but with pointless emphasis. Others avoid the pleonasm by construing ἐκαστοῦ τὸ ἔργον at the beginning as a *nominativus pendens* ("as to each man's work"), resembling that of John xv. 2; but the qualification that follows, ὁποῖόν ἐστιν, makes this unlikely: cf. Gal. ii. 6, for the interpolated interr. clause.—δοκιμάζω is to assay (see LXX parls.),—suggested by the "gold, silver" above: "*probat, non purgabit*. Hic locus ignem *purgatorium* non modo non fovet, sed plane extinguit" (Bg.).—Ἐκαστος, thrice repeated in vv. 10-13, with solemn individualising emphasis.

Vv. 14, 15. The opp. issues of the fiery assay are stated under parl. hypotheses: εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον . . . μενεῖ . . . εἴ τινος τὸ ἔργον κατακαήσεται, "If any one's work shall abide . . . shall be burned up". The double ind. with εἰ balances the contrasted suppositions, without signifying likelihood either way: for the opposed vbs., cf. xiii. 8, 13; μενεῖ recalls ὑπομενεῖ of Mal. iii. 2.—δ ἐπικοδομήσεν (wanting augment: usage varies in this vb.; Wr., p. 83) reminds us that the work examined was built on the one foundation (1o ff.).—μισθὸν λήψεται and ζημιωθήσεται are the corresponding apodoses,—μισθὸν being carried over to the second of the parl. clauses (Mr., Gd., Lt., Ed.): "He will get a reward . . . will be mulcted (of t.)."—ζημιώω retains in pass. its acc. of thing, as a vb. taking double acc.; derived from ζημία (opp. of κέρδος: cf. Phil. iii. 7), it signifies to *fine*, inflict forfeit (in pass., suffer forfeit) of what one pos-

sessed, or might have possessed. "αὐτὸς δέ—opposed to μισθός: his reward shall be lost, but his *person* saved" (Lt.); αὐτὸς is nearly syn. with the ψυχὴ of Matt. xvi. 25 f., etc. The man built on the foundation, though his work proves culpably defective: σωθήσεται promises him the σωτηρία of Christ's heavenly kingdom (see i. 18, and other parls.). Such a minister saves himself, but not his hearers: the opp. result to that of ix. 27, etc. αὐτὸς δὲ σωθήσεται, οὕτως δὲ ὥς διὰ πυρός (δὲ correcting δέ, as in ii. 6)—"yet so (saved) as through fire,"—like Lot fleeing from Sodom; his salvation is reduced to a minimum: "He rushes out through the flame, leaving behind the ruin of his work . . . for which, proved to be worthless, he receives no pay" (Bt.), getting through "scorched and with the marks of the flame" upon him (Lt.); "s'il est sauvé, ce ne peut être qu'en échappant à travers les flammes, et grâce à la solidité du fondement" (Gd.); to change the figure, "ut naufragus mercator, amissa merce et lucro, servatus per undas" (Bg.). For the prp., in local sense, see Gm., and Wr., p. 473; διὰ πυρός, proverbial for a hairbreadth escape (see Lt. *ad loc.*; Eurip., *Andr.*, 487; *Elec.*, 1182, and LXX parls.). The διὰ has been read *instrumentally*, "by means of fire,"—sc. the fire of purgatory (see Lt.); an idea foreign to this scene. Cm., by a dreadful inversion of the meaning, reads the διὰ as ἐν πυρὶ—"will be preserved in fire!" (σώζω nowhere has this sense of τηρέω): εἰπὼν Σωθήσεται, οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ τὴν ἐπίτασιν τῆς τιμωρίας ἡνίκατο. For other interpretations, see Mr.

Vv. 16, 17. However poor his work,

ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup>; 17. εἴ τις τὸν <sup>b</sup> ναὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ <sup>d</sup> φθείρει, <sup>d</sup> φθερεῖ τοῦτον<sup>2</sup> ὁ <sup>d</sup> xv. 33; 2 Cor. vii. 2, xi. 3; Eph. iv. 22; 2 Pet. ii. 12; Jude 10. e 2 Cor. viii.

Θεός· ὁ γὰρ <sup>b</sup> ναὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἅγιός ἐστιν, <sup>e</sup> οὔτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς.

18. Μηδεὶς ἑαυτὸν <sup>f</sup> ἐξαπατάτω· εἴ τις <sup>g</sup> δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι ἐν ὑμῖν,

10; Rom. vi. 2; Gal. v. 4; Jas. iv. 14; Acts vii. 53. f 2 Cor. xi. 3; Rom. vii. 11, xvi. 18; 2 Th. ii. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 14. g In this sense, viii. 2, xiv. 37; Gal. vi. 3; Ph. iii. 4. <sup>h</sup> as. i. 26.

<sup>1</sup> ἐν ὑμῖν οἰκεῖ (?), BP, 17 (a good group); preferred by W.H. in *txt.*

<sup>2</sup> αὐτον, ADG (Western).

the workman of ver. 15 built upon Christ. There are cases worse than his, and to the εἴ τινας τὸ ἔργον alternatives of vv. 14 f. the Ap. has a third to add in the εἴ τις . . . φθείρει of ver. 17. Beside the good and ill builders, who will gain or lose reward, there are *destroyers* of the house, whom God will *destroy*; the climax of the βλεπέτω πῶς, ver. 10. Gd. well explains the absence of connecting particles between vv. 15 and 16,—a “brusque transition” due to the emotion which seizes the Apostle’s heart at the sight of “workmen who even destroy what has been already built”; hence the lively apostrophe and the heightened tone of the passage.—The challenge οὐκ οἴδατε; is characteristic of this Ep. (see parls.), addressed to a Church of superior knowledge (i. 5, viii. 1). For the form οἴδατε, of the κοινή, see Wr., pp. 102 f. —The expression ναὸς Θεοῦ (see parls.) accentuates the Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή, expounded since ver. 9: “Do you not know that you are (a building no less sacred than) God’s temple?” Not “a temple of God,” as one of several; to P. the Church was the spiritual counterpart of the Jewish Temple, and every Church embodied this ideal. For the anarthrous (predicative) phrase, cf. Θεοῦ βασιλείαν, vi. 9, and see note on ii. 4.—Ναός (see parls.) denotes the *shrine*, where the Deity resides; ἱερόν (ix. 13, etc.), the *sanctuary*, the temple at large, with its precincts.—δτι is not repeated with the second half of the question, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν οἰκεῖ, the two propositions being virtually one; God’s temple in Christian men is constituted by the indwelling of His Spirit: “and (that) the Spirit of God dwells in you?” cf. Eph. ii. 21, also 1 Peter ii. 5. The same relationship is expressed by other figures in xii. 5, Eph. iv. 4, etc. So the O.T. congregation of the Lord had for its centre the Shekinah in the Holy Place: Isa. vi., Ezek. xxxvii. 27; cf. 2 Cor. vi. 16 ff. This truth is applied to the Christian person in vi. 19.

“If any one destroys the temple of God, God will destroy him”—*talione justissima* (Bg.). On the form of hypothesis, see ver. 14.—φθείρω signifies *to corrupt morally, deprave* (injure in *character*), xv. 33, 2 Cor. xi. 3, as well as *to waste, damage* (injure in *being*: see parls.)—mutually implied in a spiritual building. This Church was menaced with destruction from the immoralities exposed in chh. v., vi., and from its party schisms (i.-iii.), *both* evils fostered by corrupt teaching. The figure is not that of Levitical defilement (φθείρω nowhere means *to pollute* a holy place); this φθορά is a structural injury, to be required in kind.—ὁ Θεός closes the warning, with awful emphasis (cf. 1 Thess. i. 6, Rom. xii. 19); God is bound to protect His temple (cf. Ps. xlvii., xlviii., lxxiv., Isa. xxvii. 3, lxiv. 10 ff.).—The injury is a *desecration*: “for the temple of God is holy,—which (is what) *you are*”. The added clause οὔτινές ἐστε ὑμεῖς reminds the Cor. at once of the obligations their sanctity imposes (see notes on ἡγιασμένοις, κλητοῖς, ἁγίοις, i. 2; cf. 1 Peter ii. 5), and of the protection it guarantees (2 Cor. vi. 14 ff., 2 Thess. ii. 13; John x. 29; Isa. xliii. 1-4, etc., Zech. ii. 8).—οὔτινες, the qualitative relative, refers to ἅγιος more than to ναός, and is predicate (see Wr., pp. 206 f.) with ὑμεῖς for subject.

§ 11. THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD, iii. 18-23. Affectation of philosophy, —“the wisdom of the world,” which P. has repudiated on behalf of the Gospel (i., ii.)—was at the bottom of the Cor. troubles. Those who follow human wisdom exalt human masters at the expense of God’s glory, and there are teachers who lend themselves to this error and thus build unworthily on the Christian foundation—some who are even destroying, under a show of building, the temple of God (iii. 3-17). That the warnings P. has given to his fellow-labourers bear on the popular λόγος σοφίας is apparent from the manner in which he reverts to the topic at this



h See i. 20. ἐν τῷ ᾧ αἰῶνι τούτῳ μωρὸς γενέσθω, ἵνα γένηται σοφός. 19. ἡ γὰρ  
 i See i. 25. σοφία τοῦ κόσμου κ' τούτου ἡ μωρία ἢ παρὰ τῷ ᾧ ἢ Θεῷ ἐστί. γέγραπται  
 k v. 10, vii. 31; Eph. ii. 2; 1 Jo. iv. 17; six times in Jo.  
 20. καὶ πάλιν, "Κύριος γινώσκει τοὺς ἡ διαλογισμοὺς τῶν σοφῶν,"  
 l See i. 18. ὅτι εἰσὶ ῥήματαί. 21. ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἢ ἐν ἀνθρώποις.  
 m In this sense, Rom. ii. 11, 13; Gal. iii. 11; Eph. vi. 9; 2 Th. i. 6; Jas. i. 27; 1 Pet. ii. 4; Mt. vi. 1; Lk. i. 30, ii. 52; Acts xxvi. 8. n Job v. 13; see note below. o N.T. h.l.; Lev. ii. 2, v. 12; Num. v. 26; Ps. ii. 12. p 2 Cor. iv. 2, xi. 3; Eph. iv. 14; Lk. xx. 23; Jos. ix. 10; πανουργος, 2 Cor. xii. 16. q In this sense, Rom. i. 21; Ph. ii. 14; 1 Tim. ii. 8; Jas. ii. 4; Mt. xv. 19, etc.; Lk. ix. 46 f., xxiv. 38; Ps. xciii. 11. r xv. 17; Tit. iii. 9; Jas. i. 26; 1 Pet. i. 18; Acts xiv. 15; Exod. xx. 7; Ezek. xi. 2.  
 ■ See i. 31.

1 Om. τῷ CDG.

2 ἀνθρώπων, some „ght minuscc., am., arm., Marcion as quoted by Epiph., Hier. (in free quot.), I XX.

point. § 11 resumes the strain of §§ 4-8, impressing on teachers and taught alike the true relationship of things human and Divine.

Ver. 18. Accordingly, the Μηδεὶς ἐαυτὸν ἐξαπατάω looks forward, not backward: one may "deceive himself" about the mixing of man's wisdom with God's, but scarcely about the truth of the threatening of ver. 17. "If any one thinks to be wise amongst you, in this age (αἰῶνι, world-period: see parls.) let him become foolish, that he may become wise."—δοκεῖ not videtur (Vg., A.V.), but putat—"seemeth to himself, the usual (though perhaps not universal) sense of δοκεῖν in St. Paul" (Lt.: see parls., esp. xiv. 37): the danger is that of self-deception (cf. the irony in iv. 10, viii. 1 ff.), a danger natural in the case of teachers, esp. if intellectual and cultured—there were a few such at Cor. (i. 26); cf. the exhortations of James iii. 1, 13-18.—ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ is antithetical to ἐν ὑμῖν (put the comma between them), "amongst you"—God's temple, Christ's property (17, 23, etc.)—in accordance with ii. 6, 13, and with the contrast between the two wisdoms that dominates this whole Division. Men must not think to be wise in both spheres; the Church's wise are the world's fools, and vice versa. The cross is μωρία to the world, and he who espouses it a μωρὸς in its opinion—a fool with a criminal for his Master; and one can only be a Christian sage—wise after the manner of ii. 8 ff.—upon condition of bearing this reproach (so Or., Cm., Luther, Hf., Gd., Hn.). Paul was crazy in the eyes of the world (iv. 10, 2 Cor. v. 13; Acts xxvi. 24), but how wise amongst us! Cf. Christ's paradox of losing the soul to gain it.

Ver. 19a gives the reason why the

philosophy of the times must be renounced by the aspirant to Christian wisdom: "For the wisdom of the world is folly with God" (= i. 20); and since it is folly with God, it must be counted folly, and not wisdom, amongst you (18). God's judgment is decisive for His Church.—παρὰ Θεῷ, apud Deum, iudice Deo (see parls.).

Vv. 19b, 20. That the above is God's judgment appears from two sayings of Scripture, bearing on the two classes of worldly wise—the men of affairs (such as the ἄρχοντες of ii. 6) and the philosophers (i. 20), distinguished respectively by πανουργία and διαλογισμοί. In the first text (the only N.T. quotation from Job: Phil. i. 19, perhaps an allusion), Paul improves on the LXX, possibly from another version, substituting the vivid ὁ δρασσόμενος (He that grips: cf. δραξάμενος φάνυγος, Theocritus, xxiv. 28) for ὁ καταλαμβάνων, and πανουργία αὐτῶν for φρονήσει, both nearer to the Heb. (LXX reads πανουργίαν in ver. 12). The words (from Eliphaz) are "appropriated because of their inherent truth" (Lt.); they reassert the anticipation expressed in ii. 6. For πανουργία, see parls.; note its deterioration of meaning, as in Eng. craft. When the world's schemers think themselves cleverest, Providence catches them in their own toils.—The second text P. adapts by turning ἀνθρώπων into σοφῶν: what is true of the vanity of human thoughts generally (machsh'both 'ādām) he applies par excellence to "the reasonings of the wise".—διαλογισμοί, signifying in Plutarch's later Gr. debates, arguings (see parls.), recalls i. 19 f. above, echoing the quotation of that passage. On μатаίαι, futile, see note to xv. 14 (κενός).

Ver. 21a. ὥστε μηδεὶς καυχάσθω ἐν

22. πάντα γὰρ ὁμῶν ἐστίν, ἢ εἴτε Παῦλος ἢ εἴτε Ἀπολλῶς ἢ εἴτε <sup>For this gen., see i. 12, and ver. 4 above. u In extended enumerations, x.</sup> Κηφᾶς, εἴτε κόσμος εἴτε ἡ ζωὴ εἴτε ὁ θάνατος, εἴτε ἢ ἐνεστώτα εἴτε ἢ μέλλοντα· πάντα ὁμῶν ἐστίν.<sup>1</sup> 23. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἡ Χριστοῦ, Χριστὸς δὲ ὁ Θεοῦ.

31, xii. 13, xiii. 8; Rom. xii. 6 ff.; Col. i. 16. Rom. viii. 6; Ph. i. 20; 1 Jo. iii. 14; Jo. v. 24. Heb. ix. 11, x. 1.

v Rom. viii. 38. ζωῇ, θαν. alone, 2 Cor. iv. 12; w vii. 26; Gal. i. 4; Heb. ix. 9. x Col. ii. 17;

<sup>1</sup> Om. 2nd ἐστίν all uncc. but DbcL.

ἀνθρώποις: "And so let no one glory in men".—ὥστε often, with P., introduces the impv. at the point where argument or explanation passes into exhortation; cf. note on ver. 7, and see iv. 5, v. 8, etc.—ἐν ἀνθρώποις states the forbidden ground of boasting (see parls.), supplying the negative counterpart of i. 31. Paul condemns alike the self-laudation of clever teachers, hinted at in ver. 18, and the admiration rendered to them, along with all partisan applause.

Vv. 21b-23 form an unbroken chain, linking the Cor. and their teachers to the throne of God. Not till the last words of ver. 23 do we find the full justification (sustaining the initial γὰρ) for the prohibition of ver. 21a; "only when the other side to the πάντα ὑμῶν has been expressed, is the object presented in which alone the Church ought to glory" (Hf.); standing by itself, "All things are yours" would be a reason *in favour of*, rather than against, glorying in human power. The saying of ver. 21b is, very possibly, taken from the lips of the Cor. δοκοῦντες (18), who talked in the high-flown Stoic style, affirming like Zeno (in Diog. Laert., vii., i. 25), τῶν σοφῶν πάντα εἶναι, or daring with Seneca (*de Benef.*, vii., 2 f.) "emittere hanc vocem, Haec omnia mea esse!" similarly the Stoic in Horace (*Sat.* I., iii., 125-133; *Ep.* I., i., 106 ff.): "Sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives, liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum!" Some such pretentious vein is hinted at in iv. 7-10, vi. 12 and x. 22 f., vii. 31. (οἱ χρώμενοι τ. κόσμον: see notes); the affecters of philosophy at Cor. made a "liberal" use of the world. As in vi. 12 and x. 22 f., the Ap. adopts their motto, giving to it a grander scope than its authors dreamed of (22), but only to check and balance it, reproving the conceit of its vaunters by the contrasted principle (δὲ) of the *Divine* dominion in Christ, which absorbs all human proprietorship (23).

First amongst the "all things" that the Cor. may legitimately boast, there stand—suggested by ἀνθρώποις, 21—"Paul,

Apollos, Cephas," the figureheads of the Church factions (i. 12),—enumerated with εἴτε . . . εἴτε (*whether P. or Ap. or Ceph.*), since these chiefs belong to the Church *alike*, not P. to this section, Ap. to that, and so on. Christ (i. 12) is not named in this series of "men"; a diff. place is His (23).—From "Cephas" the enumeration passes *per saltum* to "the world" (εἴτε κόσμος—anarthrous, as thought of qualitatively; cf. Gal. vi. 14), understood in its largest sense,—*the existing order of material things*; cf. note on i. 20. The right to use worldly goods, asserted broadly by Greek Christians at Cor. (vi. 12, vii. 31, x. 23 f.: see notes), is frankly admitted; *the Church* (represented by its three leaders) and *the world* both exist for "you,"—are bound to serve you (cf. 1 Tim. ii. 2-4, iv. 8, vi. 17; Ps. viii., etc.); the Messianic kingdom makes the saints even the world's judges (vi. 2, Rom. iv. 13; Rev. v. 10, etc.).—εἴτε ζωὴ εἴτε θάνατος, by another bold and sudden sweep, carries the Christian empire into the unseen. Not Life alone, but Death—king of fears to a sinful world (Rom. v. 17, 21, Heb. ii. 15)—is the saints' servant (xv. 26, etc.). They hold a *condominium* (Rom. viii. 17, 1 Thess. v. 10) with Him who is "Lord of living and dead" (Rom. xiv. 9, etc.; Eph. iv. 9 f., Rev. i. 18); cf. ἐμοὶ τὸ ζῆν Χριστός, καὶ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν κέρδος, Phil. i. 21.—ζωὴ and θάνατος extend the Christian's estate over all *states of being*; εἴτε ἐνεστώτα, εἴτε μέλλοντα, stretch it to all *periods and possibilities of time*. The former of these ptps. (pf. intransitive of ἐνίστημι) denotes what *has come to stand there (instans)*,—is on the spot, in evidence; the latter what *exists in intention*,—to be evolved out of the present: see the two pairs of antitheses in Rom. viii. 38 f.; these things *cannot hurt* the beloved of God (Rom.), nay, *must help and serve them* (1 Cor.). See other parls. for "things present" (esp. Gal. i. 4) and "to come" (esp. Rom. viii. 17-25).

The Apostle repeats triumphantly his



a See iii. 15. IV. 1. \*Οὕτως ἡμᾶς ὁ λογίζεσθω ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὥς ὁ ὑπηρέτας  
 b In similar constr., Rom. viii. 36, ix. 8; 2 Cor. x. 2; Ph. iii. 13; Acts xix. 27; Mk. xv. 28 (Isa. liii. 12). c xi. 28; 2 Cor. xii. 4; Rom. ii. 1, vii. 24, ix. 20; Gal. vi. 1, 7. d Acts xiii. 5, xxvi. 16; Lk. i. 2; Jo. xviii. 36. e Tit. i. 7; 1 Pet. iv. 10; Lk. xii. 42 (πιστός). f See ii. 7. g ὡδε, similarly in Heb. vii. 8; Rev. xiii. 10, 18, xiv. 12, xvii. 9. h See i. 16.

1 ὡδε, all uncc. but DcEL; also oldest verss. ο δε, however, in Chr. and Gr. Comm. Lachm., following the bulk of minusc., placed the full stop *after* ὡδε.

πάντα ὑμῶν, having gathered into it the totality of finite existence, to *reverse* it by the words ὑμεῖς δὲ Χριστοῦ, "but (not and) you are Christ's!" (cf. vi. 20, Rom. xii. 1 f., 2 Cor. v. 15). The Cor. readers, exalted to a height outsoaring Stoic pride, are in a moment laid low at the feet of Christ: "Lords of the universe—you are His bondmen, your vast heritage in the present and future you gather as *factors for Him*". P. endorses the doctrine of the kingship of the spiritual man, dilating on it with an eloquence surpassing that of Stoicism; "but," he reminds him, his wealth is that of a *steward*. Our property is immense, but *we* are Another's; we rule, to be ruled. A man cannot own too much, provided that *he recognises his Owner*.

Finally, Christ who demands our subordination, supplies in Himself its grand example: Χριστὸς δὲ Θεοῦ, "but Christ is God's". We are masters of everything, but Christ's servants; *He* Master of us, but God's Servant (cf. Acts iii. 13, etc.). For His filial submission, see xi. 3, xv. 22 ff., Rom. vi. 10, and notes; also John viii. 29, x. 29, etc. We cannot accept Cv.'s dilution of the sense, "Hæc subiectio ad Christi humanitatem refertur"; for the ὑμεῖς Χριστοῦ, just affirmed, raises Christ high over men. It is enough to say with Thd., Χριστὸς Θεοῦ οὐχ ὡς κτίσμα Θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς Ὑἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ: cf. Heb. v. 8. The sovereignty of the Father is the corner-stone of authority in the universe (xi. 3, xv. 28).

The Ap. has now vindicated God's rights in His Church (see *Introd.* to § 10), and recalled the Cor. from their carnal strife and pursuit of worldly wisdom to the unity, sanctity, and grandeur of their Christian calling, which makes them servants of God through Christ, and in His right the heirs of all things.

§ 12. CHRIST'S SERVANTS ANSWERABLE TO HIMSELF, iv. 1-5. The Ap. has shown his readers their own true position—so high and yet so lowly (§ 11); Paul, Apollos, Cephas are but part of a universe of ministry that waits upon them. But

more is to be said about the Christian *leaders*, whose names are so much abused at Cor. If the Church is to understand its proper character, it must reverence theirs. They are its servants; it is not their master. They are its property, because they are *Christ's* property; and His instruments first of all. P. thus resumes the train of thought opened in § 10, where the work of Church-builders was discriminated in relation to *the building*; now it is viewed in its relation to *God the Householder*. Here lies another and the final ground of accusation against the Cor. parties: those who maintained them, in applauding this chief and censuring that, were putting themselves into Christ's judgment-seat, from which the Apostle thrusts them down.

Ver. 1. "In this way let a man take account of us, *viz.*, as servants of Christ, etc." Οὕτως draws attention to the coming ὥς: the vb. λογίζεσθω implies a *reasonable* estimate, drawn from admitted principles (cf. Rom. vi. 11; xii. 1, λογικῇ), the pr. impv. an *habitual* estimate. The use of ἄνθρωπος for τις (xi. 28, etc.), occasional in cl. Gr., occurs "where a *gravior dicendi formula* is required" (El.). Ὑπηρέτης (only here in Epp.: see parls.) agrees with οἰκέτης (Rom. xiv. 4, *domestic*) in *associating* servant and master, whereas διάκονος rather contrasts them (iii. 5, see note; Mark ix. 35): see Trench, *Syn.*, § 9.—ὥς ὑπὴρ. Χριστοῦ κ. οἰκονόμους κ.τ.λ., "as Christ's assistants, and stewards of God's mysteries"—in these relations Jesus set the App. to Himself and God: see Matt. xiii. 11, 52. With P. the Church is the οἶκος (1 Tim. iii. 15), God the οἰκοδεσπότης, its members the οἰκεῖοι (Gal. vi. 10, Eph. ii. 19), and its ministers—the App. in chief—the οἰκονόμοι (ix. 17, Col. i. 25, etc.). The figure of iii. 9 ff. is kept up: those who were ἀρχιτέκτων and ἐποικοδομοῦντες in the rearing of the house, become ὑπηρέται and οἰκονόμοι in its internal economy. The οἰκονόμος was a confidential housekeeper or overseer, commonly a slave, charged with pro-

<sup>1</sup> ζητείται <sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖς \*οἰκονόμοις, ἵνα <sup>k</sup> πιστός τις <sup>1</sup> εὐρέθῃ. 3. ἐμοὶ δὲ <sup>1</sup> ἐν τῷ \*ἐλάχιστῳ ἐστὶν ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν <sup>n</sup> ἀνακριθῶ ἢ ὑπὸ \*ἀνθρωπίνης ἡμέρας, <sup>q</sup> ἀλλ' <sup>q</sup> οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν <sup>n</sup> ἀνακρίνω. 4. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμαυτῷ <sup>r</sup> σύννοδα, ἀλλ' <sup>r</sup> οὐκ <sup>r</sup> ἐν τούτῳ <sup>s</sup> δεδικαιώμαι, ὁ δὲ <sup>s</sup> ἀνακρίνων με

this sense; nine times besides in P.; also in Mt., Lk., Heb., 1 Pet., Rev. 1 Of moral judgments, xv. 15; 2 Cor. xi. 12, xii. 20; Gal. ii. 17; Ph. iii. 9; 1 Pet. i. 7; six times in Rev.; Acts xxiv. 5. m Cf. Acts xix. 27. <sup>q</sup> *Εἰμι εἰς, h.l.* in this sense. n See ii. 14. o See ii. 13. p See i. 8. q iii. 2; Acts xix. 2. r Acts v. 2, xii. 12, xiv. 6 only; Lev. v. 1; Job xxvii. 6; 1 Macc. iv. 21; 2 Macc. iv. 41, etc. See note below. s vi. 11; Rom. iii. 4 (Ps. i. 6), v. 9; Gal. ii. 17, iii. 12, 24, v. 4; 1 Tit. iii. 16; Acts xiii. 39.

<sup>1</sup> ΖΗΤΕΙΤΕ, SACDGr. Ger. P: adopted in many minusc. ΖΗΤΕΙΤΑΙ, BL and most minusc.; so latt. vg. cop. syrr. Doubtful whether the -τε (imperative) is a grammatical emendation, or a mere itacism; neither a clear Western nor Alexandrian reading, DG and AC, in each case, being deserted by their companion verss.

visioning the establishment. Responsible not to his fellows, but to "the Lord," his high trust demands a strict account (Luke xii. 41-48).—On *μυστ. Θεοῦ*, see notes to ii. 7, 9 f.: the phrase implies not secrets of the master kept from other servants, but secrets *revealed* to them through God's dispensers, to whose judgment and fidelity the disclosure is committed (cf. ii. 6, iii. 1).

Ver. 2. *Ὡς δὲ λοιπὸν (proinde igitur) ζητείται, ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις κ.τ.λ.*: "In such case, it is further sought in stewards (to be sure) that one be found faithful". *Ὡς* gathers up the position given to "us" in ver. 1; *ἐν τοῖς οἰκονόμοις* is therefore pleonastic, but repeated for distinctness and by reference to the well-understood rule for *stewards* (Luke xii. 48). *λοιπὸν* brings in the supplement to an imperfect representation: it is not enough to be *steward*—a *faithful* steward is looked for (an echo of Luke xii. 42 f.). *Ζητείται . . . ἵνα* resembles *παρακαλῶ ἵνα*, i. 10 (see note): the telic force of the conj. has not disappeared; one "seeks" a thing *in order to* "find" it.

Ver. 3. *ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰς ἐλάχιστόν ἐστιν ἵνα κ.τ.λ.*: "For myself however it amounts to a very small thing that by *you* I should be put to trial, or by a human day (of judgment)." Fidelity is required of stewards: yes, but (8ε) *who is the judge of that fidelity?* Not *you* Cor., nor even my own good conscience, but the Lord only (4: cf. Rom. xiv. 4); P. corrects the false inference that might be drawn from iii. 22. *ἐμοὶ δὲ* takes up the general truth just stated, to apply it as a matter between *me* and *you*. P. is being put on his trial at Cor.—his talents appraised, his motives scrutinised, his administration canvassed with unbecoming presumption. For *εἰς* in this somewhat

rare, but not necessarily Hebraistic sense, cf. vi. 16, Acts xix. 27; see Wr., p. 229. *ἵνα . . . ἀνακριθῶ* (construction more unclassical than in 1) equals *τὸ ἀνακριθῆναι*—unless the clause should be rendered, "that I should *have myself tried* by you,"—as though P. might have challenged the judgment of the Cor. (see ix. 2, 2 Cor. iii. 1, xii. 11) but dismissed the thought. *Ἀνακρίνω* (see note, ii. 15) speaks not of the *final judgment* (*κρίνω*, 5, v. 12, etc.), but of an *examination, investigation* preliminary to it. The "human (*ἀνθρωπίνης*, cf. ii. 13) day," of which P. thinks lightly, is *man's* judgment—that of any man, or all men together; he reserves his case for "the day (of the Lord)": see i. 8).—*ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἀνακρίνω*: "nay, I do not even try myself!" The *ἀλλ' οὐδέ* (cf. iii. 3) brings forward another suggestion, contrary to that just rejected (*ἵνα ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀνακρ.*), to be rejected in its turn. In another sense P. enjoins self-judgment, in xi. 28-32; and in ii. 16 he credited the "spiritual man" with power "to try all things". *Ὁ ἐαυτὸν ἀνακρίνων, the self-trier*, is one who knows no higher or surer tribunal than his own conscience; Christ's Ap. stands in a very diff. position from this. This transition from Cor. judgment to self-judgment shows that no formal trial was in question, such as Weizsäcker supposes had been mooted at Cor.; arraigned before the bar of public opinion, P. wishes to say that he rates its estimate *εἰς ἐλάχιστόν* in comparison with that of his heavenly Master.

Ver. 4. The negative clauses, *οὐδὲν γὰρ . . . ἀλλ' οὐκ*, together explain, parenthetically, Paul's meaning in ver. 3: "For I am conscious of nothing against myself" (in my conduct as Christ's minister to you: cf. 10, 18; 2 Cor. i. 12-



i Mt. viii. 29 Κύριός ἐστιν. 5. ὥστε μὴ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τοῦ κρινέτε, ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ  
only. Sir.  
xxx. 24, Κύριος, ὅς<sup>1</sup> καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτὰ τοῦ σκοτούς καὶ φανερώσει  
xli. 28, τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἐκάστῳ  
ii. 38, τὰς βουλὰς τῶν καρδιῶν καὶ τότε ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται ἐκάστῳ  
u In this use, 2 Tim. 2 ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ.  
i. 10; cf.  
Jo. i. 9;  
Eph. i. 18; Heb. vi. 4, x. 32. v xiv. 25; 2 Cor. iv. 2; Rom. ii. 16, 29; 1 Pet. iii. 4; Mt. x. 26.  
w Rom. xiii. 12; eight times besides in P. in the ethical sense; 1 Pet. ii. 9; 1 Jo. i. 6; Mt. vi. 23;  
Jo. iii. 19; Acts xxvi. 18. x In this connexion, 2 Cor. v. 10 f.; Eph. v. 13; 1 Jo. ii. 19, iii. 2; Rev  
ii. 18; Mk. iv. 22; Jo. iii. 21. y Of human βουλή, Lk. xxiii. 51; Acts xix. i (some texts), xxvii  
12, 42. In pl., N.T. h.l. βουλήν καρδίας, Sir. xxxvii. 13. z Rom. ii. 29; εἰς τὸν ἔπαινον (with man for  
obj.) generally, 2 Cor. viii. 18; Rom. xiii. 3; Ph. iv. 8; 1 Pet. i. 7, ii. 14.

<sup>1</sup> DG, Aug., om. ος: a Western variant.

17)—nothing that calls for judicial inquiry on your part or misgiving on my own—"but not on this ground (οὐκ ἐν τούτῳ) have I been justified". Συνοίδα with reflexive pron. (h. l. in N.T.) has this connotation, of a *guilty* conscience, occasionally in cl. Gr. (see Lidd.); cf. the Horatian "Nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa" (Al.). "By" signifies "against" in Bible Eng. (see *New Eng. Dict.* s. v., 26 d; cf. Deut. xxvii. 16, Ezek. xxii. 7); "I know no harm by him" is current in the Midland counties (Al.).—For δικαιῶ ἐν, see parls. The pf. pass. διδικαίωμαι defines an act of God complete in the past and determining the writer's present state. P. has been and continues justified—not on the sentence of his conscience as a man self-acquitted ("not of works of righteousness, which we had done," Tit. iii. 5 ff.), but as an ill-deserving sinner counted righteous for Christ's sake (i. 30, vi. 11, xv. 17; 2 Cor. v. 17-21, Rom. iii. 23 ff., iv. 25, vii. 24-viii. 1, etc.). This past "justification" is the ground of his whole standing before God (Rom. v. 1 ff.); it forbids presuming on the witness of his own conscience now. A good conscience is worth much; but, after P.'s experience, he cannot rely on its verdict apart from Christ's. Paul looks for his appraisal at the end (5), to the source from which he received his justification at the beginning. Accordingly for the present, he refers to Christ the testing of his daily course: ὁ δὲ ἀνακρίνων με Κύριός ἐστιν, "but he that does try (examine) me is the Lord"—not you, nor my own conscience; I am searched by a purer and a loftier eye. "The Lord is alone qualified for this office" (cf. v. 3 ff., and notes; Rev. ii., iii., John v. 22, etc.). The Lord's present ἀνάκρισις prepares for his final κρίσις (5). The above interpretation, which maintains the Pauline use of δικαιῶ, is that of Calovius,

Rückert, Mr., Hn., Bt., and others. Cm., Cv., Est., Bg., Al., Ev., Ed., Gd., Sm., etc., insist on taking the term "in a meaning entirely diff. from its ordinary dogmatic sense" (Gd.), referring it in spite of the tense, on account of ver. 5, to the future judgment; but this brings confusion into Paul's settled language, and abandons the rock of his personal standing before God and men (cf. Gal. ii. 15 ff.). Since P. accepted justification by faith in Christ, not his innocence, but his Saviour's merit has become his fixed ground of assurance.

Ver. 5. The practical conclusion of the statement respecting Christ's servants (see note on ὥστε, iii. 21): "So then do not before the time be passing any judgment". τῇ, the cognate acc. = κρίσιν τινά, as in John vii. 24. πρὸ καιροῦ (the fit time, when the set time) signifies prematurely (so Aesch., *Eumen.*, 367), as ἐν καιρῷ seasonably (Luke xii. 42). Our Lord gives another reason for not judging, in Matt. vii. 1 ff.; this prohibition, like that, points to His tribunal, bidding men hold back their verdicts on each other in deference to His (cf. Rom. xiv. 10). "Until the Lord come:" ἕως ἂν indicates contingency in the time, not the event itself; for this uncertainty, cf. 1 Thess. v. 2, Matt. xxv. 13, Luke xii. 39, Acts i. 7, etc. His coming is the ἀποκάλυψις toward which the hope of this Church was directed from the first (i. 7: see note); it will reveal with perfect evidence the matters on which the Cor. are officiously and ignorantly pronouncing.—ὅς καὶ φωτίσει κ.τ.λ.: "who shall also illuminate the hidden things of darkness". φωτίσω points to the cause, as φανερώω to the result, and ἀποκαλύπτω (ii. 10) to the mode of Divine disclosures. Christ's presence of itself illuminates (cf. 2 Cor. iv. 6, and other parls.); His Parousia is light as well as fire (iii. 13)—both instruments of judgment. τὰ κρυπτὰ

6. Ταῦτα δὲ, ἀδελφοί, \*μετεσχημάτισα εἰς ἑμαυτὸν καὶ Ἀπολλῶ<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> Cor. xi. 13 ff.; Ph  
 δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα<sup>b</sup> ἐν ἡμῖν<sup>b</sup> μάθητε τὸ μὴ \*ὕπὲρ \*δ<sup>2</sup> γέγραπται φρονεῖν,<sup>3</sup> <sup>iii. 21; 4</sup>  
 Joseph., *Ant.*, vii., 10. 5; Philo, *Leg. ad. Gai.*, § 11; Plato, *Leges*, x. 903 E. <sup>22. Also</sup>  
 Gen. xlii. 33. c x. 13; 2 Cor. xii. 6. <sup>b Cf. Jo. xiii. 35;</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπολλων, Ν\*AB\*. See W.H., *Notes on Selected Readings*, p. 157. B<sup>3</sup>, by a curious blunder, ἀπο πολλων.

<sup>2</sup> (ὑπὲρ) α, ΝABCP 17, 31, 73. Referring to Scripture at large.

<sup>3</sup> *Omi. φρονεῖν* Ν\*ABD\*G, latt. vg., Or., Aug., Ambrst.

Ν\*CD\*LP cop. syrr., Cyr. insert (? Alexandrian); Ath., φνσιουσθαι.

τοῦ σκότους, "the secrets hidden in the darkness" (*res tenebris occultatas*, Bz.)—not necessarily *evil* things (see Rom. ii. 16, 2 Cor. iv. 6), but things impenetrable to present light.—Chief amongst these, "the Lord will make manifest (φανερῶσει) the counsels of the hearts". These God (and with Him Christ, ὁ ἀνακρίνων: 4) already searches out (Rom. viii. 27; Ps. cxxxix., etc.); then He will make plain to men, about themselves and each other, what was dark before. The καρδιά is the real self, the "hidden," "inward man" (Eph. iii. 16 f., 1 Pet. iii. 4, and other parl.), known absolutely to God alone (*cor hominis crypta est*, Bz.); its "counsels" are those self-communications and purposings which determine action and belong to the essence of character.—"And then (not before) the (due) praise will come (ὁ ἔπαινος γενήσεται) to each from God (not from human lips)." ἀπὸ τ. Θεοῦ for it is on God's behalf that Christ will judge; His commendation is alone of value (Rom. ii. 29; John v. 44). The Church is God's field and temple (iii. 9 ff.); all work wrought in it awaits His approval. ἐκάστῳ recalls the lesson of iii. 8, 11-13, respecting the discriminating and individual character of Divine rewards. "Praise" ambitious Gr. teachers coveted: let them seek it from God. "Praise" the Cor. partisans lavished on their admired leaders: this is God's prerogative, let them check their impertinent eulogies. Enough was said in iii. 15, 17, of condemned work; P. is thinking here of his true συνεργοί (1 f.), who with himself labour and hope for approval at the Day of Christ; little need they reckon of the criticisms of the hour.

§ 13. DISCIPLES ABOVE THEIR MASTER, iv. 6-13. What the Ap. has written, from iii. 3 onwards, turns on the relations between himself and Apollos; but it has a wide application to the state of feeling within the Church (6 f.). To such extravagance of self-satisfaction and con-

ceit in their new teachers have the Cor. been carried, that one would think they had dispensed with the App., and entered already on the Messianic reign (8). In comparison with them, P. and his comrades present a sorry figure, as victims marked for the world's sport—famished, beaten, loaded with disgrace, while their disciples flourish! (9-13.)

Ver. 6. Ταῦτα δὲ κ.τ.λ. (δὲ μεταβατικόν, of transition): "Now these things I have adapted (in the way I have put them) to myself and Apollos".—μετα-σχηματίζω (see parl.), to *change the dress, or form of presentment* (σχῆμα), of anything. P. has put in a specific personal way—speaking in *concreto, exempli gratia*—what he might have expressed more generally; he has done this δι' ὑμᾶς, "for your better instruction,"—not because he and Ap. needed the admonition. The rendering "I have in a figure transferred" (E.V.), suggests that the argument of iii. 3-iv. 5 had no real connexion with P. and A., and was aimed at others than their partisans—an erroneous implication: see *Introd.* to Div. I. P. writes in the σχῆμα κατ' ἐξοχὴν, aiming through the Apollonian party at all the warring factions, and at the factious spirit in the Church; his reproaches fall on the "puffed up" followers, not upon their unconsenting chiefs (4). We found certain *other teachers*, active at Cor. in the absence of P. and A., rebuked in iii. 11-17; the Cor. will easily read between the lines. This μετασχηματισμός is "id genus in quo per quamdam suspicionem quod non dicimus accipi volumus" (Quintilian, *Instit.*, ix., 2).—Ἀπολλών, the preferable reading here and in Tit. iii. 13, like the gen. of i. 12, iii. 4, is acc. of Attic 2nd decl.; Ἀπολλῶ (3rd) is attested in Acts xix. 1.

ἵνα ἐν ἡμῖν μάθητε τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ & γέγραπται: "that in our case you may learn the (rule), *Not beyond the things*





ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς σὺν ὑμῖν <sup>α</sup> συμβασιλεύσωμεν. 9. δοκῶ γὰρ ὅτι <sup>1</sup> ὁ <sup>2</sup> Tim. ii. 12. Θεὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀποστόλους <sup>3</sup> ἐσχάτους <sup>4</sup> ἀπέδειξεν ὡς <sup>5</sup> ἐπιθανατίους, <sup>6</sup> See iii. 18, ὅτι <sup>7</sup> θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀνθρώποις. <sup>8</sup> and note below. 10. ἡμεῖς <sup>9</sup> ἡμῶροι διὰ Χριστόν, ὑμεῖς δὲ <sup>10</sup> φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ. <sup>11</sup> ἡμεῖς <sup>12</sup> ἀσθενεῖς, ὑμεῖς δὲ <sup>13</sup> ἰσχυροὶ. ὑμεῖς <sup>14</sup> ἔνδοξοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ <sup>15</sup> ἄτιμοι. <sup>16</sup> In this sense, xv. 8; Matt. xix. 30; Mk. ix. 35; Luke

xiv. 9 f.; Jo. viii. 9. q 2 Th. ii. 4; Acts ii. 22, xxv. 7. -<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> H.J. <sup>19</sup> N.T. <sup>20</sup> h.J. in this sense; see Acts xix. 29, 31. <sup>21</sup> See i. 25. <sup>22</sup> u x. 15; 2 Cor. xi. 19; Rom. xi. 25, xii. 16; Matt. vii. 24, x. 16, xxv. 2 ff.; Lk. xvi. 8. <sup>23</sup> See i. 25. <sup>24</sup> Eph. v. 27; Luke vii. 25, xiii. 17; LXX *passim*. x xii. 23; Mt. xiii. 57; Mk. vi. 4; Isa. liiii. 3.

<sup>1</sup> **δοκῶ γὰρ, ὁ Θεός, without οτι:** all pre-Syrian uncc.

charisms in xii. appear to justify this consciousness of wealth; but ostentation corrupted Cor. riches; spiritual satiety is a sign of arrested growth: contrast Phil. iii. 10-14, and cf. Rev. iii. 17, "Thou sayest, ὅτι Πλούσιός εἰμι καὶ πεπλούτηκα". The climax of this sad irony is *χωρὶς ἡμῶν ἐμβασιλεύσατε* (aor. again), "Without us (without our help) you have come to your kingdom!"—"Gradatio: *saturi, divites, reges*" (Bg.). Paul was given to understand, by some Cor., that they had outgrown his teaching: "Then," he says, "you have surely entered the promised kingdom and secured its treasures, if God's stewards have nothing more to impart to you!—*I only wish you had!*" so he continues in the words καὶ ὀφελόν γε κ.τ.λ., "Ay, I would indeed that you had entered the kingdom, that we too might share it with you!" It is Paul's sigh for the end.—*Βασιλεύω* (see parls.) can only relate to the βασιλεία Θεοῦ, the Messianic reign (20, vi. 9 f., xv. 50; N.T. *passim*; cf. Luke xxii. 28 ff.; vi. 2 f. below; the judicial assumptions of the Cor., in 3 ff., square with this); and the aor. in vbs. of "state" is *inceptive* (Br. § 41)—not "you reigned," but "became kings" (*ἐμβασιλεύσατε*). This, of course, can only come about when Christ returns (see i. 7, 9, and notes); then His saints will share His glory (2 Tim. ii. 10).—*ὀφελόν* (losing its augm.) is in N.T. and later Gr. practically an adv.; it marks, with following ind. past, an impracticable wish (Wr., p. 377); γε (*to be sure*) accentuates the personal feeling. Πλουτέω, βασιλεύω remind us again of Stoic pretensions; see note, iii. 22.

Ver. 9 gives reason in Paul's sorrowful state for the wish that has escaped him. δοκῶ γὰρ ὁ Θεός κ.τ.λ. (ὅτι vantage after δοκῶ, as in vii. 40; so in Eng.): "For, methinks, God has exhibited (*spectandos proposuit*, Bz.)

us, the apostles, last"—at the end of the show, in the meanest place (for the use of ἐσχάτος, cf. Mark ix. 35; for the sentiment, xv. 19 below)—"as (men) doomed to death". One imagines a grand procession, on some day of public festival; in its rear march the criminals on their way to the arena, where the populace will be regaled with their sufferings. Paul's experience in Ephesus suggests the picture (cf. xv. 32); that of 2 Cor. ii. 14 is not dissimilar. "The app." (cf. ix. 1, xv. 5 ff.), not P. alone, are set in this disgrace: Acts i.-xii. illustrates what is said; possibly recent (unrecorded) sufferings of prominent missionaries gave added point to the comparison. Ἀπο-δείκνυμι (*to show-off*) takes its disparaging sense from the connexion, like δειγματίζω in Col. ii. 15. ἐπιθανατίους (later Gr.) = ἐπὶ τ. θάνατον ὄντας.—ὅτι θέατρον ἐγενήθημεν τῷ κόσμῳ does not give the reason for the above ἀπόδειξις, but re-affirms the fact with a view to bring forward the spectators; this clause apposed to the foregoing, in which ὅτι was implicit: "Methinks God has set forth us the app. last, as sentenced to death,—that we have been made a spectacle to the world," etc. Hf. would read ὅ,τι θέατρον, "which spectacle," etc.—a tempting constr., suiting the lively style of the passage; but ὅστις occurs as adj. nowhere in the N.T. (unless, possibly, in Heb. ix. 9), and rarely at all in Gr. θέατρον "may mean the place, spectators, actors, or spectacle: the last meaning is the one used here, and the rarest" (Lt.). "To the world:" so Peter, e.g., at Jerus., Paul in the great Gentile capitals. "Both to angels and men" extends the ring to include those invisible watchers—"καὶ singles them out for special attention" (Lt.)—of whose presence the Ap. was aware (see xi. 10, and other parls.); angels, as such, in contrast with men,—not the good or bad



γ xi. 26, xv. 25; 11 times besides in P.; freq. in Acts and Rev.  
 11. ἄχρι τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας καὶ πεινῶμεν καὶ διψῶμεν καὶ γυμνιτεύομεν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ κολαφιζόμεθα, καὶ ἄστατοῦμεν, 12. καὶ κοπιῶμεν ἔργαζόμενοι ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσί· λοιδορούμενοι εὐλο-

z Art. with ἀρτι, *h.l.* Cf. *εως ἀρτι*, 13; also ο νυν καιρος, Rom. iii. 26, etc. a xi. 21, 34; Phil. iv. 12; Lk. i. 53, vi. 21, 25. πειν. κ. διψ. Rom. xii. 20; Matt. v. 6, xxv. 35 ff.; Rev. vii. 16; Jo. vi. 35. b διψῶ (alone), Jo. xix. 28. λιμός κ. διψός, 2 Cor. xi. 27. c *H.l.*; Dio Chrys. xxv. 3. d 2 Cor. xii. 7; 1 Pet. ii. 20; Matt. xlviii. 67. e *H.l.* *αστατος* in Arist. and later Gr. f In lit. use, Eph. iv. 28; 2 Tim. ii. 6; Acts xx. 35; Matt. vi. 28; Luke v. 5. g Eph. iv. 28; 1 Thess. iv. 11; Wisd. xv. 17; *εργαζομαι* (absolute) is fairly common. h 1 Pet. ii. 23; Acts xxiii. 4; Jo. ix. 28. i Absolutely, xiv. 16; Rom. xii. 14; 1 Pet. iii. 9.

<sup>1</sup> γυμνιτεύομεν: all uncc. but L (B\*D\* -νειτ-). From γυμνιτης, Wt., p. 114.

angels specifically (*cf.* note on vi. 3). Eph. iii. 10 f. intimates that the heavenly Intelligences *learn* while they watch.

Ver. 10 represents the contrasted case of the App. and the Cor. Christians, as they appear in the estimate of the two parties. "We" are *μωροί, ἀσθενείς, ἄτιμοι* (*cf.* i. 18-27, iii. 18, and notes; with ii. 3, for *ἀσθ.*); "you," *φρόνιμοι, ισχυροί, ἐνδοξοί*—the last adj. in heightened contrast to *ἄτιμοι*; not merely *honoured* (*ἐντιμοί*, Phil. ii. 29), but *glorious*—P. reflects on the relatively "splendid" (Luke vii. 25) worldly condition of the Cor. as compared with his own. *μωροὶ διὰ Χριστόν*, "fools because of Christ" (*cf.* Matt. v. 11)—who *makes* us so, sends us with a "foolish" message (i. 23). Distinguish *διὰ* (ix. 23, 2 Cor. iv. 11, etc.) from *ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ*, which means "on Christ's behalf," as representing Him (2 Cor. v. 20, etc.). The Ap. does not call the Cor. *σοφοί* (see iii. 18), but, with a fine discrimination, *φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ* (*prudentes in Christo*); he appeals to them as such in x. 15, 2 Cor. xi. 19—the epithet was one they affected; writing at Cor., he is perhaps thinking of *them* in Rom. xi. 25, xii. 16. The *φρόνιμος* is the *man of sense*—no fanatic, rushing to extremes and affronting the world needlessly: this Church is on dangerously good terms with the world (viii. 10, x. 14-33, *cf.* 2 Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1); see *Introd.*, pp. 73 f.; "Christum et prudentiam carnis mercedem vellent" (Cv.). They deem themselves "strong" in contrast with the "feeble in faith" (Rom. xiv. 1), with whom P. associates himself (ix. 22, etc.), able to "use the world" (vii. 31) and not hampered by weak-minded scruples (vi. 12, x. 23, viii.; see note on iii. 22). In the third clause P. reverses the order of prons. (*you . . . we*), returning to the description of his own mode of life. The *ἀγενής* (i. 28) is without the birth qualifying for public respect, the *ἄτιμος* (see *parls.*) is one actually deprived of respect—in cl. Gr., *disfranchised*.

Vv. 11, 12a. ἄχρι τῆς ἄρτι ὥρας . . . ταῖς ἰδίαις χερσὶν describes the ἄτιμοι, reduced to this position by the world's contempt and with no means of winning its respect—a life at the farthest remove from that of the Gr. gentleman. The *despicableness* of his condition touches the Ap. New features are added to this picture in 2 Cor. xi. 23-33. On ἄρτι, see note to *ἤδη*, ver. 8; *cf.* ver. 13.—*Hunger, thirst, ill-clothing*—the common accompaniments of poverty; *blows, homelessness, manual toil*—specific hardships of Paul's mission. The sentences are pl.: all Christian missionaries (9) shared in these sufferings, P. beyond others (xv. 10).—*γυμνιτεύω* (later Gr.) denotes *light clothing or armour*; *cf.* *γυμνός*, Matt. xxv. 36, Jas. ii. 15 (*ill-clad*).—*κολαφίζω* (see *parls.*), *to fisticuff*, extended to physical violence generally—sometimes lit. true in Paul's case.—*ἄστατέω*, *to be unsettled, with no fixed home*—to Paul's affectionate nature the greatest of privations, and always suspicious in public repute—*to be a vagrant*. On *ἐργαζ. τ. 18. χερσὶν*—at Eph. now (Acts xx. 34), at Cor. formerly (Acts xviii. 3)—see note, ix. 6; manual labour was particularly despised amongst the ancients: "Non modo labore meo victum meum comparo, sed manuario labore et sordido" (Cv.).

Vv. 12b, 13. Beside their abject condition (11, 12a), the world saw in the meekness of the App. the marks of an *abject spirit*, shown in the three particulars of *λοιδορούμενοι . . . παρακαλοῦμεν*: "id mundus spretum putat" (Bg.).—*λοιδορ.* (*reviled to our faces*) implies insulting abuse, *δυσφημούμενοι* (*defamed*) injurious abuse: for the former, *cf.* 1 Peter ii. 23.—*διωκόμενοι ἀνεχόμεθα*, "persecuted, we bear with (lit. *put-up with*) it"—implying *patience*, while *ὑπομένω* (xiii. 7, etc.) implies *courage* in the sufferer. The series of ptps. is pr., denoting habitual treatment—not "when" but "while we are reviled," etc.—*εὐλογούμεν . . . παρακαλοῦμεν*: to revilings

γούμεν, <sup>κ</sup>διωκόμενοι <sup>1</sup>ἀνεχόμεθα, 13. <sup>μ</sup>βλασφημούμενοι <sup>1</sup> <sup>π</sup>παρα- <sup>κ</sup>xv. 9; 2  
καλούμεν· ὡς <sup>ο</sup>περικαθάρματα <sup>2</sup> τοῦ κόσμου ἐγενήθημεν, πάντων <sup>14</sup>; Cor. iv. 9;  
<sup>ρ</sup>περίψημα, <sup>1</sup>ἕως <sup>1</sup>ἄρτι. <sup>13</sup>; Rom. xii.  
14; Gal. i.  
13; Phil.  
iii. 6; 2  
Tim. iii.  
12; Rev.  
xii. 13;

14. Οὐκ <sup>ε</sup>ἐντρέπων ὑμᾶς γράφω ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ὡς τέκνα μου  
Acts vii. 52, etc.; Matt. v. 10, etc. 1 Absol., 2 Cor. xi. 4, 20. m δυσφ., N.T. h.l.; 1 Macc.  
vii. 41. δυσφῆμια, 2 Cor. vi. 8. n Absol., 2 Cor. v. 20; Rom. xii. 8; 2 Tim. iv. 2; Tit. i. 9; Luke  
iii. 18. o H.l.; Prov. xxi. 18. p H.l.; Tobit v. 19; Ignatius ad Eph. viii. 1, xviii. 1. q viii.  
7, xv. 6; Mt. xi. 12; four times in John. r Active, h.l.; cf. 2 Thess. iii. 14; Tit. ii. 8; Heb. xii.  
9, etc. εντροπη, see vi. 5. s 17, x. 14, xv. 58, and frequently in P.; Heb. vi. 19; Jas. i. 16,  
etc.; 1 Jo., *passim*; 1 Pet. ii. 11, iv. 12; 2 Pet. iii. and Jude, *γαλατ.* For τεκνα, in P., 2 Cor. vi.  
13; Gal. iv. 19; Phil. ii. 22; 1 Thess. ii. 7, 11; 1 Tim. i. 2, 18; 2 Tim. ii. 1; Tit. i. 4; Phm. 10.

<sup>1</sup>δυσφημούμενοι, <sup>κ</sup>\*ACP 17.

βλασφημ., <sup>κ</sup>\*BDG, etc., latt. vg.—Western and Syrian emendation.

<sup>2</sup>ὡσπερι καθάρματα, G and six minusc.

they retort with *blessings*, to calumnies with benevolent *exhortation*; "they beg men not to be wicked, to return to a better mind, to be converted to Christ" (Gd.); cf. the instructions of Luke vi. 27 ff. "It is on this its positive side that" Christian meekness "surpasses the abstention from retaliation urged by Plato" (*Crit.*, p. 49: Ed.).—ὡς περικαθάρματα τοῦ κόσμου . . . πάντων περίψημα (from περι-καθαίρω, -ψάω respectively, to *cleanse*, *wipe all round*, with -μα of result): the *ne plus ultra* of degradation; they became "as *rinsings* of the world,—a *scrapping* of all things" (*puramenta et ramentum*, Bz.),—the filth that one gets rid of through the sink and the gutter.

The above terms may have a further significance: "the Ap. is carrying on the metaphor of ἐπιθανάτους above. Both περικαθ. and περίψ. were used esp. of those condemned criminals of the lowest class who were sacrificed as expiatory offerings, as scapegoats in effect, because of their degraded life. It was the custom at Athens to reserve certain worthless persons who in case of plague, famine, or other visitations from heaven, might be thrown into the sea, in the belief that they would 'cleanse away,' or 'wipe off,' the guilt of the nation" (Lt.). περίκαθαρμα (for the earlier κάθαρμα) occurs in this sense in Arr.-Epict., III., xxii., 78; also in Prov. xxi. 11 (LXX). This view is supported by Hesychius, Luther, Bg., Hn., Ed.; rejected, as inappropriate, by Er., Est., Cv., Bz., Mr., Gd., El. Certainly P. does not look on his sufferings as a *piaculum*; but he is expressing the estimate of "the world," which deemed its vilest fittest to devote to the anger of the Gods. Possibly some cry of this sort, anticipating the "Christiani ad leones" of the martyrdoms, had been

raised against P. by the Ephesian populace (cf. xv. 32; also Acts xxii. 22).—ἕως ἄρτι, repeated with emphasis from ver. 11, shows P. to be writing under the smart of recent outrage. With his temper, Paul keenly felt personal indignities.

§ 14. PAUL'S FATHERLY DISCIPLINE, iv. 14-21. All has now been said that can be concerning the Divisions at Cor.—the causes underlying them, and the spirit they manifest and foster in the Church. In their self-complacent, ungrateful thoughts, the Cor. have raised themselves quite above the despised and painful condition of the App. of Christ; "imitabantur filios qui illustrati parum curant humiles parentes—ex saturitate fastidium habebant, ex opulencia insolentiam, ex regno superbiam" (Bg.). The delineation of Paul's state and theirs in the last Section is, in truth, a bitter sarcasm upon the behaviour of the readers; yet P. wishes to admonish, not to rebuke them (14). He states, in a softened tone, the measures he is taking to rectify the evils complained of. His severity springs from the anxious heart of a father (14 f.). Yet in the father's hand, before the paragraph ends, we see again the rod (21).

Ver. 14. Οὐκ ἐντρέπων κ.τ.λ.: "Not (by way of) shaming you do I write this, but admonishing (you) as my children beloved". It is in *chiding* that the Ap. addresses both the Cor. and Gal. as his "children" (2 Cor. vi. 13, xii. 14, Gal. iv. 19); τέκνον ἀγαπητὸν he applies besides only to *Timothy* (ver. 17 and 2 Tim. i. 2). Not intentionally here, but in vi. 5 and xv. 34 he *does* speak πρὸς ἐντροπήν.—τὸ νοθετεῖν (= ἐν νῶ τιθέναι) is the part of a *father* (Eph. vi. 4), or *brother* (2 Thess. iii. 15); "the vb. has a lighter meaning than ἐντρέπειν or ἐπιτιμᾶν, and implies



<sup>1</sup> Rom. xv. 14; Col. i. 28, iii. 16; <sup>2</sup> ἐν Χριστῷ, ἀλλ' οὐ πολλοὺς πατέρας· ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ <sup>2</sup> διὰ 1 Thess. v. 12, 14; 2 Thess. iii. 15; Acts xx. 31. <sup>3</sup> μιμηταὶ μου γίνεσθε. 17. διὰ τοῦτο <sup>3</sup> ἔπεμψα ὑμῖν Τιμόθεον, <sup>4</sup> οὗ ὅς ἐστι τέκνον <sup>4</sup> μου <sup>4</sup> ἀγαπητὸν καὶ ἀπιστὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ, ὅς ὑμᾶς <sup>5</sup> ἀναμνήσει τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ, <sup>5</sup> καθὼς πανταχοῦ ἐν πάσῃ <sup>6</sup> Gal. iii. 24 f. w Phm. 10; cf. Gal. iv. 19; 1 Thess. ii. 7 f., 11. x See i. 10. y xi. 1; Eph. v. 1; 1 Thess. i. 6, ii. 14; Heb. vi. 12. For the vb., 2 Thess. iii. 7, 9. z Phil. ii. 19; Acts xi. 29; *dat. commodi*. a Eph. i. 1; Col. i. 2; Acts xvi. 15. πιστός, see ver. 2. b 2 Cor. vii. 15; 2 Tim. i. 6; Heb. x. 32; Mk. xi. 21, xiv. 72. -σις, xl. 24. c Pl., Rom. iii. 16, xi. 33; Heb. iii. 10; James i. 8; Rev. xv. 3; Acts ii. 28, xiii. 10; xiv. 16; freq. in O.T. d Acts xvii. 30, xxiv. 3.

<sup>1</sup> νοουθετων (?) : so  $\Sigma$ ACP 17 (Alexandrian, and perhaps Neutral), followed by Tisch., W.H., Tr. marg., Nestle.

νοουετω BDGL, etc., latt. vg.—Western and Syrian.

<sup>2</sup> B om. Ἰησου, with several Ff.

<sup>3</sup> (δια τουτο) αυτο (?) ins.  $\Sigma^*$ AP 17, syr<sup>p</sup>, Euthal.; so Tisch., W.H. marg.

Om. αυτο  $\Sigma$ BCDGL, etc., syr<sup>sch</sup>; W.H. *txt.*, Al., Tr., Nestle. The double pronoun is characteristic of Paul; αυτο might easily be lost through homœoteleuton.

<sup>4</sup> μου τεκνον,  $\Sigma$ ABCP 17, 37, Euthal.

<sup>5</sup> Χριστῷ Ἰησού,  $\Sigma$ CDB 17, 37, cop. syr<sup>p</sup> Euthal.—Alexandrian.

κυριῳ Ἰησού (om. Χριστῷ) : D\*G—Western.

Χριστῷ, ABDcLP, etc., syr<sup>sch</sup>.—Neutral and Syrian.

a monitory appeal to the νοῦς rather than a direct rebuke or censure" (El.).

Ver. 15. Reason for this lighter reproof, where stern censure was due—"For if you should have ten thousand tutors in Christ, yet (you have) not many fathers!" The relation of the ἐποικοδομοῦντες to the θεμέλιον τιθεῖς (iii. 10) is exchanged for that of the παιδαγωγοὶ to the πατήρ. The παιδαγωγός (*boy-leader*) was not the schoolmaster, but the *home-tutor*—a kind of nursery-governor—who had charge of the child from tender years, looking after his food and dress, speech and manners, and when he was old enough taking him to and from school (see Lt. on Gal. iii. 24). This epithet has a touch of disparagement for the readers (cf. Gal. iii. 25); as Or. says (*Catena*), referring to iii. 1 f., οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ παιδαγωγεῖται, ἀλλ' εἴ τις νήπιος καὶ ἀτελής.—μυρίους (xiv. 19) indicates the very many—probably too many—teachers busy in this Church (cf. Jas. iii. 1, and iii. 18 above), in whose guidance the Cor. felt themselves "rich" and Apostolic direction superfluous (8).—ἀλλά (*at certe*) introduces an apodosis in salient contrast with its protasis: "You may have ever so many nurses, but only one father!" From this relationship "non solum Apollus excluditur, successor; sed etiam comites, Silas et Timotheus" (Bg.):

ἐγώ (I and no other) ἐγέννησα ὑμᾶς (cf. Philem. 10, Gal. iv. 19); in the Rabbinical treatise *Sanhedrin*, f., xix. 2, the like sentiment occurs, "Whoever teaches the son of his friend the law, it is as if he had begotten him"; similarly Philo, *de Virtute*, p. 1000.—διὰ τ. εὐαγγελίου; cf. 1 Peter i. 23; also i. 18 above, 1 Thess. i. 5, ii. 19; John vi. 63, etc.

Ver. 16. "I beseech you therefore (as your father), be imitators of me." γίνεσθε (pr. impr.) signifies, in moral exhortations, *be in effect, show yourselves* (cf. Eph. iv. 32, v. 17). μιμηταὶ γίνεσθε demands, beyond μιμείσθε, a character formed on the given model. Imitation is the law of the child's life; cf. Eph. v. 1; and for the highest illustration, John v. 17-20. It is one thing to say "I am of Paul" (i. 12), another to tread in Paul's steps. The imitation would embrace, in effect, much of what was described in vv. 9 ff.

Ver. 17. "For this reason"—viz., to help you to imitate me as your father—"I sent to you Timothy, who is a beloved child of mine, and faithful in the Lord". Timothy had left P. before this letter was written, having been sent forward along with Erastus (possibly a Cor., Rom. xvi. 23) to Macedonia (Acts xix. 22), but with instructions, as it now appears, to go forward to Cor.; respecting his

ἐκκλησίᾳ \*διδάσκω. 18. ὡς μὴ ἐρχομένου δέ μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς \*  
 ἔφυσιώθησάν τινες. 19. ἐλεύσομαι δὲ ταχέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ ἂν ὁ  
 ὁ Κύριος ἡ θελήσῃ, καὶ ἴγνώσομαι οὐ τὸν ὁ λόγον τῶν ἔπεφυσιωμένων  
 ἀλλὰ τὴν ὁ δύναμιν. 20. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ὁ λόγῳ ἢ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ ὁ Θεοῦ  
 ἀλλ' ἐν ὁ δύναμει. 21. τί θέλετε; ἢ ἐν ὁ ῥάβδῳ ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἢ  
 ἐν ἀγάπῃ \*πνεύματι τε ὁ πραότητος<sup>1</sup>;

Of Chris-  
 tian doc-  
 trine,  
 Rom. xii.  
 7; eight  
 times be-  
 sides in  
 P.; Heb.  
 v. 12; 1  
 Jo. ii. 27;  
 Gosp.  
 and Acts,  
*passim*.

f See ver. 6 above.

g In this sense, 2 Cor. iii. 1, x. 2; Gal. i. 7, ii. 12; 1 Tim. i. 6; 7 times in  
 Pastt.; 2 Pet. iii. 9, 16; Jude 4. h James iv. 15; Sir. xxxix. 6. i 2 Cor. ii. 9, xiii. 6; Rom.  
 vii. 7; Gal. ii. 9; Phil. ii. 22, iii. 10; 1 Th. iii. 5; 1 Jo. iii. 16; Rev. ii. 23, etc. k 1 Thess. i. 5;  
 in similar contrasts, 2 Cor. x. 11; Rom. xv. 18; Col. iii. 17; 1 John iii. 18. l See i. 18; 10 times  
 besides in like use in P. For ἐν δυνάμει, xv. 43; 2 Cor. vi. 7; Rom. i. 4, xv. 13, 19; Col. i. 11, 29;  
 2 Th. i. 11, ii. 9; Mk ix. 1, etc. m vi. 9 f., xv. 50; Rom. xiv. 17; Gal. v. 21; Eph. v. 5; Col. iv.  
 11; 1 Th. ii. 12; 2 Th. i. 5; Rev. xii. 10; Mark, Luke, Acts, *passim*. n Rev. ii. 27, xii. 5, xix. 15;  
 Isa. x. 24. o In like use, 2 Cor. iv. 13; Rom. viii. 15, xi. 8 (Isa. xxix. 10); Gal. vi. 1; Eph. i. 17,  
 etc. p 2 Cor. x. 1; six times besides in P.; James i. 21, iii. 13; 1 Pet. iii. 15; Ps. xlv. 4.

<sup>1</sup>πραυτήτος, ABC 17. So commonly, in oldest copies; see Wr., p. 48.

visit, see notes to xvi. 10 f. The Cor. had heard already (through Erastus?) of Timothy's coming; P. does not announce the fact, he explains it: "This is why I have sent T. to you"; to the τέκνα ἀγαπητά (14) P. sends a τέκνον ἀγαπητόν (see Phil. ii. 19-22), adding καὶ πιστόν ἐν Κυρ., since it was a *trusty* agent, one "faithful in the Lord"—in the sphere of Christian duty—that the commission required. For ἐν Κυρίῳ, see parls., esp. Eph. vi. 21, Col. iv. 7; πιστὸς τῷ Κυρίῳ (Acts xvi. 15) denotes a right relationship to Christ, πιστὸς ἐν Κυρίῳ includes responsibility for others.—"Who will remind you of my ways, that are in Christ" (τὰς ὁδοὺς μου τὰς ἐν Χριστῷ); the adjunct is made a definition by the repeated art. ἀναμνησκῶ with double acc., like ὑπομν. in John xiv. 26, combines our *remind* (a person) and *recall* (a thing). Paul's "ways" had been familiar in Cor. (cf. Acts xx. 31-35; also 2 Cor. i. 12 ff.), but seemed forgotten; the παιδαγωγοὶ had crowded out of mind the πατήρ. He means by ὁδοὶ μου *habits of life* to be copied (16)—the ἄγωγή of 2 Tim. iii. 10 f.—not doctrines to be learnt; see further ix. 19-27, x. 33-xi. 1, 2 Cor. vi. 4-10, x. 1. For ἐν Χριστῷ, see note on ἐν X. ὁ. i. 2. In Paul's gentler qualities Tim. would strongly recall him to the Cor., by conduct even more than words.—"According as" (not how) "I teach"—in accordance with my teaching. Paul's *ways* and *teaching* are not the same thing; but the former are regulated by the latter; they will find the same consistency in Tim. "(As I teach) everywhere, in every Church:" the "ways" P. and Tim. observe, and to which the Cor. must be recalled, are

those inculcated uniformly in the Gentile mission; see i. 2 (σὺν πᾶσι . . . ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, and notes), also xi. 16, xiv. 33.

Vv. 18, 19. ὡς μὴ ἐρχομένου δέ μου πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐφυσιώθησάν τινες: "Some however have been puffed up, under the idea that I am not coming to (visit) you". The contrastive δὲ points to a group of inflated persons (cf. 6, v. 2, viii. 2) hostile to Paul's "ways". The wish was father to the thought, which was suggested to "some" by the fact of Timothy's coming. They bore themselves more insolently as not fearing correction;—or did they imagine that Paul is *afraid* of them! Amongst these, presumably, were mischievous teachers (iii. 11-17) who had swelled into importance in Paul's absence, partisans who magnified others to his damage and talked as though the Church could now fairly dispense with him (3, 6, 8, 15). On ὡς with ptp., see Bn. § 440 f., or Goodwin's *Syntax*, or *Grammar*, *ad rem*; cf. note on ὡς μὴ λαβὼν, ver. 7, also 2 Cor. v. 20, 2 Pet. i. 3: "because (as they suppose) I am not coming". The aor. ἐφυσιώθησαν points to the moment when they heard, to their relief, of Timothy's coming. δὲ is postponed in the order of the sentence to avoid separating the closely linked opening words (Wr., pp. 698 f.).—"But (despite their presumption) I shall come speedily, if the Lord will". They say, "He is not coming; he sends Tim. instead!" he replies, "Come I will, and that soon" (see xvi. 8, and note).—ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος θελήσῃ (see parls.), varied to ἐπιτρέψῃ in xvi. 7; the aor. subj. refers to the "willing" to the (indeterminate) time of the visit. "The Lord" is *Christ*; that θέλω and θέλημα (see note



a vi. 7, xv. 29; Matt. v. 34. V. I. \*ὅλως ὁ ἀκούεται ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ πορνεία, καὶ ὁ τοιαύτη πορνεία b Mk. ii. 1; ὁ ἥτις οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὀνομάζεται,<sup>1</sup> ὥστε ἡ γυναῖκά τινα τοῦ c Rom. i. 13, ii. 24; Gal. i. 16, ii. 2; Col. i. 27; 1 Tim. iii. 16; 1 Pet. ii. 12; Acts xv. 12, xxi. 19. f vii. 2, 29; Mt. xiv. 4, xxii. 28; Deut. xxviii. 30. d Cf. Heb. ii. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Om. ὀνομάζεται all uncc. but N<sup>c</sup>LP, and all oldest verss. but syrr.—Added by Syrian emendation.

on xii. 11) are elsewhere referred by P. to God (Mr.) is no sufficient reason for diverting ὁ Κύρ. from its distinctive sense (cf. 17 above, and note on i. 31). Christ determines the movements of His servants (1; cf. 1 Thess. iii. 11, Acts xvi. 7, xviii. 9, etc.).

"And I shall know (take cognisance of) not the word of those that are puffed up (pf. pass. ptp., of settled state), but their power." "γνώσκειν: verbum judiciale; paternam ostendit potestatem" (Bg.). High-flown pretensions P. ignores; he will test their "power," and estimate each man (he is thinking mainly of the ἐποικοδομοῦντες of chap. iii.) by what he can do, not say. The "power" in question is that belonging to "the kingdom of God" (i. 18, 24, ii. 4).

Ver. 20. "For not in word (lies) the kingdom of God, but in power:" another of Paul's religious maxims (see note on i. 29), repeated in many forms: cf. 2 Cor. x. 11, xiii. 3 f., etc. The βασιλεία τοῦ Θεοῦ always (even in Rom. xiv. 17) bears ref. to the final Messianic rule (see vi. 9 f., xv. 24, 50); the "power of God" called it into being and operates in every man who truly serves it. That Divine realm is not built up by windy words. To the same test P. offers himself in 2 Cor. xiii. 1-10. For εἶναι (understood) ἐν, see ii. 5 and note.

Ver. 21. τί θέλετε; "What is your will?"—what would you have? τί a sharper πότερον; the latter only once (John vii. 17) in N.T.—"With a rod am I to come to you? or in love and a spirit of meekness?" ἐν ῥάβδῳ (= ἐν κολάσει, ἐν τιμωρίᾳ, Cm.) is sound Gr. for "armed with a rod" (cf. Sir. xlvi. 4, ἐν λιβῷ; Lucian, Dial. Mort., xxiii. 3, καθιζόμενος ἐν τ. ῥάβδῳ; add Heb. ix. 25, 1 John v. 6)—the implement of paternal discipline (14) called for by the behaviour of "some" (18).

There is reason, however, in the stern note of this question, for connecting it with ch. v. 1 (so Oec., Cv., Bz., Hf.). P. is approaching the subject of the following Section, which already stirs his wrath. For the sbj. of the dubitative

question, ἔλθω, see Wr., p. 356: ἐν ὑμῖν τὸ πᾶν κείται (Cm.).—ἐν ἀγάπῃ κ.τ.λ. (ἔλθω); cf. 2 Cor. ii. 1; the constr. of ii. 3 above is somewhat diff. (see note). πνεύματί τε πρᾶτης defines the particular expression of love in which P. desires to come: cf. xiii. 6 f. The Ap. does not mean the Holy Spirit here specifically, though the thought of Him is latent in every ref. to the "spirit" of a Christian man. Πρᾶτης (cf. 2 Cor. x. 1) is the disposition: most opposed to, and exercised by, the spirit of the conceited and insubordinate τινὲς at Cor.

DIVISION II. QUESTIONS OF SOCIAL MORALS, v.-vii. The Ap. has done with the subject of the Parties, which had claimed attention first because they sprung from a radical misconception of Christianity. But in this typical Hellenic community, social corruptions had arisen which, if not so universal, were still more malignant in their effect. The heathen converts of Cor., but lately washed from the foulest vice (vi. 9 ff.), were some of them slipping back into the mire (2 Cor. xii. 21). An offence of incredible turpitude had just come to the Apostle's ears, to the shame of which the Church appeared indifferent (v.). This case, demanding instant judicial action (1-5), leads the Ap. to define more clearly the relation of Christians to men of immoral life, as they may be found within or without the Church (6-13). From sins of uncleanness he passes in ch. vi. to acts of injustice committed in this Church, which, in one instance at least, had been scandalously dragged before the heathen law-courts (1-8). In vi. 12-20 P. returns to the prevalent social evil of Cor., and launches his solemn interdict against fornication, which was, seemingly, sheltered under the pretext of Christian liberty! It is just here, and in the light of the principles now developed, that P. takes up the question of marriage or celibacy, discussed at large in ch. vii. The fact that the Ap. turns at this juncture to the topics raised in the Church Letter, and that ch. vii. is headed with the

πατρός ἔχειν· 2. καὶ ὑμεῖς πεφυσιωμένοι ἐστέ; καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἔπεινήσατε, ἵνα ἑξαρθῇ ἡ ἐκ μέσου ὑμῶν ὁ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ποιήσας; 3. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀπὸν τῷ σώματι, παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι, ἤδη κέκρικα ὡς παρὼν τὸν οὕτω τοῦτο κατερ-

Lk. vi. 25. i Col. ii. 14; Mk. xlii. 15; Jo. xvii. 15, xxi. f. k 2 Cor. vi. 17 (Isa. lli. 11); Col. ii. 14; 2 Thess. ii. 7; Acts xvii. 33, xxiii. 10; Mt. xiii. 49. l In this sense, Mt. xxiii. 3; Lk. xi. 48; Jo. viii. 41. m See xi. 18. n 2 Cor. x. 1 f., 11, xlii. 2, 10; Phil. i. 27; Col. ii. 5. o vii. 34; Rom. viii. 10; Eph. iv. 4; 1 Thess. v. 23. p Pf., vii. 37. See ii. 2. q In like sense, Rom. i. 27, ii. 9, vii. 8 ff.

<sup>1</sup> α ρ θ η: all uncc. but L.

<sup>2</sup> π ρ α ξ α ς (?), ἤ AC, several good minn.; so Tisch., W.H., Nestle. Latt. *gessit*. ποιήσας, BDGLP, etc. (vg. *fecit*)—probably Western and Syrian. So Treg., El., R.V.

<sup>3</sup> Om. ω ς (α π ω ν) ἤ ABCD\*P 17, 37, vg., syrsch. cop.

formula Περί δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατέ μοι, must not be allowed to break the strong links of subject-matter and thought binding it to chh. v. and vi. Its connexion with the foregoing context is essential, with the following comparatively accidental.

§ 15. THE CASE OF INCEST, v. 1-8. About the party-strifes at Cor. P. has been informed by the members of a particular family (i. 11); the monstrous case of incest, to which he turns abruptly and without any preface (*cf.* i. 10), is notorious.

Ver. 1. Ὡς ἀκούεται κ.τ.λ.: "There is actually fornication heard of amongst you!" No wonder that the father of the Church is compelled to show the "rod" (iv. 21). Not ἀκούω, as in xi. 18, but the impersonal ἀκούεται (*cf.* ἡκούσθη, Mark ii. 1), indicating *common report* in the Church (ἐν ὑμῖν),—and (ὅλως: see parls.) *undoubted fact*.—Πορνεία signifies any immoral sexual relation, whether including (as in Matt. v. 32) or distinguished from (Matt. xv. 19) μοιχεία.

The sin is branded as of unparalleled blackness by the description, καὶ τοιαύτη πορνεία ἥτις κ.τ.λ.: "Yes, and a fornication of such sort"—the καὶ climactic—"as (there is) not even among the Gentiles!" While mere πορνεία was excused—not to say approved—in heathen society, even by strict moralists, such foulness was abominated. Of this crime the loose Catullus says (76. 4): "Nam nihil est quidquam sceleris quo prodeat ultra"; and Cicero, *pro Cluent.*, 6, 15: "scelus incredibile, et præter hanc unam in omni vita inauditum"; Euripides' *Hippolytus* speaks for Gr. sentiment. Greek and Roman law both stamped it with infamy; for Jewish law, *see* Lev. xviii. 7 f., Deut. xxi. 30. also Gen. xlix. 4.—

ἥτις, of *quality* (as in iii. 17), in place of the regular correlative οἷα (xv. 48). Neither ὀνομάζεται (T.R.) nor ἀκούεται is understood in the ellipsis, simply ἐστίν—"such as does not exist"; the exceptional heathen instances are such as to prove the rule. The actual sin is finally stated: ὥστε γυναῖκά τινα κ.τ.λ., "as that one (or a certain one) should have a wife of his father".—ἥτις defines the quality, ὥστε (with inf.) the content and extent of the πορνεία.—γυν. τοῦ πατρὸς (instead of μητρίας) is the term of Lev. xviii. 8. ἔχειν indicates a continued association, whether in the way of formal marriage or not; nor does ἔργον (2), nor κατεργασάμενον (3), make clear this latter point. That "the father" was living is not proved by the ἀδικηθεὶς of 2 Cor. vii. 12; P. can hardly have referred to this foul immorality in the language of 2 Cor. ii. 5-11, vii. 8-12; the "grief" and "wrong" of those passages are probably quite diff. The woman was not a Christian, for Paul passes no sentence upon her; see ver. 13.

Ver. 2. What are the Cor. doing under this deep disgrace? *Not even grieving.* Καὶ ὑμεῖς πεφυσιωμένοι ἐστέ; κ.τ.λ.: "And are you (still) puffed up? and did you not rather mourn?" For the grammatical force of πεφυσ. ἐστέ, see parls. in i. 10, iv. 8; and for the vb., note to iv. 6. P. confronts the pride of the Cor. Church with this crushing fact; no intellectual brilliance, no religious enthusiasm, can cover this hideous blot: "argumentatur a contrario, ubi enim luctus est, cessit gloria" (Cv.). The ver. is best read *interrogatively*, in view of the οὐχὶ in 2nd clause (*cf.* i. 20), and in Paul's expostulatory style (*cf.* iv. 7 f.).—ἐπεινήσατε (see parls.) connotes *funeral*





\* ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου<sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦ.<sup>1</sup> 6. οὐ \* καλὸν τὸ καύχημα ὑμῶν \* See i. 8.  
 \* οὐκ \* οἶδατε ὅτι μικρὰ \* ζύμη \* ὄλον τὸ \* φύραμα \* ζυμοί; In like  
 7. ἐκκαθάρατε οὖν \* τὴν παλαιὰν \* ζύμην, ἵνα ἦτε νέον \* φύραμα, sense, ix.  
 καθὼς ἔστε \* ἄζυμοι \* καὶ γὰρ τὸ \* πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> ἐτύθη 15; seven  
 times be-  
 sides in  
 P.; Jas. ii.  
 7; 1 Pet.  
 ii. 12, Mt.  
 c See iii. 16.

xv. 26, xxvi. 10; Lk. xxi. 5. b ix. 15 f.; 7 times besides in P.; Heb. iii. 6. c See iii. 16.  
 d Gal. v. 9. μικρός, cf. Jas. iii. 5; Mt. xiii. 32. e Mt. xiii. 33, xvi. 6 ff., and parls. For φύραμα,  
 Rom. ix. 21, xi. 16. f 2 Tim. ii. 21; Deut. xxvi. 13; Judges vii. 4. g In like sense, Rom. vi. 6;  
 Eph. iv. 22; Col. iii. 9. h Mt. xxvi. 17, and parls.; Acts xii. 3, xx. 6; Lev. ii. 4, etc. i Mt.  
 xxvi. 2, etc. From LXX (Heb. pesach); in 2 Chron. φασεκ. πασχα θυνω, Mk. xiv. 12; Lk. xxii. 7.  
 k x. 20; Acts xiv. 13, 18.

<sup>1</sup> τ. κυρ. ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ACP, minuscc.<sup>15</sup>, syrr. cop., many Ff.

τ. κυρ. Ι. Χριστοῦ, D Ambrst. Cf. ver. 4, i. 8, and 1 Thess. for Pauline usage.

<sup>2</sup> Om. οὖν all uncc. but <sup>2</sup>CLP; all critical edd.

"with the power" of its Head. Realising that it is clothed therewith, the Cor. Church will deliver the appalling sentence inspired by the absent Ap.—οὖν τῇ δυνάμει κ.τ.λ. is a *h.l.*; ἐν δυνάμει (ii. 5, etc.) is frequent in P. "Our Lord Jesus" is Christ the Judge (see i. 8).

"Delivering to Satan," in the view of many (including Aug., Cv., Bz., and latterly Hn.), is a synonym for *excommunication*,—a thrusting out of the condemned into "the kingdom of darkness," where "the god of this world" holds sway (2 Cor. iv. 4, Eph. ii. 2, vi. 12, Col. i. 13, etc.); similarly in 1 Tim. i. 20. But there is no proof that such a formula of excommunication existed either in the Synagogue or the early Church; and the added words, εἰς ὀλεθρον τῆς σαρκός κ.τ.λ., point to some *physically punitive* and spiritually remedial visitation of the sinner. The σὰρξ to be destroyed, it is replied, lies in the man's sinful passions; but these would, presumably, be strengthened rather than destroyed by sending him back to the world. "The flesh," as antithetical to "the spirit" (see parls.), is rather the man's *bodily nature*; and physical maladies, even death, are ascribed in the N.T. to Satan (2 Cor. xii. 7, Luke xiii. 16, John viii. 44, Heb. ii. 14), while on the other hand affliction is made an instrument of spiritual benefit (ix. 27, xi. 30 ff., 2 Cor. iv. 16 f., xii. 7, 1 Peter iv. 1 f.); moreover, the App. did occasionally, as in the cases of Ananias and Elymas (Acts v., xiii.), pronounce penal sentences in the physical sphere, which took immediate effect on the condemned. It appears certain that P. imposed in this case a *severe physical infliction*—indeed, if ὀλεθρος is to be pressed (see parls.), a *mortal stroke*—as the only means of marking the gravity of the crime and saving the criminal. "Il ne faut pas en

douter, c'est une condamnation à mort que Paul prononce" (Renan); not however a sudden death, rather "a slow consumption, giving the sinner time to repent" (Gd.). The *ejection* of the culprit the Church of itself could and must effect (2, 13); for the aggravated chastisement the presence of the Apostle's "spirit," allied "with the power of the Lord Jesus," was necessary.—ὁ Σατανᾶς (Heb. *hassatān*, Aram. *s'tanā*: see parls.), "the Adversary," sc. of God and man, to whom every such opportunity is welcome (John viii. 44). That Satan's malignity should be (as one may say) overreached by God's wisdom and mercy (cf. iii. 19) is nothing very wonderful (see 2 Cor. xii. 7, Luke xxii. 31 f., also the temptation of our Lord, and of Job); hate is proverbially blind. On "the day of the Lord," when the ultimate salvation or perdition of each is fixed, see i. 8, Rom. ii. 5-16. That some Cor. afterwards sought *proof* of Paul's supernatural power goes to show, not that this sentence proved abortive, but rather that the offender averted it by prompt repentance.

Ver. 6. "Your vaunt is not good:" καύχημα, *materies gloriandi* (cf. αἰσχρὸν κλέος, Eurip., *Helena*, 135: Mr.), found in the state of the Church, of which the Cor. were proud (iv. 6 ff.) when they ought to have been ashamed.—καλόν, *good* in the sense of *seemly*, of *fine quality*; cf. 2 Cor. viii. 21, John x. 32, etc. For οὐκ οἶδατε . . . ; see iii. 16. —The Cor. might reply that the offence, however shameful, was the sin of one man and therefore a little thing; P. retorts, that it is "a little *leaven*," enough to "leaven the whole kneading": cf. the Parables of Matt. xiii. 33 and Luke xii. 1. A sin so virulent held an indefinite power of corruption; it tainted the entire community. The φύραμα (*φυράω*,



1 H. J. for vb. **Χριστός**. 8. ὥστε <sup>1</sup> ἐορτάζωμεν, <sup>1</sup> μὴ ἐν <sup>ο</sup> ζύμῃ <sup>α</sup> παλαιᾷ μηδὲ ἐν <sup>ε</sup> Col. ii. 16; <sup>ο</sup> ζύμῃ <sup>α</sup> κακίας καὶ <sup>α</sup> πονηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν <sup>α</sup> ἄζύμοις <sup>α</sup> εἰλικρινείας καὶ <sup>ο</sup> ἀληθείας.  
 m Rom. i. 29.  
 κακία, xiv.  
 20; Eph. iv. 31; Col. iii. 8; Tit. iii. 3; Jas. i. 21; 1 Pet. ii. 1, 16; Acts viii. 22; Mt. vi. 34. πονηρία,  
 Eph. vi. 12; Acts iii. 26; Mt. xxii. 18; Mk. vii. 22; Lk. xi. 39. n 2 Cor. i. 12, ii. 17; -νης, Phil.  
 i. 10. o In this sense, 2 Cor. vii. 14, xii. 6; Rom. ix. 1; Eph. iv. 25; Phil. i. 18; 2 Jo. 1; 3 Jo. 1;  
 Acts xxvi. 25; Mk. v. 33.

<sup>1</sup> ἐορτάζωμεν, ADP, minuscc. <sup>20</sup>; by itacism.

to mix) is the lump of dough kneaded for a single batch of bread: see parls.

Ver. 7. ἐκκαθάρατε, "Cleanse out"—the aor. implying a *summary*, and ἐκ- a *complete* removal (see parls.; for simple καθαίρω, John xv. 2), leaving the Church "clean": an allusion to the pre-Paschal removal of leaven (Exod. xii. 15 ff., xiii. 7). For τ. παλαιὰν ζύμην, cf. Ignatius, *ad Magn.*, 10, τ. κακὴν ζύμην τ. παλαιωθεῖσαν κ. ἐνοξίσασαν, applying, however, to Judaism what here relates to Gentile vice. The "old leaven" (denoting not persons—the incestuous and his like—but influences: see 8) must be cleansed away, "in order that you may be a fresh kneading". νέον, *new in point of time* (see parls.)—the mass of dough, with the evil ferment removed, kneaded over again. The Cor. are to be clear of the παλαιὰ ζύμη "in accordance with the fact that" (καθώς) they "are ἄζυμοι," a term not used literally—as though the Church was at this (*sc.* Paschal) season eating unleavened bread: such a παρατήρησις of Jewish law by Gentiles P. would hardly have encouraged (see Gal. iv. 9 ff.)—but *morally*, in consistency with the allegorical strain of the passage; "in the purpose and command of God, and in their own profession, they are separated from all sin, which is to them what, during the passover week, leaven was to the Jews. This objective use of *unleavened* corresponds to that of *sanctified* in i. 2" (Bt.). Cf. the ἥδη καθαροὶ ἐστε of John xv. 3; and for the general principle, i. 30, vi. 11, Rom. vi. 1-11, etc.

Ver. 8 explains the symbolical ἄζυμοι. Participation in the sacrifice of Christ presumes unleavenedness in the participants; the unleavened bread and the passover are related (objectively) as repentance and faith (subjectively): "For indeed our passover *has been slain*, even Christ". τὸ πάσχα . . . ἐτύθη (aor., of historical fact)—the Passover Lamb killed, and leaven not yet cast out: what a contradiction! The Law prescribed no exact time, but usage required every

scrap of leaven to be got rid of from the house at the beginning (eve) of the day, Nisan 14, on which the Lamb was slain. πάσχα stands for the Paschal *Lamb*, the sacrifice of which legally constituted the Passover (Mark xiv. 12, cf. John i. 29).

"Our (Christian) passover," cf. Heb. xiii. 10; and for Paul's appropriation to the Church of the things of the Old Covenant, Rom. xi. 17, Gal. iv. 26, vi. 16, Phil. iii. 3. This identification of Christ crucified with the Paschal Lamb lends some support to the view that Jesus died, as the Fourth Gospel appears to represent, *on the 14th Nisan*; but the precise coincidence is not essential to his interpretation. The Pascha (Aram. *pascha* = Heb. *pesach*)—in O.T. "Jehovah's Passover"—was the sacrificial covenant-feast of the kingdom of God in Israel. It contained three essential elements: (1) *the blood* of the victim, sprinkled at the exodus on each household, afterwards on the national altar, as an expiation to God (cf. Rom. iii. 25), who "passes over" when He "sees the blood"; (2) *the flesh* of the lamb, supplying the food of redeemed Israel as it sets out to the Holy Mount and the Promised Land (see x. 16 f., John vi. 32, 51); (3) *the continued feast*, an act of fellowship, grounded on redemption, between Jehovah and Israel and amongst the Israelites; cf. x. 16-22, xi. 20, and notes.

With the leaven removed and the Passover Lamb slain, "let us keep the feast" (ἐορτάζωμεν, pr. subj. of *continued action*)—this term again allegorical not literal (see ἄζυμοι, 7), "a figurative characterisation of the whole Christian conduct of life" (Mr.). ἅπας ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ πανήγυρις ἁγία (Clem. Al., *Strom.*, viii., quoted by Ed.); to the same effect Cm., δέικνυσιν ὅτι πᾶς ὁ χρόνος ἐορτῆς ἐστί καιρὸς τ. Χριστιανοῖς διὰ τ. ὑπερβολὴν τ. ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς δοθέντων. διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τ. Θεοῦ ἄνθρωπος γέγονε καὶ ἰτύθη, ἵνα σε ἐορτάζειν ποιήσῃ; cf., earlier than P., Philo's interpretation of

9. Ἐγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ μὴ συναναμίγνυσθαι πόρνοις. <sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. vii. 8; Rom. xvi. 22; etc.
10. καὶ οὐ πάντως τοῖς πόρνοις τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, ἢ τοῖς πλεονέκταις ἢ ἄρπαξιν ἢ εἰδωλολάτραις, ἢ ἐπεὶ ὀφείλετε <sup>3</sup> ἄρα <sup>2</sup> 2 Th. iii. 14.
- v. 5; 1 Tim. i. 10; twice in Heb., and in Rev. s ix. 10, 22, xvi. 12; Rom. iii. 9; 4 times in Acts and Lk. t vi. 10; Eph. v. 5; -τεω, 2 Cor. ii. 11, vii. 2, xii. 17 f., 1 Th. iv. 6. u vi. 10; Mt. vii. 15; Lk. xviii. 11; -γη, Mt. xxiii. 25; Heb. x. 34. v vi. 9, x. 7; Eph. v. 5; Rev. xxi. 8, xxii. 15. v vii. 14. x In this tense and sense (ωφειλ), 2 Cor. xii. 11; Heb. ii. 17; Lk. xvii. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Om. καὶ all uncc. but B<sup>5</sup>C<sup>5</sup>D<sup>5</sup>L<sup>5</sup>P.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ (not ἢ before αρπ.), all uncc. but B<sup>5</sup>C<sup>5</sup>D<sup>5</sup>b<sup>5</sup>L.

<sup>3</sup> ὀφείλετε, all uncc. but D<sup>5</sup>P.

the Feast, *De migr. Abrah.*, 16; *De congr. quærend. erudit. gratia*, 28. For ὥστε with impv., see note on iv. 5.—The ἄζυμα (unleavened cakes), to be partaken of by the ἄζυμοι (7), are described by the attributes εἰλικρινίας καὶ ἀληθείας, “of sincerity and truth”—a sound inward disposition, and a right position in accord with the reality of things. To the forbidden ἐν ζύμῃ παλαιᾷ (see note, 7) is added, by way of closer specification, μηδὲ ἐν ζύμῃ κακίας κ. πονηρίας (*malitia et nequitia*)—“κακία the vicious disposition, πονηρία the active exercise of it” (Lt.); see Trench, *Syn.*, § 11. The associations of approaching Easter, probably, suggested this train of thought (*cf.* xv. 23, ἀπαρχή); nowhere else does P. call Christ “the Pascha”.

§ 16. A PREVIOUS LETTER MISREAD, v. 9-13. The Cor. Church were taking no action against the offender of § 15; in this neglect they disregarded the Apostle's instructions conveyed by some recent letter. These instructions they appear to have misunderstood, reading them as though Paul forbade Christians to have any dealings with immoral persons, and asking for further explanation. Not improbably, they were making their uncertainty on the general question an excuse for hesitation in this urgent and flagrant case. Accordingly the Ap., after giving sentence upon the πόρνος of vv. 1 f., repeats with all possible distinctness his direction to *excommunicate persons of openly immoral life from the Church*. Profligates of the world must be left to God's sole judgment. P. felt that there was an evasion, prompted by the disposition to palter with sin, in the misunderstanding reported to him; hence the closing words of the last Section, condemning the “leaven of badness and wickedness” and commending the “unleavened bread of sincerity and truth”. On the nature and occasion of the *lost letter*, see *Introd.*, chap. ii.

Ver. 9. “I wrote to you in the (my) letter”—the last the Cor. had received from P., which is recalled by the matter just discussed. The Ff., except Ambrosiaster (? Hilary of Rome, prob. Isaac, a converted Jew), referred the ἔγραψα to this Ἐβ., reading the vb. as *epistolary aorist* (as in 11; see Bn. § 44); but there is nothing in 1 Cor. to sustain the ref., and ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ seems “added expressly to guard against this interpretation” (Ed.). Modern expositors, from Cv. downwards, find the traces here of a lost Ep. antecedent to our First; 2 Cor. x. 10 f. intimates that the Cor. had received several letters from P. before the canonical Second. Some have found in 2 Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1 a stray leaf of the missing document; that par. is certainly germane to its purpose (see Hilgenfeld, *Einleit. in das N.T.*, p. 287; Whitelaw, in *Classical Review*, 1890, pp. 12, 317 f.). The ambiguity lay in the word *συναναμίγνυσθαι* (*to mix oneself up with*), which forbids social intimacy, while those who wished to misunderstand took it as a prohibition of all intercourse.

Ver. 10 gives the needful definition of the above injunction. οὐ πάντως is best understood as by Er. (*non omnino*), Cv. (*neque in universum*), Mr., Bt., Ed., El., as *not absolutely, not altogether*, οὐ negating πάντως and making the inhibition a qualified one: “I did not altogether forbid your holding intercourse with the fornicators of this world”. To make the πάντως emphasise the οὐ (as in Rom. iii. 9)—“Assuredly I did not mean to forbid association with fornicators outside the Church” (Lt.)—is to lend the passage the air of *recommending* association with unconverted profligates!—What applies to one sort of immorality applies to others: ἢ τ. πλεονέκταις καὶ ἄρπαξιν ἢ εἰδωλολάτραις, “or with the covetous and rapacious, or with idolaters”. The πλεονεκται (from πλεόν and ἔγω: see parls.) are the *self-aggrandising* in general;





VI. 1. \*Τολμᾷ τις ὑμῶν ὁ πρᾶγμα ἔχων ὁ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ἅ Rom. v. 7; κρίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδίκων, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων; 2. ὁ οὐκ ἅ 2 Cor. x. 12; Acts v. 13; Esth. vii. 5; Job xv. 12. b H.L.; Thuc. i. 128; Xen. Mem. ii. 9. 1. c See iv. 6. d In this sense, Rom. iii. 4 (Ps. l. 6); Mt. v. 40; Gen. xxvi. 21; Job xiii. 19, xxxix. 34. e Acts xxiii. 30, xxiv. 19, xxv. 9; Mt. xxviii. 14. f In this sense, ver. 9; cf. μαρτυροῦν, Gal. ii. 15, etc.; ἀπιστοί, ver. 6 below. g In this comprehensive use, xiv. 33, xvi. 1, 15; 2 Cor. viii. 4; Rom. xii. 13, xvi. 15; about 12 times besides in P.; Heb. vi. 10; Jude 33. h See ver. 6.

1 οὐκ: all uncc. but D<sup>3</sup>L. H perhaps lost by confusion with final N of ἐγενήθημεν; hence Syrian text.

the Church. He holds jurisdiction over those *within* its pale; of their conduct the Church (ὁμοίς) is bound to take note; the world outside must be left to the judgment of God: "cives judicate, ne alienos" (Bg.). The Ap. places himself and the Cor. on the one side (cf. 4; also xii. 25 f.), in contrast with God who judges τοὺς ἔξω. "Within" and "without" denoted in Synagogue usage members and non-members of the sacred community (see parls.): οἱ ἔσω = οἱ ἅγιοι, οἱ οἰκεῖοι τῆς πίστεως, οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, etc. Yet this mutual judgment of Christians by each other has great limitations (Rom. xiv. 4-10; Matt. vii. 1 ff.); its sphere lies in vital matters of character essential to Church life; and there it is subject to the final Court of Appeal (see iv. 3 ff.).—ὁ Θεὸς κρίνει (not κρίνει): P. is not anticipating the Last Judgment, but laying down the principle that God is the world's Judge; see Rom. ii. 16, iii. 6, Heb. xii. 23, etc.—The interrog. οὐχὶ holds under its regimen the two clauses linked by the contrastive δέ; El. however reads τοὺς δὲ ἔξω κ.τ.λ. assertively, as a concluding "grave enunciation".

From his digression to the lost Ep. and the general social problem, the Ap. returns, with vehemence emphasis, to the offender of vv. 1 f. and demands his expulsion in the solemn words of the Deuteronomic law. τὸν πονηρὸν is not Satan ("scelerum omnium principem," Cv.), nor "the wicked" in general—each case as it arises (Hf.); but "istum improbum" (Bz.), the case of notorious and extreme guilt which gave rise to the whole discussion.—ἐξάρατε (cf. ἐκκαθάρατε, 7) takes up again the ἵνα ἀρθῇ of ver. 2, with the added thought (ἐξ- . . . ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν) of the *riddance* effected by his removal. The terrible sentence of vv. 3 ff. had not, in so many words, prescribed ejection, though implying it; and P. needed to be very explicit; see note on ver. 9. The formal expulsion must proceed from the Cor.,—ὁμοίς κρίνετε; the Church is a self-governing body.

§ 17. LAW-SUITS IN HEATHEN COURTS, vi. 1-6. Beside the πόρονος, amongst those to be excommunicated at Cor., stood the πλεονέκτης (v. 11); fraud and robbery were only less rife than licentiousness; and this element of corruption, along with the other, had reappeared within the Church (8). Instead of being repressed by timely correction, the evil had grown rank; in several instances aggrieved Christian parties had carried their complaints before the civil Courts, to the scandal of the Church and to Paul's high indignation. Two links of thought connect chh. v. and vi.: (1) the kindred nature of *sins of impurity and of covetousness*, both prevalent at Cor., both destructive of society; (2) the lamentable *lack of Church discipline* (v. 12), which enabled these mischiefs to gather head.

Ver. 1. Τολμᾷ τις ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.; "Does any one of you dare?" etc.—"notatur læsa majestas Christianorum" (Bg.): τολμᾶν, *sustinere, non erubescere*. This also was matter of common knowledge, like the crime of v. 1. The abrupt interrog. marks the outburst of indignant feeling. You treat the Church, the seat of the Holy Spirit (iii. 16 f.), as though it were without authority or wisdom; you take your case from the highest court to the lowest! So the *appellant* is first censured; in ver. 4 the whole Church comes in for blame.—Πρᾶγμα (*res, negotium*), κρίνεσθαι (mid.; see parls.), ἐπὶ with gen., ἐν (2), κριτήριον (2), καθέξω (4), and perhaps ἡττημα (7), are all in this passage technical legal expressions.—Οἱ ἄδικοι—the term applied by the Jews (cf. Gal. ii. 15), and then by Christians, to the heathen—marks the action censured as *self-stultifying*—to seek for right from "the unrighteous"! P. himself appealed to Roman justice, but never in matters "between brother and brother," nor in the way of accusing his injurers (Acts xxviii. 19); only in defence of his work.—Οἱ ἅγιοι indicates by contrast the moral dignity of Christians (see i. 2, and note), a judicial attribute; cf. *sanctitas*



i Rom. iii. 6; <sup>h</sup> οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν <sup>1</sup> κόσμον <sup>1</sup> κρινούσι; καὶ εἰ <sup>k</sup> ἐν ὑμῖν Acts xvii. 31 (οἰκον- <sup>1k</sup> κρίνεται ὁ <sup>1</sup> κόσμος, <sup>1</sup> ἀνάξιοί ἐστε <sup>m</sup> κριτηρίων ἐλαχίστων; 3. <sup>h</sup> οὐκ μνην); 4 times in John. <sup>k</sup> Acts xvii. 31; Lk. xi. 15. 1 H.L.; -ως, xl 27; ουκ αξιους, Acts xiii. 46. m Jas. ii. 6; Judges v. 10; 3 Kings vii. 7 (44); Dan. vii. 10.

fori (Quintilian, xi., 3. 58). There exists a similar Rabbinical inhibition: "It is forbidden to bring a matter of right before idolatrous judges. . . . Whosoever goeth before them with a law-suit is impious, and does the same as though he blasphemed and cursed; and hath lifted his hand against the law of Moses our Teacher,—blessed be he!" (*Shulchan aruch, Choshen hammishpat*, 29). The Roman Government allowed the Jews liberty of internal jurisdiction; the Beth-din (*house of judgment*) was as regular a part of the Israelite economy as the Beth-keneseth (*synagogue*). In Rom. xiii. 1 ff. P. regards the power of the State from a diff. point of view.

Ver. 2. ἢ οὐκ οἶδατε κ.τ.λ.; "Or (is it that) you do not know?" etc. If the appeal to non-Christian tribunals is not made in *insolence* (τολμῇ) towards the Church, it must be made in *ignorance* of its matchless prerogative. That "the saints will judge the world" is involved in the conception of the Messianic kingdom (Dan. vii. 22; cf. Matt. xx. 21); Israel, with its Christ, is to rule, and therefore judge, the nations (Acts i. 6, etc.; cf. Gal. vi. 16). See Wisd. iii. 7 f., where participation in this Messianic power is asserted for "the souls of the righteous" in their future state. After the manner of Jesus, the Ap. carried over to the new Israel of God the promises of dominion claimed under the Old Covenant, transforming in transferring them (2 Tim. ii. 12; Rev. xx. 4, xxii. 5, etc.). Paul reminds his readers of a truth they should have known, since it belongs to the nature of "the kingdom of God" (9) and to the glory they look for at "the unveiling of Christ" (i. 7 ff.; cf. iv. 8, Rom. viii. 17, etc.). Cm. and others see here a *virtual* judgment of the world, lying in the faith of the saints as contrasted with its unbelief (cf. Luke xi. 31, John iii. 18 ff., Rom. viii. 3),—a thought irrelevant here. Ver. 3, moreover, carries the judgment in question into a region far beyond that of *Christian magistrates*, whose appointment some prosaic interpreters see here predicted. The Ap. argues *à majori ad minus*, from the grand and celestial to earthly commonplace. The early Church ascribed this dignity esp. to the martyrs: τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάρεδροι

. . . καὶ μέτοχοι τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ συνδικάζοντες (Euseb., *H.E.*, vi., 42; see Ed.).—ἐν ὑμῖν, *in consensu vestro*—picturing Christ and His saints in session, with "the world" brought in for trial before them. "It is absurd in itself, and quite inconsistent with the Divine idea and counsel, that any of you should now appear at *their* bar, who shall some day appear at *yours*" (Ev.).—κρίνεται, pr. tense, of faith's *certainly* (cf. v. 13).—κριτήριον (see 4) signifies *place* rather than *matter* of judgment (see parls.); for the latter sense lexical warrant is wanting. The question is: "Are you unworthy of (sitting on) the smallest tribunals?" of forming courts to deal with trifling affairs of secular property?—cf. our "petty sessions". Cm. reads the sentence as affirmative, ἀνάξιοι as *nimis digni*, and τ. κριτηρ. ἐλαχ. as the *heathen* tribunals: "It is beneath your dignity to appear before these contemptible courts!" But this does not square with ver. 4.

Ver. 3. The question of ver. 2 urged to its climax: "Know you not that we shall judge *angels*?" Paul already does this, hypothetically, in Gal. i. 8. *Instructed* through the Church (Eph. iii. 10), the heavenly powers will be subject to final *correction* from the same quarter. The angels were identified, in later Jewish thought, with the forces of nature and the destiny of nations (Ps. civ. 4; Dan. x. 13, xii. 1); they must be affected by any judgment embracing the κόσμος. "There is, it seems, a solidarity between the Princes of the nations (cf. Paul's ἀρχαὶ κ. ἐξουσίαι, xv. 24, etc.) and the nations directed by them; according to *Shir rabba*, 27 b, God does not punish a people until He has first humbled its Angel-prince in the higher world, and according to *Tanchuma, Beshallah*, 13, He will hereafter judge the nations only when He has first judged their Angel-princes" (Weber, *Altsynag. paläst. Théologie*, p. 165); Satan is κατ' ἐξοχὴν "the god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4; cf. John xiv. 30, Luke iv. 6), and has his "angels" whom P. styles "world-rulers" (Eph. vi. 12, Matt. xxv. 41). On the throne of world-judgment Christ will sit (Acts xvii. 31, Matt. xxv. 31 f.), and "the saints"—sc. after their own acquittal—as His assessors.—κρινούσιν in this context

<sup>h</sup> οἴδατε ὅτι ἄγγέλους <sup>1</sup> κρινοῦμεν; \*μήτι \*γε <sup>2</sup> βιωτικά · 4. <sup>2</sup> βιωτικά <sup>a</sup> In like connexion, Rom. viii. 38; Gal. i. 8; 2 Pet. ii. 4; Jude 6; Job iv. 18. <sup>o</sup> H.L.; class. <sup>p</sup> Lk. xxi. 34; Aristot., Polyb., Philo. Al. <sup>q</sup> See i. 28. <sup>r</sup> Transl., Eph. i. 20; Acts ii. 30. <sup>s</sup> xv. 34; Job xx. 3; Ps. xxxiv. 26, etc. <sup>t</sup> Gal. iii. 3; Mt. xxvi. 40; Mk. vii. 18; Jo. xviii. 22. <sup>u</sup> N.T. H.L., in this sense. <sup>v</sup> Mt. xiii. 25; Mk. vii. 31; Rev. vii. 17; Ex. xi. 7; Isa. lvii. 5.

<sup>1</sup> ενι, BCLP, minn.<sup>70</sup> or more (cf. Gal. iii. 28, Col. iii. 11).

σιν, DG 37, etc.: Western correction.

<sup>2</sup> ουδεις σοφος, BCB 17, 46, 73; so crit. edd.

ουδε εις σοφος, GP 37, Aug., Ambrst. (*quisquam sapiens*),—later Western; σοφος simply, D\*, earlier Western (?); σοφος ουδε εις, D<sup>3</sup>L, etc.,—Syrian.

qualifies its objects as *culpable*; cf. ἵνα καταργήσῃ in xv. 24; also v. 12 above, and other parls. The anarthrous ἄγγέλους signifies beings of this order, in contrast with *men* (cf. iv. 9; also Jude 6); "P. does not wish to mark out this or that class of angels, but to awaken in the Church the sense of its competence and dignity by reminding it that beings of this lofty nature will one day be subject to its jurisdiction" (Gd.; also El.).—μήτιγε βιωτικά (*nedum quidem*: not surely a continued interrog., as W.H. punctuate)—in sharp contrast to "angels"—"(to say) nothing verily of secular matters!".—μήτιγε (sc. λέγωμεν) is a N.T. H.L.,—a sound cl. idiom (see Lidd. on μήτις, also El. *ad. loc.*),—negative syn. for πόσῳ μᾶλλον (Rom. xi. 12, 24); for the γε, cf. iv. 8.—βιωτικός, of later Gr. (after Aristotle), denotes matters relating to βίος (one's "living"), which differs from ζωὴ as *vita quam from vita qua vivimus*—"quae ad hujus vitæ usum pertinent" (Bz.), or "ad victum pertinentia" (Cv.); see Lt. *ad loc.*, and Trench, *Syn.*, § 27.

Vv. 4, 5a. Ver. 4 is rendered in three diff. ways, as (a) τ. ἐξουθενημένους ἐν τ. ἐκκλησίᾳ is taken to mean the *heathen judges*, the ἄδικοι of ver. 1 whom the Church could not respect (ἐν, *in the eyes of*; cf. xiv. 11); then τούτους καθίζετε becomes an indignant question—"Do you set up *these* (as your judges)?" so Mr., Hn., Tisch., W.H., R.V. *text*. The position of καθίζετε and the strain put upon its meaning speak against this view—the Cor. Christians did not *appoint* the city magistrates; also the unlikelihood of Paul's using language calculated to excite contempt toward heathen rulers. (b) The prevalent construction (Vg., Syr., Bz., Cv., Bg., Ed., El., Lt., A.V., R.V. *marg.*) understands τ. ἐξουθ. ἐν τ. ἐκκλ. as the despised of the Church itself

(καυχᾶσθαι ἐν ἀνθρ., iii. 21, iv. 6 ff. implies such a counterpart); then καθίζετε is read as impv., and P. says in sarcasm, "If you have lawsuits in secular affairs, set up the lowest amongst you (for judges of these low matters)!" κριτήρια however (see note on 2, and R.V. *marg.*) signifies not *trials*, nor *matters of trial*, but *tribunals*, and is therefore an unsuitable obj. to ἐὰν ἐχητε: βιωτικά κριτήρια are the things *wanting* to the Church, which P. is advising them to set on foot. Moreover, Paul would hardly speak of Christians as "despised" among their fellows, without some touch of blame for their despisers. (c) For these reasons, it is better, as Hf. suggests, to put the comma *before*, instead of after, ἐὰν ἐχητε, attaching τοὺς ἐξουθ. to this vb. and reading βιωτ. κριτ. as a *nom.* (or *acc.*) *pends* to the sentence (cf. Rom. viii. 3, Heb. viii. 1; and Bm., pp. 379 ff.): we thus translate, "Well then, for secular tribunals—if you have men that are made of no account in the Church, set these on the bench!" That this prideful Church has such persons is undoubted; P. puts the fact hypothetically, as a thing one does not like to assume. μὲν οὖν throws into relief, by way of emphatic resumption, the βιωτικά . . . κριτήρια.—πρὸς ἐντροπήν ὑμῖν λέγω, "Unto your shame (*lit.* for a shame to you) I say (it)": this relates to the foregoing sentence (cf. xv. 34); it is a shame the Cor. Church should have members looked on with utter contempt (cf. xii. 21-25); but since it has, it is fitting that they should be its judges in things contemptible! P. writes with anger, whereas he did not, though he might seem to do, in iv. 14.

Ver. 5b. Laying aside sarcasm, the Ap. asks most gravely: "(Is it) so (that) there is no wise man found amongst you, who will be able to decide between his



w Job ix. 3 ὡς μέσον τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ; 6. ἀλλὰ ἀδελφὸς ὡς μετὰ ἀδελφοῦ (or dat.).  
 x Rom. xiii d κρίνεται, x καὶ x τοῦτο ἐπὶ ὧς ἀπίστων.  
 11; Eph ii. 8; Phil. i. 28; 3 Jo. 5.  
 7. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν<sup>1</sup> ὅλως ἡττημα ἐν<sup>2</sup> ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ὅτι κρίματα ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ διατί<sup>3</sup> οὐχὶ μάλλον ἄδικεῖσθε; ὁ διατί<sup>3</sup> οὐχὶ μάλλον ἄποστερεῖσθε; 8; ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς ἄδικεῖτε καὶ ἄποστερεῖτε, f.; 1 Tim. v. 8. z See v. 1. a Rom. xi. 12; Isa. xxxi. 8; -ασμαι, 2 Cor. xii. 13; 2 Pet. ii. 19 f. b N.T. h.l.; Ex. xviii. 22. c 2 Cor. xi. 11; Rom. ix. 32; Rev. xvii. 7; Acts v. 3; oftener in Gosp. d Pass. (or mid.), 2 Cor. vii. 12; 2 Pet. ii. 12; Acts vii. 24; Rev. ii. 11. For act., 2 Cor. vii. 2; Gal. iv. 12; Col. iii. 25; Phm. 18, etc. e vil. 5; 1 Tim. vi. 5; Mk. x. 19.

<sup>1</sup> Om. οὖν N\*D\* 17, latt. vg. cop. So Tisch.; not W.H.

<sup>2</sup> Om. ἐν all uncc.; all critical edd.

<sup>3</sup> δια τι: critical edd., except Tisch.

brothers?" οὕτως intensifies the question (cf. Gal. iii. 3)—τοσαύτη σπάνις (Cm.)—"so utter a lack of men of sense amongst you Cor., with all your talent and pretensions?" (i. 5, iii. 18, iv. 10). ἐνί, prp. with ellipsis of ἐστίν (Wr., p. 96)—there exists, is found (see parls.).—ἀνὰ μέσον (Hebraistic prpl. phrase) τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ—lit. "between his brother"—a defective expression, as though due to confusion of τῶν ἀδελφῶν with the more Hebraistic ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἀδελφοῦ: an example of the laxity of Paul's conversational Gr.; unless, as Sm. conjectures, there is a "primitive error," and τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ should be corrected to τῶν ἀδελφῶν.

Ver. 6. "Nay, but brother goes to law with brother—this too before unbelievers!" This is an answer to the question of ver. 5, not a continuation of it. The litigation shows that there is no man in the Church wise enough to settle such matters privately; or he would surely have been called in. The ἄδικοι of ver. 1 here figure as ἄπιστοι; see parls; contrast with οἱ πιστεύοντες (i. 21).

§ 18. WARNING TO IMMORAL CHRISTIANS, vi. 7-11. Behind the scandal of the law-suits there lay a deeper mischief in their cause. They were immediately due to unchristian resentment on the part of the aggrieved; but the chief guilt lay with the aggressors. The defrauders of their brethren, and all doers of wrong, are warned that they forfeit their place in God's kingdom (9 f.), and reminded that the sins they thus commit belong to their unregenerate state (11).

Ver. 7. Ἦδη μὲν οὖν, "Indeed then, to begin with": on ἡδη (already, i.e. before litigation), see note to iv. 8. μὲν here, otherwise than in ver. 4, suggests a suppressed δέ: "but ye aggra-

vate matters by going before the heathen" (Lt.).—ὅλως (see v. 1) ἡττημα (cl. ἡττα): "it is absolutely a failure on your part"—not a mere defect, nor a loss (sc. of the Messianic glory: so Mr., in view of 9), but a moral defeat (see parls.). Ἠττάομαι (see Lidd., s. v., I. 3) signifies to be worsted, beaten in a suit (Lat. causa cadere); this sense excellently suits the context and Paul's epigrammatic style: "Indeed then it is already an unmistakable defeat for you that you have law-suits"—you are beaten before you enter court, by the mere fact that such quarrels arise and reach this pitch.—κρίμα is the πρᾶγμα (1) ripened into an actual case at law. μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, for μετ' ἀλλήλων, implies intestine strife; the 3rd pl. reflexive pron. frequently serves all three persons (Jelf's Gr. Gram., § 654, 2 b).—ἀδικεῖσθε, ἀποστερεῖσθε, mid. voice: "injuriā accipitis, fraudem patimini" (Vg.).—"Why do you not rather submit to wrong, to robbery?" (see Wr., p. 218). Paul reproduces the teaching of Jesus in Luke vi. 27 ff., etc., which applies more strictly as the relationships of life are closer; cf. His own example (1 Pet. ii. 23), and that of the Ap. (iv. 12 f., 16). οὐχὶ μάλλον, as in v. 2.

Ver. 8. ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς κ.τ.λ.: "Nay, but you commit wrong and robbery—this too (cf. 6) upon your brothers!" Mr. reads this, like the parl. ἀλλὰ clause of ver. 6, as a further question; it is the answer to the question of ver. 7—the sad fact contrasted with the duty of the Christian. The spiritual kinship which heightens the duty of submission to wrong, aggravates its commission.

Vv. 9, 10. On ἡ οὐκ οἴδατε; see note to ver. 2. The wrongers of their brethren are surely unaware of the fact that "wrong-doers (ἄδικοι) will not inherit





γ See iv. 4. ὁ ἐδικαιώθητε ἔν τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου<sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦ<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἔν τῷ  
 1 x. 23 (same  
 contrast);  
 2 Cor. xii.  
 4; freq. in  
 Gospp.  
 and Acts.  
 12. Πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα ὠφελῶν μοι

1 x. 23, xii. 7; 2 Cor. viii. 10, xii. 1; Heb. xii. 10; Mt. v. 29 f., xviii. 6, xix. 10; Jo. xi. 50, xvi. 7, xviii. 24; Acts xix. 19, xx. 20.

<sup>1</sup> (Κυρ.) ἡμῶν (?), BCP, 17, 37, 73, vg., syrr., cop.; W.H. *bracket*.

<sup>2</sup> Add Χριστοῦ all uncc. but ADcL; all crit. edd.

vi. they are seen to be related as the resurrection and death of Christ, and in Rom. vi. to be figured respectively in the ἀνάδυσις and κατάδυσις which formed the two movements of baptism; see notes *ad locc.*, also Tit. iii. 5 ff. The order of the words does not justify Calovius, Lipsius, and Mr., with Romanist interpreters, in finding here "the ethical *continuatio justificationis*,"—an explanation contrary to the uniform Pauline signification of δικαίω; the Ap. is thinking (in contrast with vv. 9 f.) of the status attained by his readers as ἅγιοι (i. 2, iii. 17, vi. 1), behind which lay the fundamental fact of their δικαίωσις. The qualifying prpl. phrases both belong to the three closely linked vbs. Baptism is received "in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ" (quoted with formal solemnity: cf. note on i. 2): "in the Spirit of our God" it is validated and brings its appropriate blessings (cf. John iii. 5-8: *water* is the formal, the *Sp.* the essential source of the new birth).

Βαπτίζειν ἐν Πν. ἁγίῳ was the distinctive work of Jesus Christ (Matt. iii. 11, etc.); to be ἐν Πνεύματι (Θεοῦ, Χριστοῦ) is the distinctive state of a Christian, including every element of the new life (Iv. ii. 12, iii. 16, 2 Cor. i. 21 f., Rom. v. 5, viii. 2, 9, etc.). Sanctification esp. is grounded in the Holy Spirit; but He is an agent in justification too, for His witness to sonship implies the assurance of forgiveness (Rom. viii. 15 ff.). The name of our Lord Jesus Christ sums up the baptismal confession (cf. Rom. x. 8 ff.); the Spirit of our God constitutes the power by which that confession is inspired, and the regeneration effectuated which makes it good: the two factors are identified in xii. 3 (see note). "Our God," in emphatic distinction from the gods in whose service the Cor. had been defiled (see viii. 4 ff., 2 Cor. iv. 4, Eph. ii. 2; cf. Ps. xcix. 9).

§ 19. THE SANCTITY OF THE BODY, vi. 12-20. The laxity of morals distinguishing the Cor. Church was in some instances defended, or half-excused, by appealing to the principle of *Christian*

*liberty*, which P. had himself enunciated in asserting the freedom of Gentile Christians from the Mosaic ceremonial restrictions. From his lips the libertarians took their motto, Πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν. The Ap. does not retract this sentence, but he guards it from abuse: (1) by setting over against it the balancing principle of *expediency*, οὐ πάντα συμφέρει; (2) by defining, in the twofold example of ver. 13, the sphere within which it applies, *distinguishing liberty from licence*. This leads up to a reiterated prohibition of fornication, grounded on its nature as a sin against the body itself, and an act which flagrantly contradicts the sanctity of its limbs, as they belong to Christ, being purchased by Him for the service of God (15-20).

Ver. 12. Πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν stands twice here, and twice in x. 23; P. harps on the saying in a way to indicate that it was a watchword with some Cor. party—perhaps amongst both Paulinists and Apollonians; his μοι endorses the declaration (cf. viii. 8 f., x. 23 ff., Rom. xiv. 14, 20). Very likely it had been quoted in the Church Letter. This sentence, like those of ii. 14, iii. 21, iv. 1 (see notes), recalls the attributes of the Stoic ideal σοφός, to whom it belongs ἐξείναι ὡς βουλόμεθα διεξάγειν (Arr.-Epict., II., i., 21-28; see Hn. *ad loc.*).—ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει: "Yes, but not all things are advantageous".—Συμφέρει (*conducunt*) signifies *contributing* to some one's benefit—here *one's own*, in x. 24 *one's neighbour's*.—Parl. to the former ἀλλ' οὐ, is ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἐξουσιασθήσομαι κ.τ.λ.: "All things are in my domain; yes, but I will not be dominated by anything". That is "unprofitable" to a man which "gets the mastery" over him. "Such and such a thing is in my power; I will take care that it does not get me into its power. I will never by abuse of my liberty forfeit that liberty in its noblest part." This gives the *self-regarding*, as x. 23 f. the *other-regarding* rule of Christian temperance in the use of things lawful. Cf. the instructive chapter Περὶ

ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγὼ ἔξουσιασθήσομαι ὑπὸ τινος. 13. τὰ βρώματα τῇ κοιλίᾳ καὶ ἡ κοιλία τοῖς βρώμασιν, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην καὶ ταῦτα καταργήσει· τὸ δὲ σῶμα οὐ τῇ πορνείᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ Κυρίῳ καὶ ὁ Κύριος τῷ σώματι. 14. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς καὶ τὸν Κύριον ἡγείρεν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔξεγερεῖ διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. 15. οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ ἐσιν;

Phil. iii. 19; Mt. xv. 17; Rev. x. 9 f. e For repetition, cf. vii. 7. f See i. 28. h xv. 4 ff., 2 Cor. i. 9, iv. 14, v. 15; Rom. *passim*; Gal. i. 1; Eph. i. 20; Col. ii. 12; 1 Th. i. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 8; Heb. xi. 19; 1 Pet. i. 21, etc. i Rom. ix. 17 (Exod. ix. 16), in diff. sense. k See i. 18. l See iii. 16, vi. 2. m In like sense, xii. 12 ff.; Rom. xii. 4 f.; Eph. iv. 16, 25, v. 30.

1 ἐξεγερει, NCD<sup>3</sup>KL, etc., syrr., cop., many Ff.; ἐξεγειρει, AD\*PQ 37. ἐξηγειρεν (?), B 67\*\* (a group preserving some valuable readings), cod. amiatinus of vg.; W.H. marg. Beza and Elzevir read *υμᾶς*, with no certain MS. authority.

2 ημων, N\*A.

ἐλευθερίας in Arr.-Epict., IV., i. For the play on ἔξεστιν, cf. ii. 15. The emphatic οὐκ ἐγὼ is the jealous self-assertion of the spiritual freeman, fearful of falling again under the dominion of the flesh: cf. ix. 26 f., Gal. v. 13, 16.

Ver. 13. The maxim "All things are lawful to me" has been guarded within its province; now it must be *limited to its province*: "Foods (are) for the belly, and the belly for its foods".—τὰ βρώματα, the different kinds of food—about which Jewish law, ascetic practice (Rom. xiv. 1 ff.), and the supposed defilement of the *idolothyta* (viii., x. 25 ff.) caused many embarrassments. The Ap., adopting the profound principle of Jesus (Mark vii. 15-23), cuts through these knotty questions at a stroke: the βρώματα are morally indifferent; for they belong to the κοιλία, not the καρδία (cf. Rom. xiv. 17). Food and the stomach are appropriated to each other; the main question about the former is whether or no it suits the latter.—A second reason for the moral indifference of matters of the table lies in their *perishing nature*: κοιλία and βρώματα play a large and troublesome part in the existing order, "but God will abolish both this and these". For the somewhat rare antithetic repetition of οὗτος, cf. vii. 7, also Josh. viii. 22 (LXX). The nutritive system forms no part of the permanent self; it belongs to the passing σχῆμα τ. κόσμου τούτου (vii. 31), to the constitution of "flesh and blood" (xv. 50) and the σῶμα ψυχικόν; hence the indifference of foods (viii. 8): "quæ destruentur, per se liberum habent usum" (Bg.; cf. Col. ii. 20 f.).—"But the body" has relations more vital and influential than those concerned with its perishing sustenance—it "is not for for-

nication, but for the Lord and the Lord for the body": the same double dat. clause of mutual appropriation links τὸ σῶμα with ὁ Κύριος as τὰ βρώματα with ἡ κοιλία; each is made for the other and requires the other. "The body"—regarded as a whole, in contrast with its temporary apparatus—is fashioned for the Lord's use; to yield it to *harlotry* is to traverse Christ's rights in it and disqualify oneself for a part in His resurrection (14). The Lord Jesus and πορνεία contested for the bodies of Christian men; loyal to Him they must renounce *that*, yielding to *that* they renounce Him. In Gr. philosophical ethics the distinction drawn in this ver. had no place; the two appetites concerned were treated on the same footing, as matters of physical function, the higher ethical considerations attaching to sexual passion being ignored. Hence the degradation of woman and the decay of family life, which brought Greek civilisation to a shameful end.

Ver. 14 is parl. to ver. 13b ("God" the agent in both), as ver. 13c to ver. 13a: the previous δὲ contrasted the several *natures* of βρώματα and σῶμα; this the opp. *issues*, καταργήσει and ἐξεγερεῖ. ὁ Κύριος is the determining factor of both contrasts. "God will abolish both the belly and its foods . . . but God both raised up the Lord, and will raise up us also through His power." P. substitutes "us," in the antithesis, for "our bodies," since the *man*, including his body (see xv. 35, 49), is the subject of resurrection. The saying ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός, of xv. 23, supplies the nexus between τ. Κύριον ἡγείρεν and ἡμ. ἐξεγερεῖ; cf. also 2 Cor. iv. 14, Rom. viii. 11, xiv. 9, Col. iii. 1, Phil. iii. 21; John v. 20-30, xiv. 2 ff., etc.



<sup>n</sup> See v. 2. <sup>a</sup> ἄρας<sup>1</sup> οὖν τὰ <sup>m</sup> μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιήσω <sup>o</sup> πόρνης <sup>n</sup> μέλη; μὴ  
<sup>o</sup> Heb. xi.  
<sup>31</sup>; Jas. ii.  
<sup>25</sup>; Rev.  
<sup>xvii.</sup> 1 ff.; σῶμά ἐστιν; "Ἔσονται γάρ," <sup>q</sup> φησίν, "οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν."  
<sup>Mt.</sup> xxi.  
<sup>31</sup> f.; Lk. 17. ὁ δὲ <sup>p</sup> κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐν πνεύμᾳ ἐστί. 18. <sup>r</sup> φεύγετε  
<sup>xv.</sup> 30.  
<sup>p</sup> Rom. xii.  
<sup>9</sup>; Acts v. 13, etc.; Lk. x. 11, xv. 15; esp. Mt. xix. 5 (Gen. ii. 24). <sup>q</sup> 2 Cor. x. 10; Heb. viii. 5, in  
 parenthetic use. <sup>r</sup> x. 14; 1 Tim. vi. 11; 2 Tim. ii. 22; Sir. xxi. 2.

<sup>1</sup> αρα ουν, CP, and several minusc. Final σ of αρας easily lost in following ο; and αρα ουν is plausibly Pauline (G, η αρα ουν).

The prefix in ἐξ-εγερεῖ is local—*out of* (sc. the grave; cf. ἐξ-ανάστασις, Phil. iii. 11); not *de massa dormientium* (Bg.). The raising of Christ (cf. Eph. i. 19 ff.), then of Christians, from the dead is the supreme exhibition of God's supernatural "power" (see Rom. iv. 17-24, Matt. xxii. 29, Acts xxvi. 8, etc.). Christ is raised as "Lord," and will rule our life yon side of death more completely than on this (Acts ii. 36, Col. i. 18, Phil. iii. 20 f.).

Vv. 15-17 unfold in its repulsiveness, by vivid concrete presentment, the opposition between the two claimants for bodily service already contrasted: the rival of Christ is ἡ πόρνη! "Or (if what I have said is not sufficient) do you not know that your bodies are *Christ's limbs*? Should I then take away the limbs of Christ and make them a *harlot's limbs*? Far be it!"—*Αἶρω* is to *remove, carry off*, as in v. 2 (see parls.), Vg. *tollens*, implying "a voluntary and determined act" (Ed.); for the introductory aor. ptp., see Bn., §§ 132, 138. ποιήσω, either (deliberative) aor. sbj. or fut. ind.—"Am I to make, etc.?" or, "Am I going to make?" The former idiom suits an act of *choice*; this question the tempted Cor. Christian must put to himself: cf. the interrog. form of Rom. vi. 1, 15 (-ωμεν).

What is true of Christian men individually, that they are μέλη Χριστοῦ and parts of the σῶμα Χριστοῦ, is true specifically of the physical frame of each; similarly in vv. 19 f. Paul applies to the Christian man's *body* the glorious truth stated respecting the Christian society in iii. 16 f. In the Hellenic view, the body was the perishing envelope of the man; in the Scriptural view, it is the abiding vehicle of his spirit. To devote the body to a harlot, one must first withdraw it from Christ's possession: to do *that*, and for *such a purpose*—the bare statement shows the infamy of the proposal. The Biblical formula of deprecation, μὴ γένοιτο, is frequent also in Epictetus; cf. *Odysey*, vii., 316, μὴ τοῦτο φίλον Διὶ πατρὶ γένοιτο.

Ver. 16 justifies the strong expression πόρνης μέλη (15), implying that the alliance is a kind of incorporation: "Or (if you object to my putting it in this way), do you not know that he who cleaves to the harlot is one body (with her)?" ὁ κολλώμενος (see parls.), *qui agglutinatur scorto* (Bz.), indicates that sexual union constitutes a permanent bond between the parties. What has been done lives, morally, in both; neither is henceforth free of the other. The Divine sentence (uttered prophetically by Adam) which the Ap. quotes to this effect was pronounced upon the first wedded pair, and holds of every such union, whether lawful or unlawful—honourably true (vii. 4, Heb. xiii. 4), or shamefully. In Eph. v. 31 the same Scripture is cited at length, where the Ap. is making out the correspondence between wedlock and Christ's union with the Church: in that place the spiritual union is treated as parl. to the natural union, where this follows the Divine order; here it stands out as prohibitory to a natural union which violates that order. Here only Paul uses the parenthetical φησίν ("says He," sc. *God*) in citing Scripture; it is common in Philo, and in the Ep. of Barnabas.—ἔσονται . . . εἰς (Hebraism) = *γενήσονται*.

Ver. 17. ὁ δὲ κολλώμενος τῷ Κυρίῳ κ.τ.λ.: "But he who cleaves to the Lord is one spirit (with Him)". Adhesion by the act of faith (i. 21, etc.) to Christ (as *Lord*, cf. xii. 3, etc.) establishes a spiritual communion of the man with Him as real and close as the other, bodily communion ("tam arcte quam conjuges sunt unum corpus," Bg.), and as much more influential and enduring as the spirit is above the flesh. "The Spirit" is the uniting bond (iii. 16, Rom. viii. 8 f., etc.), but the Ap. is thinking of the *nature* and *sphere* of this union; hence the anarthrous, generic πνεῦμα, contrasted with σάρξ (16). In 2 Cor. iii. 17 "the Lord" is identified with "the Spirit," and believers are repeatedly said

τὴν πορνείαν. πᾶν ἁμάρτημα ὃ ἐὰν ποιήσῃ ἄνθρωπος, ἔκτος <sup>See v. 1. t Rom. iii. 25; Mk. iii. 28 f.; Isa. lviii. 1.</sup> τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν· ὃ δὲ πορνείων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει. 19. ἡ οὐκ οἴδατε ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν Ἁγίου <sup>2 Cor. xi. 7; Jo. viii. 34; 1 Jo. iii. 4, 8 f.; Jas. v. 15; 1 Pet. ii. 22.</sup> Πνεύματός ἐστιν, οὗ ἔχετε ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐστὲ ἑαυτῶν; 20. ἡγοράσθητε γὰρ τιμῆς. <sup>2</sup>δοξάσατε δὴ τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ὑμῶν, ἃτινά ἐστι τοῦ Θεοῦ.

▼ See iii. 4. w Prep., xv. 27; 2 Cor. xii. 2. x x. 8; Rev. ii. 14, 20, xvii. 2, xviii. 3, 9; Ps. lxxii. 27. y viii. 12; Mt. xviii. 15; Lk. xv. 18, 21; Gen. x. 6, 9. z See iii. 16. a Genitive; see i. 12. b In this sense, vii. 23; 2 Pet. ii. 1; Rev. v. 9, xiv. 3 f.; εἰς ἁγίον, Gal. iii. 13, iv. 5. c In this sense, Mt. xxvii. 6, 9; Acts iv. 34, v. 2 f., vii. 16, xix. 19. d 2 Cor. ix. 13; Rom. i. 21, xv. 6, 9; Gal. i. 24; 1 Pet. ii. 12, iv. 11, 16; Lk. *passim*, etc. e H. l. in P.; Heb. ii. 16; 4 times in Acts and Lk.

<sup>1</sup> τα σῶματα, A<sup>2</sup>L, and minusc. <sup>48</sup>, cop.; cf. ver. 15.

<sup>2</sup> πνεύματος ἁγίου (?): B 120, f. vg. So W.H. marg.

<sup>3</sup> Om. καὶ . . . Θεον all pre-Syrian uncc. The vg. (after the old lat.) reads, *glorificate (clarificate, Cypr., Ambrst.) deum et portate (tollite, Tert.) in corpore vestro: portate (scil. Deum)* is probably due to the corruption of ἀρα γε (found in Methodius before *δοξάσατε*) into ἀρατε. This error was widely spread; there are traces of it in Chrysostom. See W.H., *Notes on Selected Readings*, p. 114.

to be ἐν Πνεύματι; so that between them and Christ there exists a *κοινωνία Πνεύματος* (i. 9, 2 Cor. xiii. 13; John xvi. 14, etc.). For the intimacy of this association of members with the Head, see Gal. ii. 20, Eph. ii. 5 f., iii. 16 f., Col. ii. 10, iii. 1 ff., John xv. 1 ff., xvii. 23 ff., etc.

Ver. 18. With vehement abruptness P. turns from exposition to exhortation. "Flee fornication"—other sins may be combated; this must be fled, as by Joseph in Potiphar's house. *φεύγετε* the opposite of *κολλᾶσθαι* (16). The parl. *φεύγετε ἀπὸ τ. εἰδωλολατρίας* of x. 14 shows "the connexion in Cor. between impurity and idolatry" (Ed.: cf. the lists of sins in 9 and v. 11.)—"Ἡ πορνεία contradicts Christ's rights in the body (13-17) and severs the committer from Him; P. has now to say that this is a sin against the nature of the human body: "Every act of sin (ἁμάρτημα) which a man may possibly do, is outside of the body; but the fornicator (ὁ πορνείων) sins against his own body". The point of this saying lies in the contrasted prepositions *ἐκτός* and *εἰς*: all bodily sins "defile the flesh" (2 Cor. vii. 1), but other vices—those of the *κοιλία*, e.g.—look outside the body; this in its whole essence lies within our physical nature, so that, while it appropriates the person of another (16), it is a *self-violation*. Hence transgressions of the Seventh Commandment are "sins of the flesh" and "of the passions" *par éminence*. They engage and debauch the whole person; they "enter into the

heart," for "they proceed out of the heart" and touch the springs of being; in the highest degree they "defile the man" (Mark vii. 20 ff.). That in chastity is extreme *dishonour* is realised in the one sex; Christianity makes it equally so in the other.

Vv. 19, 20. What a deadly sin, an act of high treason, this is for the Christian, Paul's final appeal shows: "Or (if you do not yet realise the heinousness of fornication), do you not know that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have (οὐ ἔχετε, gen. by *attraction* to Πνεύματος) from God?" The Holy Spirit dwells in the readers: *how but in their body*, since they are in the body? (iii. 16, cf. Rom. viii. 11; also John ii. 21): there is the same tacit inference from whole to part as in ver. 15; the same assumption that the body is essential to the man, which underlies the doctrine of the Resurrection (xv.). The Christian estimate of *πορνεία* is thus categorically opposed to the heathen estimate. In the temple of Aphrodité prostitutes were priestesses, and commerce with them was counted a *consecration*; it is an absolute *desecration* of God's true temple in the man himself.—"And (that) you are not your own?" This too P. asks his readers if they "do not know?" The possessor is *God*, who has occupied them by His Spirit, having first purchased them with His Son's blood: cf. i. 30, iii. 23; Rom. viii. 32, 2 Cor. v. 18 ff., Acts xx. 28. "For you were *bought* at a price!"—the *τιμὴ*



a vv. 8, 26  
Rom. xiv.  
21; 1 Tim.  
ii. 3; Mt.  
xviii. 8;  
Gen. ii. 18.  
b In this connection, Mt. xix. 5, 10 (Gen. ii. 24).  
c In this sense, N.T. *h.l.*; Gen.  
xx. 6; Prov. vi. 29. d See v. 1; Mt. xv. 19; Mk. vii. 21.

VII. 1. Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατέ μοι<sup>1</sup>. \* Καλὸν ἂνθρώπῳ γυναικὸς  
μὴ ἄπτεσθαι. 2. διὰ δὲ τῆς<sup>2</sup> ἁπορνείας<sup>2</sup> ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> Om. μοι. NBC 17, 46, am. fu.\*, Tert. So crit. edd.

<sup>2</sup> τὴν πορνείαν: G, vg. sytr., Tert., Ambrst.

P. does not need to state; it was *τίμιον αἶμα* (1 Pet. i. 18 f.; Eph. i. 7, Matt. xx. 28, Rev. v. 9). Ἀγοράζω, *to purchase*, syn. with (ἀπο)λυτρόομαι, *to ransom* (i. 30, Tit. ii. 14): the latter points to the means of redemption, the former to the proprietorship which it creates (cf. περιποιήσατο, Acts xx. 28); both ideas meet in Eph. i. 14. The gen. of price, τιμῆς, indicates the value at which God *rates* His purchase.—δοξάσατε δὴ κ.τ.λ.: “Now glorify God in your body”—sc. by a chaste life (contrast Rom. ii. 23). δὴ (rare in N.T.; *h. l.* in P.), kindred to the temporal ἤδη, makes the command peremptory, breaking off discussion (cf. Acts xiii. 2). ἐν, *in*, not *with*, your body—the temple wherein each man serves as priest; here the *ναός*, in Rom. xii. 2 the *θεοσία*.—καὶ ἐν τ. πνεύματι κ.τ.λ., of the T.R., is a Syrian gloss, added as if to complete the sense; cf. vii. 34.

§ 20. MARRIAGE OR CELIBACY? vii. 1-9. At this point the Ap. takes up the questions addressed to him by the Cor. Church (see *Introd.*, chap. ii.). In replying to Paul's previous letter, they had asked for clearer instructions to regulate their intercourse with men living in heathen sins (v.); this request led up to the inquiries respecting the desirability of *marriage*, respecting the duties of married Christians, and the lawfulness of divorce for a Christian married to a heathen, with which ch. vii. is occupied. The headings of vv. 1, 25, chh. viii., xi., xvi., indicate various matters on which the Cor. had consulted their Ap. The local impress and temporary aim of the directions here given on the subject of marriage must be borne in mind; otherwise Paul's treatment will appear to be narrow and unsympathetic, and out of keeping with the exalted sense of its spiritual import disclosed in Eph. v. Indeed, ch. xi. 3-15 of this Ep. show that P. had larger conception on the relations of man and woman than are here unfolded. The obscurity of expression attaching to several passages betrays the writer's embarrassment; this was due partly to the low moral sensibility of the

Cor., and partly to the uncertain continuance of the existing order of life (26-31), which weighed with the Ap. at the time of writing and led him to discourage the formation of domestic ties. In later Epistles, when the present economy had opened out into a larger perspective, the ethics of marriage and the Christian household are worthily developed (see Col. and Eph.).

Ver. 1. Περὶ δὲ ὧν ἐγράψατε: “Now about the things on which you wrote (to me).”—Περὶ ὧν = περὶ τούτων περὶ ὧν (not *ἐ*); cf. the constructions of rel. pron. in ver. 39, x. 30; see Wr., p. 198.—δὲ *metababikon* leads to a new topic, in orderly transition from the last: “Now I proceed to deal with the matters of your letter to me”; the questions proposed about marriage are discussed on the ground prepared by the teaching of chh. v. and vi. They form a part of the wide social conflict between Christian and Pagan life at Corinth: see *Introd.* to Div. II. P. answers at once, affirmatively, the question of principle put to him: “It is *right* (καλόν, *honourable, morally befitting*—*pulchrum, conveniens*, Bg.; see note on v. 6) for one (ἄνθρωπος, *homini*: not ἄνδρῖ, *man* distinctively, *viro*) not to touch a woman” (to live in strict celibacy).—καλὸν contradicts the οὐ καλὸν ἄνθρωπος present in the minds of some of the questioners, influenced by the sensuous atmosphere of Cor. Paul is not disparaging marriage, as though he meant καλλίον μὴ ἄπτ., but *defending* celibacy against those who thought it inhuman.

Ver. 2: a single life is good in itself, “but” is not generally expedient at Cor.—διὰ τὰς πορνείας, “because of the (prevalent) fornications” (the unusual pl. indicating the variety and extent of profligacy: cf. 2 Cor. xii. 21); for this reason marriage, as a rule, is advisable here.—It must be *Christian* marriage, as opposed to heathen libertinism and Jewish polygamy: “let each (man) have his own wife, and each (woman) her proper husband”. The pr. impv., ἐχέτω (*sc. directive*, not *permissive*), signifies “have and keep to” (cf. 2 Tim. i. 13).

ἡ γυναικα ἡ ἐχέτω, καὶ ἡ ἐκάστη τὸν ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἐχέτω.<sup>1</sup> 3. τῇ ἡ οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἡ ἐχέτω. ἡ ἀποδοιδότω. ἡ ὁμοίως δὲ ἡ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. 4. ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἡ ὁμοίως δὲ ἡ καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ ἰδίου σώματος οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει, ἀλλ' ἡ γυνὴ. 5. μὴ ἡ ἀποστερεῖτε ἀλλήλους, ἡ ἡ μὴ τὴν ἡ ἐκ ἡ συμφώνου πρὸς ἡ καιρόν, ἡ ἡ σχολάζετε τῇ νηστείᾳ ἡ καὶ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ πάλιν ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ ἡ αὐτὸ ἡ συνέρχησθε, ἡ ἡ μὴ

h Jas. ii. 25; Mt. xxvii. 41; Lk. v. 10, x. 32. See vi. 12. k See vi. 7 f. In this sense, Ex. xxi. 10. 12 Cor. xiii. 5; Lk. ix. 13. m H.L. συμφωνως, Eccl. vii. 15; -veiv, Acts v. 9, xv. 15, etc.; -νησις, 2 Cor. vi. 15. n 1 Th. ii. 17; Lk. viii. 13; Wisd. iv. 4. o Mt. xii. 44; Ex. v. 8, 17; Ps. xlv. 10. p In sing., absol., Rom. xii. 12; Col. iv. 2; Acts i. 4. q (ἡτε) xi. 20, xiv. 23; Acts i. 15, ii. 47; Lk. xvii. 35.

<sup>1</sup> Om. καὶ ἐκάστη . . . ἐχέτω: G, Tert.; by homœoteleuton.

<sup>2</sup> οὐκ ἐχέτω: all pre-Syrian uncc., 17, 46, 67\*, vg. cop. οὐκ ἐχέτω: a gloss.

<sup>3</sup> Om. ἀν (?) B, Dam., Clem.; W.H. bracket. A copyist's grammatical addition (?).

<sup>4</sup> σχολάζετε, all pre-Syrian uncc. (see note below).

<sup>5</sup> Om. τῇ νηστείᾳ καὶ pre-Syrian uncc. and verss. An ecclesiastical gloss.

<sup>6</sup> ἡτε, all uncc. but KLP. Verss. render freely.

The variation ἐαυτοῦ γυν. . . ἴδιον ἄνδρα distinguishes the husband as head and principal (xi. 3); "if this passage stood alone, it would be unsafe to build upon it, but this diff. of expression pervades the whole of the Epp." (Lt.: cf. xiv. 35; Eph. v. 22, etc.; Tit. ii. 5; 1 Peter iii. 1, 5). Throughout the passage there is a careful balancing of the terms relating to man and wife, bringing out the equality of the Christian law.—P. does not lay down here the *ground* of marriage, as though it were "ordained for a remedy against sin," but gives a special reason why those should marry at Cor. who might otherwise have remained single: see note on δέ, ver. 1.

Vv. 3, 4. Within the bonds of wedlock, "the due" should be yielded (3) by each for the satisfaction and according to the rights of the other (4). This dictum defends marital intercourse against rigorists, as that of ver. 1 commends celibacy against sensualists. The word ὀφείλη guards, both positively and negatively, the κοίτη ἀμίαντος (Heb. xiii. 4); what is due to one alone must be given to one alone (τῇ γυναικί, τῷ ἀνδρὶ). The gloss of the T.R., as old as the Syriac Version, is a piece of mistaken delicacy.—The precise repetition of ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ corrects the onedidedness of common sentiment and of public law,—both Greek and Jewish: *she* is as much the mistress of his person, as *he* the master of hers.—ἐξουσιάζω (= ἐξουσίαν ἔχω) implies *moral* power, *authority* (cf. vi. 12). τοῦ ἰδίου . . . οὐκ ἐξουσιάζει,

"elegans paradoxon" (Bg.)—his (her) own is not his (her) own.

Ver. 5. μὴ ἀποστερεῖτε κ.τ.λ.: "Do not rob one another"—sc. of the ὀφείλη; the deprivation is an injustice (same vb. as in vi. 7 f.); "congruit hoc verbum cum verbo *debendi*" (Bg.). This also, with ver. 4, against the rigorists. The impvs. of this context are *pr.*, relating to habits of life.—ἐἰ μὴ κ.τ.λ. qualifies the command not to rob, by stating an exception: this exception, however, the Ap. "valde limitat" (Bg.), first by *τι* (in *some measure, somehow*), next by *ἂν* (*haply, if the case should arise*), thirdly by *ἐκ συμφώνου* (*of consent*: making the separation no longer robbery), lastly by *πρὸς καιρόν* (*for a season*). Such separation may be made for specific religious ends—"that you may be disengaged for prayer" (*vacetis orationi*, Vg.), and with a view to renewed intercourse (καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἡτε). So fearful was the Ap. of putting a strain on the ill-disciplined Corinthian, with sensual incitements rife in the atmosphere: "lest Satan be tempting you because of your want of self-control".—ἀκράσια, later Gr. for ἀκράτεια (opp. of ἐγκράτεια, cf. ix. 25), signifies *non-mastery* of appetite.—Σχολάζω (here in *aor.*, of particular occasion; *πειράζετε, pr.*, of constant possibility), construed with *dat.* or *πρὸς τι*, in cl. Gr. often denotes leisure from ordinary for higher pursuits—*e.g.*, σχολάζειν μουσικῇ, φιλοσοφίᾳ; also used of scholars who "devote themselves" to a master: a negative condition of προσκαρτερεῖσθαι.



1 Th. iii. 5<sup>7</sup> πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ ὦσατανᾶς διὰ τὴν ἄκρασίαν ὑμῶν.<sup>1</sup> 6. τοῦτο δὲ (πειράζων), λέγω κατὰ ὡσυγγνώμην, οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν. 7. θέλω γὰρ<sup>2</sup> πάντας 3; also x. ἀνθρώπους εἶναι ὡς καὶ ἐμαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἴδιον ὡς χάρισμα<sup>3</sup> 13 below. Jas. i. 13; ἔχει<sup>3</sup> ἐκ Θεοῦ, ὅς<sup>4</sup> μὲν ὡς οὕτως ὅς<sup>4</sup> δὲ ὡς οὕτως. 8. λέγω δὲ τοῖς Gen. xxii. 1; 3 Kings<sup>5</sup> ἀγάμοις καὶ ταῖς<sup>6</sup> χήραις, ὡς καλὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν<sup>5</sup> ἐὰν μείνωσιν ὡς x. i, etc. s See v. 5. κἀγώ. 9. εἰ<sup>7</sup> δὲ<sup>8</sup> οὐκ ὡς ἐγκρατεύονται<sup>9</sup> ἀγαμησάτωσαν<sup>9</sup>· κρείσσον<sup>9</sup> t Mt. xxiii. 25; freq. γάρ ἐστι<sup>9</sup> ἀγαμησαί<sup>7</sup> ἢ<sup>7</sup> πυροῦσθαι.

-της, 2 Tim. iii. 3. Antonym of ἐγκρατεῖα, Gal. v. 23, etc. u N.T. h.l.; Sir. iii. 13. v ver. 25; 2 Cor. viii. 8; 1 Tim. i. 1; Tit. i. 3, ii. 15; Wisd. xiv. 16 (τυραννῶν ἐπιταγῆς). w See i. 7. x Cf. vi. 13. y vv. 11, 32, 34. Of the man, Iliad iii. 40; of woman (rarely), Eurip. Hcl. 690. z 1 Tim. v. 3 ff.; Acts vi. 1, ix. 41; Jas. i. 27, etc. a See ver. 1. b ix. 2, xi. 6, xv. 13 ff. (δε), xvi. 22; Rom. viii. 9 (δε), xi. 21; 2 Th. iii. 10, 14 (δε); 1 Tim. iii. 5 (δε), v. 8 (δε); etc. c ix. 25; Gen. xliii. 31; 1 Kings xiii. 12; -της, Tit. i. 8; -τεία, Gal. v. 23; Acts xxiv. 25; 2 Pet. i. 6. See ἀκρασία, ver. 5. d vv. 10, 28 f, etc.; 1 Tim. iv. 3, v. 11, 14, 23; e Phil. i. 23; 1 Pet. iii. 17; 2 Pet. ii. 21; Prov. iii. 14; cf. ver. 38 below, xi. 17; Heb. i. 4, etc. f 2 Cor. xi. 29; Eph. vi. 16; 2 Pet. iii. 12; Rev. i. 15, iii. 18. H.l., in this sense.

<sup>1</sup> B, Method. om. ὑμῶν (?); bracketed by W.H. May be a copyist's addition,—a case for the maxim, *Brevior lectio praeferenda*.

<sup>2</sup> δε (?): N\*ACD\*G 17, 46, latt. am. fu. cop., Or., Cyr., Dam., Cyp. (West-ern and Alexandrian). So Tisch., Tr., W.H., R.V., El., Nestle.

γαρ: B and Syrian uncc., syrr.

<sup>3</sup> ἐχει χάρισμα: all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>4</sup> ο (μὲν) . . . ο (δε): all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>5</sup> Om. ἐστὶν all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>6</sup> κρείττον, NBD; κρείσσον, AGLP, etc.

<sup>7</sup> γαμεῖν (?), N\*AC 17, 46. So Tisch., Tr. marg., W.H. text, Nestle. γαμησαί, BDGKLP, etc. W.H. marg., R.V.

θαι τῇ προσευχῇ (Rom. xii. 12, Col. iv. 2).

Vv. 6, 7. τοῦτο δὲ λέγω points to the leading direction given in ver. 2, from which vv. 3-5 digressed: "I advise you to be married (though I think celibacy good, 1), κατὰ συγγνώμην," *secundum indulgentiam* (Vg.)—i.e., συγκαταβαίνων τ. ἀσθενείᾳ ὑμῶν (Thp.); οὐ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν, —*ex concessione, non ex imperio* (Bz.). The rendering "permission" is somewhat misleading; συγγνώμη is quite distinct from the γνώμη opposed to ἐπιταγή in ver. 25; it signifies either *pardon* (*venia*, excuse for a fault), or, as here, *allowance*, regard for circumstances and temperament.—In θέλω δὲ κ.τ.λ. the Ap. states his personal bent, which he had set aside in the recommendation just given: "But I would have all men to be as indeed myself," *sc. cælibem*—and contentedly so (cf. Acts xxvi. 29). ὡς καὶ ἐμαυτόν, *paratactic* acc. (attracted to πάντας ἀνθρώπους) = ὡς καὶ αὐτός εἰμι; καὶ emphasises the assertion that the writer is what he would like others to be. It is manifest (see also ix. 5) that the Ap. was unmarried, although Clem. Alex. and some moderns have inferred otherwise

from Phil. iv. 3. *That he had never been married* is by no means certain. Two things, however, are clear: that if P. had known the married state, it was before his apostleship—"wife and children are never hinted at, he goes about entirely free from such ties" (Lt.); further, that if in early life he had entered this state, it was not δι' ἀκρασίαν; he possessed the "grace-gift" (χάρισμα) of undisquieted continence (opposed to πυροῦσθαι, 9; cf. Matt. xix. 12), which was in his case an adjunct of his χάρις ἀποστολῆς.—"However (= I cannot have every one like myself, *but*) each has a charism of his own from God, the one in this shape and the other in that." ὁ δὲ οὕτως does not refer to the married Christian, as though his state were in itself a charism, but to any special endowment for service in Christ's kingdom other than that stated. On χάρισμα see i. 7; and cf. xii. 4-11.

Vv. 8, 9 re-state the answer given in vv. 1, 2 to the question concerning celibacy v. marriage. "But I say to the unmarried and the widows, it is right (καλόν; cf. 1) for them if they remain as indeed I (am)." The Ap. extends the

10. Τοῖς δὲ <sup>4</sup> γεγαμηκόσι <sup>5</sup> παραγγέλλω, οὐκ ἐγὼ ἀλλ' ὁ Κύριος, <sup>6</sup> γυναικα ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς μὴ <sup>7</sup> χωρισθῆναι. <sup>1</sup> 11. ἐὰν δὲ καὶ <sup>2</sup> χωρισθῇ, <sup>3</sup> μενέτω <sup>4</sup> ἄγαμος ἢ τῷ ἀνδρὶ <sup>5</sup> καταλλαγήτω· καὶ ἄνδρα γυναικα μὴ

xi. 17; 10 times besides in P.; freq. in Acts; 8 times in Syn. Gosp. h In this sense, Mt. xix. 6; Judges iv. 11. 1 2 Cor. v. 18 ff.; Rom. v. 10; αποκαταλλ., Eph. ii. 16; Col. i. 20 f.; διαλλ., Mt. v. 24.

<sup>1</sup> χωριζεσθαι, ADG (Western).

reassurance given in ver. 1, and fortifies it by his own example, so that those out of wedlock who were under no constraint to enter its bonds might be free from misgiving and reproach. τοῖς ἀγάμοις, in contrast to τοῖς γεγαμηκόσιν, ver. 10: the term is *masc.*—"to unmarried men"; the case of "maidens" is discussed later (25 ff.). "The widows," who would frequently have the disposal of themselves, are included here—they are advised again to the like effect in vv. 39 f. Holsten omits καὶ ταῖς χήραις as out of place; Bois ingeniously suggests that this may be a primitive corruption for καὶ τοῖς χήροις, "the widowers".—As the πορνεῖαι without (2), so ἀκρασία within (5) might make abstention from marriage perilous; hence the qualification added in ver. 9: "But if they have not self-control, let them marry; for better it is to marry than to burn on (with desire)".—πυρρῶσθαι, pr. of continued state—"occulta flamma concupiscentiæ vastari" (Aug.); the vb. is used of any consuming passion, as in 2 Cor. xi. 29. Not "better in so far as marriage is sinless, burning is sinful (Matt. v. 28),"—so Mr.; if marriage and parenthood are holy (14), the fire which burns toward that end surely may be so—"the sacred love o' weel-placed love"; but "better" as the unsatisfied craving is a continual temptation, and according to the rule of ver. 35. Better to marry than to burn; but if marriage is impossible, better infinitely to burn than to *sin*.

§ 21. PROHIBITION OF DIVORCE, vii. 10-16. Pagan sentiment and law, while condoning fornication, were exceedingly lax in permitting *divorce* (see Hermann-Stark, *Griech. Privat-alterthümer*, §§ 30. 15, 17), as Jewish practice was on the side of the husband (Matt. v. 31 f., xix. 7 ff.); and marriages were often contracted without affection. Unfit unions became irksome in the extreme, with the stricter ethics and high ideal of the new faith; in many cases one of the partners remained a heathen (12 f.). It was asked whether Christians were really "bound" (δεδουλευμένοι, 15) by the ties of the old

life formed under unholy conditions, and whether it was right for man and wife to live together while one was in the kingdom of God and the other in that of Satan. These questions, propounded in the letter from Cor., Paul has now to answer—(a) as respects Christian couples (10 f.), (b) as respects married pairs divided in religion (12-16).

Vv. 10, 11. "But in the case of those that have married (τ. γεγαμηκόσιν, pf. of settled tact), I charge . . . wife not to separate from husband . . . and husband not to send away (or let go) wife." The parenthesis, "not I but the Lord" (it is *His* command, not mine), refers the indissolubility of marriage to *the authority of Christ*. The exceptional cause of divorce allowed by Jesus, παρεκτός λόγου πορνείας (Matt. v. 32, xix. 9; also unmentioned in Mark x. 11, Luke xvi. 18), is not contemplated in the instance of wedded Christians (Paul is addressing *both* partners at once). The Apostle's tone is changed (cf. 6 ff.); he is *laying down the law*, and on Supreme Authority. He cites Christ's words in distinction from his own (12), not as though his word was insufficient (see, to the contrary, 40, ii. 16, v. 3 f., xiv. 37, etc.), but inasmuch as this was a principle upon which "the Lord" had pronounced categorically.—It is noticeable that the case of the *woman* seeking separation comes first and is dwelt upon; Christianity had powerfully stirred the feminine mind at Cor. (see xi. 5 ff., xiv. 34 f.). In some cases, not so much incompatibility as ascetic aversion (cf. 3 f.) caused the wish to separate.—The γυναικα μὴ χωρισθῆναι is qualified by the parenthesis ἐὰν δὲ καὶ χωρισθῇ: "but if indeed she have separated, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband". P. is not allowing exceptions from the rule of Christ, but advising in cases where the mischief was done; the aor. subj., χωρισθῇ, is timeless, taking its occasion from the context; see Bn., § 98. Her remaining unmarried is virtually included in the law of Christ (Matt. v. 32, xix. 9). καταλλαγήτω, pass., "let



<sup>k</sup> In this sense, *h.l.*; <sup>k</sup> ἀφιέναι. 12. <sup>1</sup> τοῖς δὲ <sup>1</sup> λοιποῖς ἐγὼ <sup>1</sup> λέγω, <sup>1</sup> οὐχ ὁ Κύριος, εἴ τις ἀδελφὸς γυναῖκα ἔχει <sup>m</sup> ἄπιστον καὶ αὐτὴ <sup>2</sup> <sup>m</sup> συνευδοκεῖ <sup>o</sup> οἰκεῖν <sup>o</sup> μετ' αὐτοῦ, μὴ <sup>k</sup> ἀφιέτω αὐτήν. 13. καὶ γυνὴ ἥτις <sup>3</sup> ἔχει ἄνδρα <sup>m</sup> ἄπιστον καὶ αὐτὸς <sup>4</sup> <sup>m</sup> συνευδοκεῖ <sup>o</sup> οἰκεῖν <sup>o</sup> μετ' αὐτῆς, μὴ <sup>k</sup> ἀφιέτω αὐτόν. 14. <sup>p</sup> ἡ γίγασται γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος <sup>m</sup> ἄπιστος ἐν τῇ γυναικί, <sup>o</sup> καὶ <sup>p</sup> ἡ γίγασται ἡ γυνὴ ἡ <sup>m</sup> ἄπιστος ἐν τῷ ἀνδρί <sup>7</sup>. <sup>q</sup> ἐπεὶ <sup>q</sup> ἄρα τὰ τέκνα ὑμῶν <sup>r</sup> ἀκά-

<sup>12</sup> Cor.

xiii. 2; Rom. xi. 7; 1 Th. iv. 13, v. 6; 1 Tim. v. 20; same idiom in Rev., Acts, and Syn. Gosp. See vi. 6. n Rom. i. 32; Lk. xi. 48; Acts viii. 1, xxii. 20; cf. *ευδοκ.* with inf., i. 21. <sup>o</sup> *H.l.* in N.T.; Gen. xxvii. 44. p See i. 2. q See v. 10. r 2 Cor. vi. 17 (13a. lii. 11); Eph. v. 5; freq. in Syn. Gosp., Acts, and Rev., of *πνευματα*; also Acts x. 14; Rev. xvii. 4.

<sup>1</sup> λέγω *εγω*: NABCP (pre-Syrian and non-Western).

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῇ, latt. vg., Tert.; crit. edd.: see *ουτος*, ver. 13. In uncc. no distinction.

<sup>3</sup> εἰ τις: ND\*GP, latt. vg., Chr., Ambrst., Aug., Dam. (Western).

<sup>4</sup> οὗτος, all uncc. but DcKL.

<sup>o</sup> ευδοκει, B.

<sup>o</sup> DG add *τη πιστη*.

<sup>7</sup> ἀδελεφφ, all pre-Syrian uncc.; vg. and syrr., *ανδρι*.

her get herself reconciled": the vb. indicates the fact of alienation or dissension, but not the side on which it exists (*cf.* the theological use of *καταλλάσσω* in Rom. v. 10 f.); if the husband disallows her return, she must remain *ἀγαμος*.—Romanists have inferred from the text, after Aug., and notwithstanding Matt. v. 32, that even adultery leaves the marriage-vow binding on the wronged partner; but this question is not in view here (see Ed. *in loc.*).

Vv. 12, 13. "But to the rest"—as distinguished from Christian couples (10)—"say I, not the Lord": this is *my* word, not His. On the problem of mixed marriages, which Jesus had no occasion to regulate, the Ap. delivers his own sentence. Not that he *exhorts*, whereas the Lord commands (Cm.)—*λέγω* is a word of authority (virtually repeating *παραγγέλλω*, 10), as in xiv. 34, 37, xv. 51, 2 Cor. vi. 13, Rom. xii. 3; much less, that he *disclaims inspiration* upon this point (Or., Tert., Milton), or betrays a *doubt of his competence* (Baur): he quoted the dictum of Jesus where it was available, and on the fundamental matter, and indicates frankly that in this further case he is proceeding on his personal judgment. The Christian spouse is forbidden to cast off the non-Christian in terms identical for husband and wife, only *γυνὴ ἥτις* (or *εἰ τις*: 13) standing over against *εἰ τις ἀδελφός* (12). *Ἀφίημι*, used of the *ἄνθρωπος* specifically in ver. 11, is now applied to *both* parties: cl. Gr. uses *ἀποπέμπειν* or *ἀπολύειν* (Matt. v.

31) of the husband as *dismissing* the wife, *ἀπολείπειν* of the wife as *deserting* the husband; "in the structure of the two verses, with their solemn repetition, the equal footing of man and wife is indicated" (Hn.; *cf.* notes on 2-4 above). *συν-ευδοκεῖ*, "is jointly well-pleased,"—implying that the *ἄπιστος* agrees with the Christian spouse in deprecating separation, which the latter (after 10 f.) must needs desire to avoid; *cf.*, for the force of *συν-*, Luke xi. 48, Acts viii. 1.

Ver. 14 obviates the objection which the Christian wife or husband (for the *order*, see note on 10 f.) might feel to continued union with an unbeliever (*cf.* Paul's own warning in 2 Cor. vi. 14 ff.): "Will not the saint," some one asks, "be defiled, and the 'limbs of Christ' (vi. 15) be desecrated by intercourse with a heathen?" To such a protest *ἡγίασται γὰρ κ.τ.λ.* replies: "For the husband that is an unbeliever, *has been sanctified* in his wife," and *vice versa*. *ἡγίασται* . . . ὁ *ἄπιστος* is a paradox: it does not affirm a conversion in the unbeliever remaining such—whether *incipient* or *prospective* (D.W., and some others)—the pf. tense signifies a relationship *established* for the non-Christian *in the past*,—*sc.* at the conversion of the believing spouse; but man and wife are part of each other, in such a sense (*cf.* vi. 16 f., by contrast) that the sanctification of the one includes the other so far as their wedlock is concerned. The married believer in offering her- (or him-) self to God could not but present hus-

θαρρά ἐστι, νῦν δὲ ἁγία ἐστιν. 15. εἰ δὲ ὁ ἄπιστος ἠχωρίζεται, ἠχωριζέσθω. οὐ δεοῦλῳται ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ἡ ἀδελφή ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις. ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ κέκληκεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός. 16. τί γὰρ οἶδας, γύναι, εἰ τὸν ἄνδρα σώσεις; ἢ τί οἶδας, ἄνερ,

Rom. i. 32, ii. 2 f.; Gal. v. 21, 23; Eph. v. 27. ἢ Gal. i. 6; Eph. iv. 4; 1 Th. iv. 7. ἢ Here only  
w Cf. Acts x. 18, xix. 2; Jo. ix. 25; Jer. xxxvii. 6.

<sup>1</sup> NGP om. second η.

<sup>2</sup> υμᾶς (?): N\*ACK 46, 73, cop. (Alexandrian); so Tisch., W.H. *txt.*, Nestle, R.V. *marg.*

ἡμᾶς: BDGL, latt. vg., syrr. (Western); Treg., Al., W.H. *marg.*, R.V. *txt.*, El.

band (or wife) in the same act—"sanctified in the wife, brother," respectively—and treats him (or her) henceforth as sacred. "Whatever the husband may be in himself, in the wife's thought and feeling he is a holy object. . . . Similarly the Christian's friends, abilities, wealth, time, are, or should be, holy" (Bt.). Marriage with an unbeliever after conversion is barred in 2 Cor. vi. 14.

The (relative) sanctity of the unconverted spouse is made more evident by the analogous case of *children*: "Else one must suppose that your children are unclean; but as it is, they are holy!" P. appeals to the instinct of the religious parent; the Christian father or mother cannot look on children, given by God through marriage, as things unclean. Offspring are holy as bound up with the holy parent; and this principle of family solidarity holds good of the *conjugal* tie no less than of the filial derived therefrom. See the full discussion of this text in Ed.; it has played no small part in Christian jurisprudence, and in the doctrine of Infant Baptism; it "enunciates the principle which leads to Infant Baptism, viz. that the child of Christian parents shall be treated as a Christian" (Lt.).—On ἐπεὶ ἄρα, *alioqui certe, si res se aliter haberet*, see v. 10 and parls.; νῦν δέ, as in v. 11, is both temporal and logical (cf. xv. 20, Rom. vi. 22).

Ver. 15a. The Christian wife or husband is not to seek divorce from the non-Christian (12-14); but if the latter insists on separation, it is not to be refused: "But if the unbeliever separates, he may separate"—let the separation take its course (χωρίζεσθω, pr. impv.): for this impv. of *consent*, cf. ver. 36, xiv. 38.—οὐ δεοῦλῳται (pf. of *fixed condition*) "the brother or the sister in such circumstances is not kept in bondage"; cf. ver. 39—the stronger vb. of this passage implies that for the repudiated party to

continue bound to the repudiator would be *slavery*. Christ's law forbids putting away (10 ff.), but does not forbid the one put away to accept dismissal. Whether the freedom of the innocent divorced extends to *remarriage*, does not appear: the Roman Church takes the negative view—though contrary to the Canon Law (see Wordsworth, *in loc.*); the Lutheran Church the affirmative, allowing remarriage on *desertio malitiosa*; "in view of ver. 11, the inference that the divorced should remain unmarried is the safer" (so Hn., against Mr.). If, however, the repudiator forms a new union, cutting off the hope of restoration, the case appears then to come under the exception made in Matt. v. 31. With ἐν τοιούτοις, neut., cf. ἐν τούτοις, Rom. viii. 37; and ἐν οἷς, Phil. iv. 11.

Vv. 15b, 16. ἐν δὲ εἰρήνῃ ὁ Θεός . . . σώσεις; The Christian spouse forsaken by the heathen is free from the former yoke; but such freedom is undesirable. Two considerations make against it: *Peace* is better for a Christian than disruption (15b); and there is the *possibility of saving the unbeliever* by remaining with him, or her (16). Thus P. reverts, by the contrastive δέ, to his prevailing thought, that the marriage tie, once formed, should in every way possible be maintained. On this view of the connexion, the full stop should be set at ἐν τοιούτοις, and the colon at ὁ Θεός. "In peace," etc.—opposed to χωρίζεσθω, like καταλλαγῆτω in ver. 11—appeals to the ruling temper of the Christian life, determined once for all by *God's call* in the Gospel, "ex quo consequitur retinendum esse nobis infidelem, ac omnibus officiis demerendum; nedum ut vel eum ipsi deseramus, vel ad nos deserendos provocemus" (Bz.); cf. Rom. xii. 18, for the general thought. For the construction of ἐν εἰρήνῃ, cf. 1 Thess. iv. 7, Gal. i. 6, Eph. iv. 4.—Ver. 16 follows up the



x Gal. i. 7, 19; see note below.  
 y In this sense, 2 Cor. x. 13; Heb. vii. 2; Mk. vi. 41; Lk. xli. 13; Josh. xlii. 7. Cf. i. 13. z See i. 9 (God the caller). a See iii. 3.

<sup>1</sup> Add *ἡ μὴ* (for *εἰ μὴ* of ver. 17) a few minn., hcl.-syx. marg., and Chr.; by itacism.

<sup>2</sup> *μεμερικεν*, B\*<sup>B</sup>. So most crit. edd.; see, however, El. in favour of the *arist*. Possibly Rom. xii. 3 has influenced the copyists.

<sup>3</sup> (*μεμερ.*) ο *Κυριος*: all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>4</sup> (*κεκληκ.*) ο *Θεος*: as above (ver. 15). See parls.

appeal to Christian principle, by a challenge addressed in turn to the wifely and the manly heart: "(Keep the peace, if you can, with the unconverted spouse), for how do you know, O wife, that you will not *save* your husband? or how do you know, O husband, that you will not *save* your wife?" That *εἰ* in this connexion (see parls.), after *τί οἶδας* implying *a fear*, may mean "that . . . not" in English idiom (as though it were: "How do you know? it may be you will save, etc.!") is admitted by Hn. and Ed., though they reject the above interpretation, which is that of the ancient commentt. from Cm. down to Lyræ, of Cv. and Bz., and of Ev. and Lt. amongst moderns: see the convincing notes of the two last-named; "Confirmatio est superioris sententiæ: non cur discedente infideli liberetur fidelis; sed contra, cur ita sit utendum hac libertate, ut infidelem, si fieri potest, retineat fidelis ac Christo lucrificet" (Bz.).—*τί οἶδας*; connotes "not the manner in which the knowledge is to be obtained, but the extent of it" (Ed.).—"what do you know as to the question whether, etc.?"

The above sentences are curiously ambiguous; taken by themselves, they may be read as reasons either *against* or *for* separation. The latter interpretation is adopted, as to ver. 15<sup>b</sup> by most, and as to ver. 16 by nearly all recent exegetes (including Bg., Mr., Ht., Hn., Al., Bt., Ed., Gd., El.): "God has called us in peace (and peace is only possible through separation); for how do you know, wife or husband, that you will save the other?" As much as to say, "Why cling to him, or her, on so ill-founded a hope?" Grammatical considerations being fairly balanced, the tenor of the previous context determines the Apostle's meaning. In the favourite modern exposition, the essential thought has to be read between the lines. It should also be observed that the Cor., with their lax moral notions, needed dissuatives from rather

than encouragements to divorce; and on the other hand, that to discountenance the hope of a soul's salvation is strangely unlike the Ap. (cf. x. 33). On the construction here adopted, P. returns at the close of the Section to the thought with which it opened—*μὴ χωρισθῆναι*.

§ 22. GOD'S CALLING AND ONE'S EARTHLY STATION, vii. 17-24. In treating of questions relating to marriage, the Apostle's general advice—admitting of large exceptions (2, 9, 15)—had been that each, whether single or married, should be content with his present state (1, 8, 10-14, 27). The Christian revolution had excited in some minds a morbid restlessness and eagerness for change, which disturbed domestic relations (cf. Matt. x. 36), but was not confined thereto. This wider tendency the Ap. combats in the ensuing paragraph; he urges his readers to acquiesce in their position in life and to turn it to account as Christians. In Thessalonica a similar excitement had led men to abandon daily work and throw their support upon the Church (1 Thess. iv. 11 f., 2 Thess. iii. 6-15). Hn., in Meyer's *Comm.*, p. 229, points out the close resemblance, both in form and matter, between this section and certain passages in Epictetus (*Dissertt.*, I., xix., 47 ff.; II., ix., 19 f.). *The freedom of the inner man* and *loyal acceptance of the providence of God* are inculcated by both the Stoic and the Christian philosopher, from their differing standpoints.

Ver. 17. "Only, in each case as the Lord has apportioned to him, in each case as God has called him, so let him (the believer) walk." Under this general rule the exceptional and guarded permission of divorce in ver. 15 was to be understood. For *εἰ μὴ* in this *exceptive* sense (= *πλήν*), cf. Rom. xiv. 14, Gal. i. 7, 19; see Bm., p. 359. The repeated distributive *ἕκαστος* extends the principle pointedly to *every* situation in life; cf. vv. 20, 24, iii. 5, 8-13. On *μεμερικεν*,

οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πάσαις διατάσσομαι.<sup>1</sup> 18. <sup>a</sup> περιτε- <sup>b</sup> Pl., xi. 16,  
 μημένος τις ἐκλήθη; μὴ ἐπισπάσθω· ἐν ἀκροβυστία τις <sup>c</sup> xiv. 33 f.;  
<sup>2</sup> ἐκλήθη; μὴ <sup>d</sup> περιτεμνέσθω· 19. ἡ <sup>e</sup> περιτομή οὐδέν ἐστι, καὶ <sup>f</sup> xvi. 1, 19;  
<sup>g</sup> 7 times in  
<sup>h</sup> 2 Cor.; 5  
<sup>i</sup> times be-  
<sup>j</sup> sides in  
 P.; Rev. i. 4 ff., xxii. 16; Acts xv. 41, xvi. 5. c Mid., xi. 34; Tit. i. 5; Acts vii. 44, xx. 13, xxiv. 23.  
 In this connexion, xvi. 1. d Gal. ii. 3, v. 2 f., vi. 12 f.; Col. ii. 11; cf. Acts xv. 1, 5, xvi. 3, xxi. 21.  
 e H.J.; Isa. v. 18. See note below. f Rom. iv. 10 ff. ακροβ. freq. in P.; Acts xi. 3. g Rom. ii.  
 25-29; often in P.; Jo. vii. 22 f., Acts vii. 8, x. 45, xi. 2. h xiii. 2; 2 Cor. xii. 11; Mt. xxiii. 16,  
 18; Jo. viii. 54.

<sup>1</sup> διδασκω, D\*G, latt. vg. (doceo). Cf. iv. 17.

<sup>2</sup> κεκληται τις: ΞABP 17, 37, 46. τις κεκληται: D\*G, Dam. (Western).  
 τις εκληθη (as in parl. clause), D<sup>c</sup>KL, etc. (Syrian).

see ver. 33 and i. 12: the Christian's secular status is a μέρος which "the Lord," the Disposer of men's affairs, has assigned him (cf. Matt. xxv. 14 f.).—ὡς ἐκέλευεν, on the other hand, refers not to the secular "vocation" but, as always (see 15, 18, 21 f., i. 9, 26, etc.), to the "call" of God's grace in the Gospel, which came to the individual readers under these circumstances or those.—οὕτως περιπατέτω enjoins the *pursuance* of the Christian life in harmony with the conditions thus determined at its outset. P. does not mean to stereotype a Christian's secular employment from the time of his conversion, but forbids his renouncing this under a false notion of spiritual freedom, or in contempt of secular things as though there were no will of God for him in their disposition.

The last clause of the ver. shows that the tendency here reproved was widespread; cf. i. 2, xi. 16, xiv. 33, 36.

Vv. 18, 19. The rule of ver. 17 applied to the most prominent and critical distinction in the Church, that between *Few and Gentile*: περιτετμημένος τις ἐκλήθη κ.τ.λ.; "Was any one called (as) a circumcised man? let him not have the mark effaced".—ἐπισπάσθω alludes to a surgical operation (ἐπισπάω, to draw over) by which renegade Jews effaced the Covenant sign: see i Macc. i. 11 ff., Joseph., *Ant.*, xii., 5, 1; Celsus, vii., 25, 5; also Schürer, *Hist. of Jewish People*, I., i., p. 203, and Wetstein *ad loc.* Such apostates were called *m'shukim*, *recutiti* (Buxtorf's *Lexic.*, p. 1274).—On the opp. direction to the Gentile, μὴ περιτεμνέσθω, the Ep. to the Gal. is a powerful commentary; here the negative reasons against the change suffice (17, 19).—The variation in tense and order of words in the two questions is noticeable: "Was any one a circumcised man at the time of his call (ἐκλήθη)? . . . Has any one been called (κέκληται) though in uncir-

cumcision?"—To clinch the matter (cf. i. 31, iii. 7) P. applies one of his great axioms: "Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing; but keeping of God's commands"—that is everything.

In Gal. v. 6, vi. 15 this maxim reappears, with πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη and καὶνὴ κτίσις respectively in the antithesis: this text puts the condition of acceptance *objectively*, as it lies in a right attitude toward God (cf. Rom. ii. 25 ff.); those other texts supply the *subjective* criterion, lying in a right disposition of the man. In Gal. v., οὐκ ἰσχύει—opposed to ἐνεργουμένη—signals the *impotence* of external states, the other two passages their *nothingness* as religious qualifications.—"Those who would contrast the teaching of St. Paul with that of St. James, or exaggerate his doctrine of justification by faith, should reflect on this τήρησις ἐντολῶν Θεοῦ" (Lt.).

Ver. 20. Diff. views are taken of this ver., as κλήσις is referred to the religious *call* or secular *calling* of the man; and as ἧ is accordingly rendered "wherewith" (instrum. dat.: cf. Eph. iv. 1, 2 Tim. i. 9), or "wherein" (governed by the foregoing ἐν: cf. 15, 18, 24; see Wr., pp. 524 f.). The latter interpretation is negated by the fact that it destroys the unity of sense between κλήσις and ἐκλήθη (see note on 18: does κλήσις in Gr. anywhere mean *avocation*?). Besides, "circumcision" and "uncircumcision" are not "callings". Yet P. is manifestly referring to outward conditions affecting the religious call. The stress of the sentence lies on μενέτω (cf. 24); and Gal. iii. 2 f., v. 2-6, give the clue to the Apostle's meaning. A change of secular condition adopted under the idea that circumcision or uncircumcision is "something," that it makes a diff. in the eyes of God, would be a change of religious principle, an abandonment of the basis of our call to salvation by grace and through faith; cf. Gal. ii. 11-21.



ἡ ἀκροβυστία ὅθεν ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τήρησις ἐντολῶν Θεοῦ. 20. ἡ ἐκαστος ἐν τῇ κλήσει ἢ ἐκλήθη, ἐν ταύτῃ μενέτω. 21. δοῦλος ἢ ἐκλήθη; μὴ σοι μελέτω. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μάλλον χρῆσαι. 22. ὁ γὰρ ἐν Κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος, ἀπελεύθερος Κυρίου ἐστίν. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς, δοῦλος ἐστὶ Χριστοῦ. 23. τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε. μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώ-

*1 τῆρ. (cf. Acts iv. 3, v. 18) εντ., N.T. h.l.; Sir. xxxii. 23; Wisd. vi. 18 (νομων). τῆρεν εντ., M. xix. 17; Jo. xiv. 21, xv. 10; Acts xv. 5 (νομον); 1 Jo. ii. 3 f., iii. 22, 24, v. 3; Rev. xiv. 12. εντλ. Θε., Mt. xv. 3; Rev. xii. 17, xiv. 12; Eζτα x. 3; cf. Κυρ. εντ., xiv. 37. k See i. 26. 1 ix. 9; 1 Pet. v. 7; Acts xviii. 17; 5 times in Gosp. m ver. 31, ix. 12, 15; 1 Tim. i. 8, v. 23; Acts xvii. 17. n H.l.; see note below. o See ver. 3. p Rom. i. 1, etc.; Gal. i. 10; Eph. vi. 6; Col. iii. 21, iv. 12; Ja. i. 1; 2 Pet. i. 1. q See vi. 20. r Cf. Gal. i. 10; Eph. vi. 6; Col. iii. 22 f.*

<sup>1</sup> *Om. και* B<sup>ABP</sup> 17, 46, vg. syrr. *δε και*, DG 37. *και* only, KL, etc.

The Gentile who embraced circumcision in order to fulfil the law of God was severing himself from Christ and falling from grace. The "abide" of 1 Cor. is parl. to the "stand fast" of Gal.

Ver. 21. From the chief religious, the Ap. passes to the chief *social* distinction of the times: cf. Gal. iii. 28, Col. iii. 11. This contrast is developed only on one side—no freeman wished to become a slave, as Gentiles wished to be Jews; but the slaves, numerous in this Church (i. 26 ff.), sighed for liberty; their conversion stimulated this longing. The advice to the slave is read in two opposite ways: (a) "In slavery wast thou called? never mind (μή σοι μελέτω)! But still if thou canst also become free, rather make use of it (than not)"—so Ev. excellently renders, with Cv., Bz., Gr., Hf., Bt., Gd., Lt., supplying τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ for complement to μάλλον χρῆσαι; while (b) Est., Bg., D.W., Mr., Hn., Weiss, Weizsäcker, Al., El., Sm. supply τῇ δουλείᾳ, and suppose P. to recommend the slave, with liberty offered, to "make use rather" of his servile condition. εἰ καὶ may either mean (a) "if verily" (Luke xi. 18; so εἰ καὶ in xi. 28, Gal. vi. 1), or (b) "although" (Phil. ii. 17, Luke xi. 8, etc.). The ancient commentators differed on this text, with a leaning to (b). The advocates of (b) exaggerate the sense of vv. 20, 24, which condemn change not *per se* but, as in the case of circumcision, because it compromises Christian faith and standing. "Freedom" is the object proximately suggested to "rather use" by "free" just above; and the sense of χάρομαι in ver. 31, ix. 12, 15—to "avail oneself of an opportunity of good" (Lt.)—speaks in favour of (a). The οὐ δεδούλωται of ver. 15 and the μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλοι ἀνθρώπων of ver. 23 indicate Paul's feeling for free-

dom; and the δύνασθαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι was to the Christian slave a precious item in his providential μέρος (17).

Upon this view, ἀλλὰ . . . χρῆσαι forms a parenthesis, resembling in its connexion the οὐ δεδούλω. clause of ver. 15, by which P. intimates that in urging contentment with a slave's lot he does not preclude his embracing liberty, should it be offered. Having said this by the way, he supports his μή σοι μελέτω by the comforting reflexion of ver. 22a, which is completed in ver. 22b by the corresponding truth for the freeman.

Ver. 22. The two sentences, balanced by ὁμοίως (cf. 3 f.), do not precisely match: ὁ ἐν Κυρίῳ κληθεὶς δοῦλος is "the slave that was called in the Lord" (i.e., under Christ's authority), but ὁ ἐλεύθερος κληθεὶς is rather "the freeman, in that he was called"; his *call* has made the latter Christ's slave, while the former, though a slave, is the Lord's freedman. —ἀπελεύθερος, *libertus* (the prp. implying severance as in ἀπολύτρωσις, i. 30) —freedman of a Lord; "Christ buys us from our old master, sin, and then sets us free; but a service is still due from the *libertus* to the *patronus*" (Lt.); cf. Rom. vi. 17 f.; also ἐννομος Χριστοῦ, ix. 21, with the same gen. of possession. Ignatius makes a touching allusion to this passage, *ad Rom.*, 4: "I am till the present time a slave; but if I suffer I shall be Jesus Christ's freeman, and I shall rise up [in the resurrection] free!"

Ver. 23. τιμῆς ἡγοράσθητε (see note on vi. 20) explains the position both of the δοῦλος ἀπελεύθερος and the ἐλεύθ. δοῦλος by the same act of purchase: the slave has been liberated from sin, and the freeman bound to a new Lord. The point of the appended exhortation, μὴ γίνεσθε δοῦλ. ἀνθρ., is not obvious: we can scarcely imagine *free Christians selling*

πωρ. 24. ἕκαστος ἐν ᾧ<sup>1</sup> ἔκλήθη, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τούτῳ μενέτω<sup>2</sup> παρὰ<sup>3</sup> τῷ<sup>4</sup> Θεῷ. For sense of παρα, cf. Lk. i. 30, ii. 52; 1 Pet. ii. 4. In this ch. and 2 Cor. xi. 2; Mt. i. 23 (Isa. vii. 14), xxv. 1 ff.;

25. Περὶ δὲ τῶν<sup>5</sup> παρθένων<sup>6</sup> ἐπιταγὴν Κυρίου οὐκ ἔχω<sup>7</sup> γνῶμην<sup>8</sup> δὲ<sup>9</sup> ἰδίδωμι, ὡς<sup>10</sup> ἤλεημένος<sup>11</sup> ὑπὸ<sup>12</sup> Κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι. 26. νομίζω οὖν τοῦτο<sup>13</sup> καλὸν ὑπάρχειν διὰ<sup>14</sup> τὴν<sup>15</sup> ἐνεστώσαν<sup>16</sup> ἀνάγκην, ὅτι

Lk. i. 27; Acts xxi. 9; Rev. xiv. 4. u See ver. 6. v See i. 10; γν. δὲ, 2 Cor. viii. 10. w 2 Cor. iv. 1; Ph. ii. 27; 1 Tim. i. 13, 16. The vb., Rom. ix. 15 ff., xi. 30 ff.; Mt. v. 7. x See iv. 2. y See ver. 1. z See iii. 22. a 2 Cor. vi. 4, xii. 10; 1 Th. iii. 7; Lk. xxi. 23; 1 Kings xxii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Om. τ φ all uncc. but A, which is followed by a considerable minority of minn.

themselves into slavery; and subservience to party leaders (so Mr., Hf., Lt., El.; cf. i. 12, ii. 4, etc.) appears foreign to this context. It is better to take the warning quite generally: as much as to say, "Let no human influence divert you from service to God, or infringe on the devotion due to your Redeemer"; cf. Gal. v. 1, vi. 14. Public opinion and the social pressure of heathenism were too likely to enslave the Corinthians.

Ver. 24 reiterates with urgency, as addressed to "brethren," the fundamental rule laid down in ver. 20. ἐν τῇ κλήσει<sup>1</sup> now becomes, abstractly, ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐν τούτῳ—"wherein each was called, in that let him abide in the sight of God"; here as there the Christian vocation is intended, the status of faith and saintship, with which no human power may interfere and which, when duly realised, will of itself control outward relations and circumstances (Gal. ii. 20, Rom. xiv. 23). For παρὰ Θεῷ, cf. iii. 19 and parls.

§ 23. ADVANTAGES OF THE SINGLE STATE, vii. 25-35. Paul's opinion had been asked particularly, in this connexion, about the case of marriageable daughters (25): was it wise for fathers, as things were, to settle their daughters in marriage? He delivers his judgment on this delicate matter, turning aside in vv. 29-31 to a general reflexion upon the posture of Christians towards the perishing world around them; then returning to point out the freedom from care and material engrossment enjoyed by the unwedded (32 ff.), he restates in ver. 36 his advice περὶ τῶν παρθένων.

Ver. 25. Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρθένων: a topic pointedly included in the περὶ ὧν ἐγράψατε of the Church Letter (1). In vv. 1-16 P. had spoken of the conduct of self-directing men and women in regard to marriage; there remains the case of daughters at home, for whose disposal the father was responsible (36 f.). On this point Paul has no "command" to

give, whether proceeding immediately (10, ix. 14) or mediately (xiv. 37) from "the Lord"; he "gives" his γνώμη, his settled and responsible "opinion". He pronounces "as (i.e., feeling myself to be; cf. 29 ff., iv. 7, 18) one ἡλεημένος ὑπὸ Κυρίου πιστὸς εἶναι"—conscious that he is "faithful through the mercy effectually shown" him (pf. pass. ptp.; cf. 1 Tim. i. 13, 16) "by the Lord,"—faithful in this pronouncement to his stewardship under Christ (see iv. 1 f., and ii. 16). His advice is therefore to be trusted. The distinction made is not between higher and lower grades of inspiration or authority (cf. note on 12); but between *peremptory rule*, and *conditional advice* requiring the concurrence of those advised. Paul's opinion, *qua* opinion, as much as his injunction, is that of the Lord's steward and mouthpiece.

Ver. 26. νομίζω οὖν τοῦτο κ.τ.λ.: "I consider therefore"—the formula by which one gives a γνώμη (contrast the παραγγέλλω, διατάσσομαι of 10, 17)—"this to be good because of the present straits": καλὸν ὑπάρχειν, "good in principle" or "in nature" (cf. xi. 7, xii. 22); the existing situation is such as to make the course recommended entirely right and honourable (see note on καλόν, 1, also 8, 38).—The ἀνάγκη—narrowness, "pinching stress" (Ev.)—belongs to the καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος (29), the brief earthly continuance visible for the Church, a period exposed to persecution (28) with its hardships and perils; this "might or might not be the beginning of the ἀνάγκη μεγάλη predicted by Jesus" in Luke xxi. 23 (Lt.). ἐνεστώσαν signifies "present" rather than "impending" (see iii. 22, Gal. i. 4); the distress of the time, which P. was feeling keenly at Ephesus (iv. 9 ff., xv. 32), portended a speedy crisis.—ὅτι καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως εἶναι is open to three constructions, as ὅτι is rendered *that*, *because*, or *which* (δ, τι): (a) *makes*



- b Ver. 40; <sup>1</sup>καλὸν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ οὕτως εἶναι. 27. <sup>2</sup>δέδεσσαι <sup>3</sup>γυναϊκί; μὴ  
 Jo. iv. 6.  
 c Ver. 39; <sup>4</sup>ζητεῖ <sup>5</sup>λύσιν. <sup>6</sup>λέλυσαι ἀπὸ γυναικός; μὴ <sup>7</sup>ζητεῖ γυναῖκα. 28.  
 Rom. vii.  
 2. <sup>8</sup>ἐὰν δὲ καὶ <sup>9</sup>γῆμης,<sup>1</sup> οὐχ ἡμαρτες· καὶ ἐν <sup>10</sup>γῆμῃ ἢ <sup>11</sup>παρθένος,  
 d In like <sup>12</sup>οὐχ ἡμαρτε· <sup>13</sup>θλίψιν δὲ τῇ <sup>14</sup>σαρκὶ <sup>15</sup>ἐξοισιν <sup>16</sup>οἱ <sup>17</sup>τοιοῦτοι, ἐγὼ  
 sense,  
 Rom. ii.  
 7; Col. iii.  
 1; 1 Pet. iii. 11; Rev. ix. 6; Mt. vi. 33, xiii. 45. e N.T. h.l.; Eccl. viii. 1; Wisd. viii. 8. f Acts  
 xii. 30; Jo. xi. 44; Ps. cxlv. 7. g See ver. 9; also note below. h Jc. xvi. 33; Rev. ii. 10; Sir.  
 H. 3. i For dat., 2 Cor. xii. 7; for use of σαρκί, v. 5. k See v. 5.

<sup>1</sup>γαμησης, N(A)BP 17, 37, 46.

γμηης, KL, etc. λαβης γυναικα, DG, 1 tt. vg., Tert.

the clause *an expanded restatement* of τοῦτο καλὸν ὑπάρχειν—"I think then this to be good . . . that it is good (I say) for a man to remain as he is" (so Mr., Ed., El., and most); (b) makes it *the ground*, lying in the principle stated in ver. 1, for Paul's specific advice in the matter of the παρθένοι—"I think this to be good (in their case) . . . because it is good for one (ἀνθρώπῳ; see note on 1) to remain as one is," sc. to continue single (Bz., D.W., Gd.); (c) by attaching *δ,τι* as relative to the antecedent τοῦτο, and defining it by the subsequent τ. οὕτως εἶναι, Hn. gets another rendering—"I think this to be good (in the case of maidens) because of the present straits, which is good (as I have said, 1) for one generally, viz., to remain unmarried." (b) and (c), yielding a like sense, avoid the anacoluthon—the former at the expense of leaving τοῦτο undefined, the latter by an artificial arrangement of the words; both explanations are somewhat wide of the mark, for διὰ τ. ἐνεστ. ἀνάγκην supplies here the ground of advice, and ver. 1, on which they are based, is differently conceived (see note). In giving his advice "about the maidens," P. suddenly bethinks himself to widen it to both sexes (see 27 f.). So he recasts his sentence, throwing the *δτι καλὸν κ.τ.λ.*, with characteristic conversational freedom (cf. iv. 9), into apposition to the incomplete inf. clause: "I think this to be good because of the present straits—yes, that it is good ἀνθρώπῳ (for any one, not τ. παρθένοις only) not to change one's state". οὕτως εἶναι, "to be just as one is" (see parls.)—a state defined by the context.

Vv. 27, 28 apply in detail the advice just given, and first as it bears on *men*, then on *maidens*.—δέδεσσαι, λέλυσαι, pf. pass. of present state determined by the past; μὴ ζητεῖ, pr. impv., "do not be seeking". The two directions of ver. 27 reinforce, from the new point of view,

the instructions of vv. 10-16 and 8 respectively.—λέλυσαι, as opp. of δέδεσσαι, applies either to bachelor or widower.

In ver. 28 the *general advice* of 27 is guarded from being overpressed; cf. the relation of ver. 2 to 1 and ver. 9 to 8. The punctuation of El. and Nestle best marks the connexion of thought, closing ver. 27 with a full st p, each of the parls. ἐὰν . . . ἡμαρτες (-ν) clauses with a colon, and separating θλίψιν δὲ and ἐγὼ δὲ by a comma. In the second supposition (both with ἐὰν and sbj. of *probable contingency*) P. reverts to the case of "the maiden," from which he was diverted in ver. 26; he makes her, by implication, responsible for her marriage, although in 36 ff., later, the action of the *father* is alone considered.—γαμέω is used in the *act.* here, and in ver. 39, both of man and woman; cl. Gr. applies it to the latter in *pass.*; cf. note on the double ἀφιέτω in vv. 12 f. ἔγλημα and ἐγάμησα are the older and later aors.—The *aor.* in the apodosis—ἡμαρτες, ἡμαρτεν—is *proleptic* (Bn. § 50; Bm., pp. 198 f., 202), rather than *gnomic* (Mr., Hn., Ed.), as though by way of general reflexion: the Ap. addresses specific instances—"thou didst not . . . she did not sin"; cf. for tense, John xv. 11, Rev. x. 7.

The marriage Paul discourages is no sin, but will bring *suffering* from which he would fain save his friends. "But affliction for the flesh such (as may marry) will have, but I am seeking to spare you." With θλίψις cf. σκόλοψ τῇ σαρκί (2 Cor. xii. 7; also v. 5 above); there is some thought, possibly, of *re-compense* to "the flesh" which has had its way against advice. The affliction that Paul foresees is aptly indicated by Photius: "More easily and with small distress shall we endure if we have no wives and children to carry along with us in persecutions and countless miseries". At such times, for those who have domestic cares, there arises "the terrible

δὲ ὑμῶν <sup>1</sup>φείδομαι. 29. <sup>m</sup>Τοῦτο δέ <sup>m</sup>φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὁ <sup>a</sup>καιρὸς <sup>11</sup> <sup>2</sup>Cor. i. 23, xii. 6, xiii. 2; Rom. viii. 32, xi. 21; Acts xx. 29; 2 Pet. ii. 4 f. <sup>m</sup>συνεσταλμένος <sup>2</sup>. <sup>p</sup>τὸ <sup>p</sup>λοιπὸν <sup>2</sup>ἐστίν <sup>2</sup>ἵνα καὶ οἱ <sup>a</sup>ἔχοντες <sup>a</sup>γυναῖ-  
 κας ὡς μὴ <sup>a</sup>ἔχοντες ὡς, 30. καὶ οἱ <sup>r</sup>κλαίοντες ὡς μὴ <sup>r</sup>κλαίοντες,  
 καὶ οἱ <sup>r</sup>χαίροντες ὡς μὴ <sup>r</sup>χαίροντες, καὶ οἱ <sup>s</sup>ἀγοράζοντες ὡς μὴ <sup>s</sup>  
 κατέχοντες, 31. καὶ οἱ <sup>t</sup>χρώμενοι τῷ <sup>t</sup>κόσμῳ <sup>3</sup>τούτῳ <sup>3</sup>ὡς μὴ <sup>t</sup>  
 καταχρώμενοι. <sup>n</sup>παράγει γὰρ τὸ <sup>n</sup>σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου. <sup>n</sup>In like sense,  
 2 Cor. vi. 2.

2; Rom. xiii. 11; Eph. v. 16; Col. iv. 5; 2 Tim. iv. 6; Rev. xii. 12; Lk. xix. 44; Jo. vii. 8. <sup>o</sup>N.T. h. l. (cf. Acts v. 6); Sir. iv. 31. <sup>p</sup>See i. 16; το λ., Ph. iii. 1, iv. 8; 2 Th. iii. 1; Heb. x. 13; Mk. xiv. 41. <sup>q</sup>See v. 1. <sup>r</sup>2 Cor. vi. 10; Rom. xii. 15; Jo. xvi. 20. <sup>s</sup>See vi. 20. <sup>t</sup>In this sense, 2 Cor. vi. 10; Josh. i. 11. See xi. 2. <sup>u</sup>See ver. 21. <sup>v</sup>ix. 18. <sup>w</sup>Mt. ix. 9, etc.; mid., i Jo. ii. 8, 17. <sup>x</sup>Ph. ii. 8; Isa. iii. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Beza and Elzevir read *οτι ο καιρος*, after DG and the Western txt.

<sup>2</sup> *συνεσταλμένος ἐστίν το λοιπον*, <sup>h</sup>ABD\* (om. το) P 17, 37, 46, and many Ff. With this order of words, the *stop* follows *ἐστίν*: so B\* (according to Tisch.); see note below. G 67\*\*, latt. vg., Tert., Hier., Aug. write *ἐστιν twice*. *συνεσταλμ. το λοιπον ἐστιν*, DcKL, etc.—L, syrr. cop., followed by Elz. and Griesbach, put the stop at *ἐστιν*; Stephens, Bz., and most edd. of T.R. placed it before *το λοιπον*.

<sup>3</sup> *τον κοσμον* (om. τουτ.), <sup>h</sup>AB, cop. DG 17 add *τουτον*.  
*τω κοσμω τουτω*: Syrian uncc., etc.; a grammatical emendation.

alternative, between duty to God and affection to wife and children" (Lt.).—*φείδομαι* appears to be a *conative present* (see Bn. § 11; cf. Ro. ii. 4, Gal. v. 4).

Vv. 29-31. *τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἀδελφοί, κ.τ.λ.*: "This moreover I assert, brethren: *The time is cut short*".—*φημί*, as distinguished from *λέγω*, "marks the gravity and importance of the statement" (El.).—*Συνστελλῶ* (*to contract, shorten sail*) acquired the meaning to *depress, defeat* (1 Macc. iii. 6, 2 Macc. vi. 12); hence some render *συνεσταλμένος* by "calamitous," but without lexical warrant.—ὁ *καιρός* (see parls.) is "the season," the epoch of suspense in which the Church was then placed, looking for Christ's coming (i. 7) and uncertain of its date. The prospect is "contracted"; *short views* must be taken of life.

The connexion of τὸ *λοιπὸν* and *ἵνα* . . . ὥσιν with the foregoing affords a signal example of the grammatical looseness which mars Paul's style. (a) As to τὸ *λοιπὸν*: (1) Cm., the Gr. Ff., Bz., Al., Ev., Hn., Gd., Ed., R.V. *mg.* attach it to *συνεστ. ἐστίν*, in a manner "contrary to its usual position in Paul's epp. and diluting the force of the solemn ὁ *καιρὸς* . . . *ἐστίν*" (El.). (2) The Vg. and Lat. Ff., Est., Cv., A.V. read τὸ *λοιπὸν* as predicate to *ἐστίν* understood, thus commencing a new sentence,—"*reliquum est ut*," etc.; this is well enough in Latin, but scarcely tolerable Greek. (3) Mr., Hf., Bt., El., Lt., W.H., R.V.

*txt.* subordinate τὸ *λοιπὸν*, thrown forward with emphasis, to the *ἵνα* clause (cf. Gal. ii. 10, Rom. xi. 31)—"so that henceforth indeed those that have wives may be as without them," etc.; this gives compactness to the whole sentence, and proper relevance to the adv. Those who realise the import of the pending crisis will *from this time* sit loose to mundane interests. (b) As to the connexion of *ἵνα* . . . ὥσιν: this clause may define either *the Apostle's purpose*, as attached to *φημί* (so Bz., Hf., Ed.), or *the Divine purpose* implied in *συνεστ. ἐστίν* (so most interpreters). Both explanations give a fitting sense: *the Ap. urges*, or *God has determined*, the limitation of the temporal horizon, in order to call off Christians from secular absorption. In this solemn connexion the latter is, presumably, Paul's uppermost thought.

Vv. 29b, 30 are "the picture of spiritual detachment in the various situations in life" (Gd.). Home with its joys and griefs, business, the use of the world, must be carried on as under notice to quit, by men prepared to cast loose from the shores of time (cf. Luke xii. 29-36; by contrast, Luke xiv. 18 ff.). From wedlock the Ap. turns, as in vv. 17-24, to other earthly conditions—there considered as *stations* not to be wilfully changed, here as *engagements* not to be allowed to cumber the soul. Ed. observes that the Stoic condemned the interaction, here recognised, between "the



y Mt. xxviii. 14; Wisd. vi. 16, vii. 23, μεριμ-  
να, Mt. xiii. 22, etc.  
z See ver. 8.  
a xii. 25; Ph. ii. 20, iv. 6; Mt. vi. 25 ff., x. 19.  
c See ver. 9, and note on ver. 28.  
f See v. 3.

32. θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἄμερίμνους εἶναι. ὁ ἄγαμος ἄμεριμνῶ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, πῶς ἄρᾳσει<sup>1</sup> τῷ Κυρίῳ· 33. ὁ δὲ ἡγαμήσας ἄμεριμνῶ τὰ τοῦ κόσμου, πῶς ἄρᾳσει<sup>1</sup> τῇ γυναικί.<sup>2</sup> 34. ἄμερίσται<sup>2</sup> ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος<sup>2</sup>. ἡ ἄγαμος ἄμεριμνῶ τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, ἵνα ἡ ἀγία καὶ ὁ σώματι<sup>4</sup> καὶ πνεύματι<sup>4</sup>. ἡ δὲ ἡγαμήσασα ἄμεριμνῶ τὰ τοῦ

b x. 33; Rom. viii. 8, xv. i. ff.; Gal. i. 10; 1 Th. ii. 4, 15, iv. 1; 2 Tim. ii. 4.  
d In this sense, see i. 13; diff. in ver. 17. e See ver. 25.

<sup>1</sup> ἀρεσῇ (thrice): all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>2</sup> A perplexed *varia lectio* :—

(1) καὶ (μεμερίσται), ΞABDEP 17, vg. syr<sup>sch</sup>. cop. Om. καὶ DcGKL, etc. (later Western and Syrian).

(2) καὶ (ἡ γυνή) all uncc. but D\*E, and most minn. Om. καὶ D\*, etc., codd. mentioned by Hier., syr<sup>sch</sup>. cop.

(3) ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἀγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος (μεριμνῶ), BP 46, 73, four other minn., vg. cop., Eus., Amb., Hier., Pel. So Tr., W.H., R.V. marg.

ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἀγαμος (μεριμνῶ), ΞADGKL, etc., latt. syrr. (? Western and Syrian). [ΞAFB 17 write ἡ ἀγαμος after both γυνὴ and παρθένος.] So Tisch., R.V. *txt.*, El., Nestle. See, on punctuation, note below.

The text here adopted reads: (33) μεριμνῶ τὰ του κοσμου, πως αρεσῇ τῷ κοσμῳ, καὶ μεμερίσται. (34) καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἀγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος μεριμνῶ τὰ του κυριου κ.τ.λ. See Heinrici's conjecture, stated below.

<sup>3</sup> Om. καὶ ADI<sup>2</sup>P 17, 37, syr<sup>sch</sup>. cop.

<sup>4</sup> τῷ (σωμ., πν.), ΞABP 17, 37, 46.

soul's emotions and external conditions; the latter he would have described as a thing indifferent, the former as a defect: πᾶν μὲν γὰρ πάθος ἀμαρτία" (Plut., *Virt. Mor.*, 10). "Summa est, Christiani hominis animus rebus terrenis non debere occupari, nec in illis conquesce: sic enim vivere nos oportet, quasi singulis momentis migrandum sit e vita" (Cv.).—ὥς μὴ ἔχοντες κ.τ.λ., not *like*, in the manner of, but "with the feeling of those who have not," etc., ὥς with ptp. implying subjective attitude—a limitation "proceeding from the mind of the speaking or acting subject" (Bm., p. 307); cf. ver. 25 and note.—ἀγοράζοντες (*marketing*) gives place in the negative to κατέχοντες, *possessing*, holding fast (cf. 2 Cor. vi. 10).—Χράσμαι governs acc. occasionally in late Gr.; the case of τὸν κόσμον may be influenced by καταχράμενοι, with which cl. authors admit the acc. The second vb. (with dat. in ix. 18) is the intensive of the first—to use to the full (use up); not to misuse—a meaning lexically valid, but inappropriate here. "Abuse" had both meanings in older Eng., like the Lat. *abutor*; it appears in Cranmer's Bible with the former sense in Col. ii. 22.

A reason for sparing use of the world lies in its *transitory form*, 31b—a sentence kindred to the declaration of ver. 29a.—

σχῆμα (cf. iv. 6, and other parl.) denotes phenomenal guise—*habitus, fashion*—as distinguished from μορφή, proper and essential shape: see the two words in Phil. ii. 6 ff., with the discussions of Lt. and Gifford *ad loc.* "The world" has a dress suited to its fleeting existence.—παράγει affirms "not so much the present actual fact, as the inevitable issue; the σχῆμα of the world has no enduring character" (El.); "its fascination is that of the theatre" (Ed.); cf. 1 John ii. 17. The Ap. is thinking not of the fabric of nature, but of mundane human life—the world of marryings and marketings, of feasts and funerals.

Then what this world to thee, my heart?

Its gifts nor feed thee nor can bless.

Thou hast no owner's part in all its fleetingness.

—J. H. Newman.

Vv. 32-34. θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. (cf. 7): "But I want you to be unanxious (ἀμερίμνους);" cf. φείδομαι, ver. 28. This is the reason why P. labours the advice of this section; see our Lord's dehortations from ἡ μέριμνα τοῦ αἰῶνος in Matt. vi. 25-34 and xiii. 22.—Vv. 32b-34 describe, not without a touch of humour, the exemption in this respect of the unmarried: *he* "is anxious in respect of the things of the Lord"—not "of the world, as to how he should please his wife!" After bidding the readers to be ἀμερίμνοι, P. writes μεριμνῶ τ. τοῦ Κυρίου, with a

κόσμου, πῶς ἂν ἄρῃσει <sup>1</sup> τῷ ἀνδρί. 35. τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὅμων αὐτῶν <sup>2</sup> συμφο-  
<sup>3</sup> συμφέρον <sup>2</sup> λέγω· οὐχ ἵνα ἂν βρόχον ὅμῳν <sup>1</sup> ἐπιβάλω, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ  
<sup>4</sup> εὐσχημον καὶ <sup>1</sup> εὐπρόσδρον <sup>3</sup> τῷ Κυρίῳ = ἀπερισπάστως.

vii. 21, xxii. 25. i With dat., Mk. xi. 7, xiv. 46; Acts iv. 3; Prov. xx. 26. k xii. 24; Acts xiii. 50,  
 xvii. 12; Mk. xv. 43. Cf. xii. 23, xiv. 40. i εὐπαρεδρον, h.l. Cf. ix. 13; Prov. viii. 3 (παρεδρενω);  
 Wisd. vi. 15, ix. 4 (-εδος). m H.l.; -στος, Wisd. xvi. 11; Lk. x. 40; Sir. xli. 2 (περισπασθαι).

<sup>1</sup> ἀρεση (thrice): all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>2</sup> συμφορον, B\*ABD\* 17.

<sup>3</sup> εὐπαρεδρον: all uncc. but KL.

certain *catechesis* in the vb., for the sake of the antithesis. The accs. are of *limitation* rather than of transitive obj. πῶς ἄρεση is indirect question, retaining the deliberative subj.—“is anxious . . . (asking) how he should please,” etc. For the supreme motive, “pleasing the Lord,” cf. iv. 1-5, 2 Cor. v. 9, etc. ὁ γαμήσας, aor. of the *event* (pf. in 10: cf. note), which brought a new care.—Accepting the reading καὶ μεμέρισται. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἀγαμος, with the stop at μεμέρ. (the only possible punctuation with ἡ ἀγαμος in this position: see txtl. note), then it is added about the married Christian, that “he has been (since his marriage) divided,”—*parcelled out* (see note on i. 12): part of him is assigned to the Lord, part to the world. Lt. says that this rendering (R.V. mg.) “throws sense and parallelism into confusion, for καὶ μεμέρισται is not wanted with ver. 33, which is complete in itself”: nay, the addition is made just because the parl. would be untrue if not so qualified; the married Christian does not *care simply* for “the things of the world” as the unmarried for “the things of the Lord,” he cares for *both* “and is divided,” giving but half his mind to Christ (so Ewald, Hf., Hn., Ed.). The attachment of καὶ μεμέρισται to ver. 34, with the Western reading (see txtl. note), retained by Mr., Bt., El., Lt., Sm., A.V., and R.V. txt., in accordance with most of the older comment., gives to μερίξω a meaning doubtful in itself and without N.T. parl.: “And *there is a distinction between* the wife and the maiden”. Gd. escapes this objection by reading μεμέρισται κ. ἡ γυνὴ as a sentence by itself, “the wife also is divided”—then continuing, “And the unwedded maiden cares for,” etc.; an awkward and improbable construction as the text stands (but see Hn. below). Txtl. criticism and exegesis concur in making καὶ μεμέρισται a further assertion about ὁ γαμήσας, revealing his full disadvantage.

Hn., by a very tempting conjecture, proposes to insert a second μεμέρισται after the first: πῶς ἄρεση τ. γυναικί, καὶ μεμέρισται· μεμέρισται καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἡ ἀγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος μεριμνᾷ κ.τ.λ.—“He that has married is anxious in regard to the things of the world, how he may please his wife, and is divided; divided also is the wife. The unmarried (woman), with the maiden, is anxious as to the things of the Lord.” This would account for the double καὶ, which embarrasses the critical text; it gives a fuller and more balanced sense, in harmony moreover with Paul’s principle of putting husband and wife on equal terms (2 ff., 11-16); and nothing was easier than for a doubled word, in the unpunctuated and unspaced early copies, to fall out in transcription. Placing the full stop at μεμέρισται, without the aid of Hn.’s emendation, ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἀγαμος καὶ ἡ παρθένος are made the combined subject of μεριμνᾷ (34), “the unmarried woman” being the general category, within which “the maiden,” whose case raised this discussion (25), is specially noted; the two subjects forming one idea, take a sing. verb.

The purpose ἵνα ἡ ἀγία κ.τ.λ. is the subjective counterpart of the question πῶς ἄρεση of ver. 32; note the similar combination in Rom. xii. 1, also 1 Thess. iv. 3; and see notes on ἀγίοις, ἡγιασμένοις, i. 2. Holiness τῷ σώματι (dat. of *sphere*; see Wr., p. 270) comes first in this connexion (cf. 4; vi. 20), and τῷ πνεύματι is added to make up the entire person and to mark the inner region of sanctification; “the spirit” which animates the body, being akin to God (John iv. 24) and communicating with His Spirit (Rom. viii. 16), is the basis and organ of our sanctification (cf. 1 Thess. v. 23, 2 Thess. ii. 13).—Of ἡ γαμήσασα, “she that has married,” on the contrary, the same must be said as of ὁ γαμήσας (33); she studies to “please her husband” as well as “the Lord”.

Ver. 35. A third time P. declares that



<sup>n</sup> xiii. 5; Dent. xxv. 3; Ezek. xvi. 7 f. <sup>-w</sup>, xii. 23; <sup>-οσυνη</sup>, Rom. i. 27. <sup>o</sup> With inf., Acts viii. 20; 2 Macc. vii. 19; cl. Gr. <sup>p</sup> H.J.; παρακαμῶν, Sir. xlii. 9. <sup>q</sup> Pres., in this sense, ix. 10, xi. 7, 10; 2 Cor. xii. 14; Rom. xv. 1; Eph. v. 28; 2 Th. i. 3, ii. 13; Heb. v. 3, 12, etc. <sup>r</sup> See ver. 9. <sup>s</sup> xv. 58; Col. i. 23. <sup>t</sup> Heb. vii. 27; Lk. xiv. 18; Jude 3. <sup>u</sup> Rom. ix. 21; 2 Th. iii. 9; Acts ix. 14; Lk. xii. 5, xix. 17; Mt. vii. 29, ix. 6; Mk. iii. 15; Jo. x. 18, xix. 10, 11; h.l. with περι. <sup>v</sup> Of human will, xvi. 12; Eph. ii. 3; 2 Pet. i. 21; Lk. xxiii. 25; Jo. i. 13; 3 Ki. v. 8. <sup>w</sup> See ver. 3. <sup>x</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 9; 1 Th. v. 23; 1 Tim. v. 22, vi. 14; Jas. i. 27; Jude 21.

<sup>1</sup> γαμεῖτω, DG syrsc., Epiph., Aug.; *non peccat si nubat*, latt. vg., Ambrst.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐδραῖος: so pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν τῇ ἰδιᾷ καρδίᾳ (om. αυτου), NABP 31, 46.

<sup>4</sup> Om. του NABP, minn.<sup>20</sup> Ins. του DGKL (Western and Syrian).

he is consulting for the welfare of his readers (*cf.* 28b, 32a), not insisting on his own preference nor laying down an absolute rule: "looking to (πρός) your advantage I say (it)". τὸ σύμφερον is the abstract of συμφέρεῖ (vi. 12, x. 23).—The βρόχος is the *noose* or *lasso* by which a wild creature is snared: P. does not wish by what he says to deprive the Cor. of any liberty,—to *capture* his readers and shut them up to celibacy—"not that I may throw a snare over you". He aims at what is socially εὐσχημον, "of honourable guise," as belonging to the Christian decorum of life (see *parls.*); and at what is religiously ἐπαρεδρον τῷ Κυρίῳ, "promotive-of-fit-waiting on the Lord".—ἀπερίσπαστος recalls the περιεσπᾶτο used of *Martha* in Luke x. 38-42, and suggests that the Ap. had this story in his mind, esp. as μεριμνᾶω, his leading expression in this Section, is the word of reproof used by Jesus there. Epictetus' dissuasive from marriage, in his *Dissertt.*, III., xxii., 67 ff., curiously resembles Paul's: τοιαύτης οὐσης καταστάσεως οἱ αὖν ἔστιν, ὡς ἐν παρατάξει, μή ποτ' ἀπερίσπαστον εἶναι δεῖ τ. Κυνικὸν ὄλον πρὸς τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἀνθρώποις δυνάμενον, οὐ προσδεμένον καθήκουσιν ἰδιωτικοῖς οὐδ' ἐμπεπλεγμένον (*cf.* 2 Tim. ii. 4) σχέσσειν, ἃς παραβαλὼν οὐκέτι σώσει τὸ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πρόσωπον, τῶν δ' ἀπολεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον κ. κατὰ σκοπον κ. κήρυκα τῶν θεῶν; (69).

§ 24. FREEDOM TO MARRY, vii. 36-40. The question of the marriage of Cor. Christian maidens Paul has discussed on grounds of expediency. The narrow earthly horizon, the perils of the Christian

lot, the division between religious and domestic duty esp. probable under these conditions, render the married state undesirable (28-34). The Ap. does not on these grounds *forbid* marriage,—to do so would entangle some of his readers perilously; he *recommends* what appears to him the course generally fitting, and advantageous for their spiritual interests (35 f.). If the parent's judgment points the other way, or if circumstances are such as to enforce consent, then so let it be (36). But where the father can thus decide without misgiving, he will do well to keep his daughter at home (37 f.). Similarly in the case of the Christian *widow*: she is free to marry "in the Lord"; but, in Paul's decided opinion, she will be happier to refrain (39 f.). The Ap. gives *inspired advice*, and the bias of his own mind is clearly seen; but he finds no sin in marriage; he guards sensitively the rights of individual feeling and conscience, and leaves the decision in each case to the responsible parties.

Ver. 36. By a contrastive δὲ P. passes from the εὐσχημον at which his dissuasive was aimed, to the ἀσχημονεῖν that might be thought to result in some cases from following it.—The vb. (= ἀσχήμωι εἶναι) signifies either *to act unbecomingly* (xiii. 5), or *to suffer disgrace, turpem videri* (Vg.); the antithesis, and the adjunct ἐπὶ τὴν παρθένον, dictate the former sense, which is post-classical.—On νομίζε- (*is of opinion*), see ver. 26. It was socially discreditable, both amongst Greeks and Jews (*cf.* Sirach xlii. 9), to keep one's daughter at home, without obvious reason, for any long period beyond adult age; a Christian father might feel this

τὴν ἑαυτοῦ παρθένον, ὡς καλῶς ποιεῖ.<sup>1</sup> 38. ὥστε καὶ ὁ ἑγκαμίζων<sup>2</sup> ὡς καλῶς ποιεῖ,<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ<sup>4</sup> μὴ ἑγκαμίζων<sup>5</sup> ὡς κρείσσον ποιεῖ.<sup>6</sup> 39. γυνὴ δέδεται νόμῳ<sup>7</sup> ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ζῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς· ἐὰν δὲ κοιμηθῇ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς,<sup>8</sup> ἐλευθέρᾳ ἐστὶν ὥς θέλει γαμηθῆναι, μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ. 40. μακαριωτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἐὰν οὕτω μένῃ, κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἰγνώμην· δοκῶ δὲ<sup>9</sup> καὶ γὰρ πνεῦμα Θεοῦ ἔχειν.

b See ver. 27. c Rom. vii. 1; Gal. iv. 1; cf. Mk. ii. 19; 2 Pet. i. 13. d xi. 30, xv. 6 ff.; 1 Th. iv. 13 ff.; 2 Pet. iii. 4; Jo. xi. 11 ff., etc. e ix. 19; Rom. vi. 20, vii. 3; h.l. with inf. f xi. 11, etc., characteristic and peculiar to P.; cf. *en Xp.* g Of (human) persons, Rom. iv. 7 f. (from LXX), xiv. 22; Jas. i. 12, 25; 1 Pet. iii. 14, iv. 14; Rev. i. 3, etc.; Acts xxvi. 2; Mt. v. 3 ff., etc. Compar. h.l. h See ver. 26. i See ver. 6. k See iii. 18. l Rom. viii. 9; Jude 19. Cf. ii. 12.

<sup>1</sup> ποιησει, NAB 17, 46, 67\*\*, cop.

<sup>2</sup> γαμιζων, NABD 17, 46.

<sup>3</sup> γαμιζων την εαυτου παρθενον: NABDP 17, 37, 46, latt. vg. syrr.; BD put εαυτου after παρθενον (?).

<sup>4</sup> και ο μη: N\*ABDG 17, 37, 46.

<sup>5</sup> γαμιζων, N\*ABDG 17, 46.

<sup>6</sup> ποιησει, N\*AB 17, 37, 46, 67\*\*, cop., Bas.

Minn. 3 and 114 om. ver. 38 in consequence of the homæoteleuton ποιει (vv. 37 f.); through same mistake G and several other copies om. ver. 38a, *ωστε . . . ποιει.*

<sup>7</sup> Om. νομῳ (derived from Rom. vii. 2) N\*ABD\* 17, 67\*\*, the oldest copies of vg., Clem., Or., Athan., Tert.

<sup>8</sup> Om. αυτης NABKP, more than seventy minn.

<sup>9</sup> δοκω γαρ (?): B 17, 37, 67\*\*, Cyr., Amb., Ambrst. Preferred by W.H.

discredit for his religion's sake (cf. x. 32), and might be reproached as doing his child and society a wrong.—ἐὰν ἢ ὑπέρακμος, "if she be past the bloom (of youth)"—the μέτριος χρόνος ἀκμῆς, fixed by Plato (*Rep.*, vi., 460 E) at twenty, the *asias nubilis*.—καὶ οὕτως ὀφείλει (see parls.) γίνεσθαι—"and so matters ought to proceed" (pr. inf.)—states a further presumable reason for consent: duty may require it—where, *e.g.*, the girl has been *promised*, or is so situated that a continued veto may give rise to peril or scandal (cf. 2). In such circumstances the father's course is clear: "let him do what he wills" (θέλει); cf. ver. 35. γαμείτωσαν—*i.e.*, the daughter and her suitor, the claim of the latter being hinted at in the previous ὀφείλει: pr. impv.; "Let the marriage take its course".

Ver. 37. For the opposite resolution, adopted by a father who "keeps his own virgin (daughter)" instead of "marrying" her (38), four conditions are laid down: (1) *unshaken firmness* in his own mind (ἑστηκεν ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ἐδραῖος, cf. Rom. xiv. 5, 23), as against social pressure; (2) *the absence of constraint* (μὴ ἔχων ἀνάγκην) arising from previous engagement or irresistible circumstances; (3) *his full authority* to act as he will

(ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἔχει κ.τ.λ.)—slaves, on the other hand, could not dispose of their children, and the unqualified *patria potestas* belonged only to Roman citizens (see Ed. in loc.); ἐξουσία, however, signifies *moral* power, which reaches in the household far beyond civil right; (4) *a judgment deliberately and independently formed* to this effect (τοῦτο κέκρικεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ καρδίᾳ). Granting all this, the father who "has decided to keep his own maiden, does well"—καλῶς, *rightly, honourably well* (see note on καλόν, i). The repeated καρδιά (the *mind*, the seat of thought and will, rather than the *heart* with its modern emotional connotation; cf. ii. 9, iv. 5, and notes), and the phrase περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου θελήματος, press on the father the necessity of using his judgment and acting on his personal responsibility; as in vv. 6 f., 28, 35, the Ap. is jealous of allowing his own authority or inclination to overbear the conscience of his disciples; cf. Rom. xiv. 4-10, 22 f.—This ἀνάγκη urges in the opp. direction to that of ver. 26; in both cases the word signifies compulsion, dictating action other than that one would independently have taken.—ἐξουσίαν . . . περὶ κ.τ.λ. is "power as touching his own resolve," the right to act as one will—in other



a x. 19; Acts  
xv. 29,  
xxi. 25;  
Rev. ii.  
14, 20.

VIII. 1. Περὶ δὲ τῶν \*εἰδωλοθύτων οἶδαμεν, ὅτι πάντες ὁ γυνῶσιν ἔχομεν. ἡ ὁ γυνῶσις \*φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁ οἰκοδομεῖ. 2. εἰ δὲ 1

b In this disparaging sense, xiii. 2, 8; Rom. ii. 20; 1 Tim. vi. 20; see also i. 5. c See iv. 6. d In this sense, x. 23, xiv. 4, 17; 1 Th. v. 11; Acts ix. 31, xx. 32; Mt. xvi. 18.

1 Om. δὲ NABP 17, 46, 73, vg. (older codd.), cop.

words, mastery of the situation.—The obj., τ. παρθένον, suggests the tacit complement to τηρεῖν (see parls.): “to keep intact, in what he believes to be the best state” for the Lord’s service (Ed.). “The will of the maiden is left wholly out of court” (Hn.); social custom ignored this factor in marriage; for all that, it might constitute the opposed ἀνάγκη, and might, in some circumstances, practically limit the paternal ἐξουσία; see ver. 28b, and note.

Ver. 38, the sum of the matter: either to marry one’s daughter or refuse her in marriage is, abstractly viewed, an honourable course; the latter, in Paul’s judgment, and for Christians in the present posture of things, is *better*. “Ce bien est mieux résumé tout le chapitre” (Gd.).

Vv. 39, 40 dispose, by way of appendix to the case of the maiden and to the like effect, of the question of the *re-marriage of Christian widows*. Ver. 39 is repeated in almost identical terms, for another purpose, in Rom. vii. 2.—On δέεται and γαμηθῆναι (cl. γαμεθῆναι), see vv. 27 f.; κοιμηθῆ, the term for Christian death (see parls.).—“She is free to be married to whom she will,” while the maiden is disposed of by her father’s will (36 f.); μόνον ἐν Κυρίῳ (cf. 2 Cor. vi. 14 ff., 1 Thess. iv. 3 ff.) forbids union with a heathen; it also forbids any union formed with un-Christian motives (cf. Thess. iv. 4 f.).—“But more blessed she is” (μακαριωτέρα δέ: see parls.)—not merely happier by exemption from trouble (26 ff.), but *religiously* happier in her undivided devotion to the Lord (32 ff.).—“if she abide as she is”. This advice was largely followed in the Pauline Churches, so that before long widows came to be regularly enrolled for Church service (1 Tim. v. 3-16).—κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην (see note on 26): Paul’s *advice*, not command.—δοκῶ δὲ κἀγὼ κ.τ.λ.: “However I think, for my own part (however others may deem of me), that I have (an inspiration of) God’s Spirit” (the anarthrous πνεῦμα Θεοῦ: cf. xii. 3, etc.); see for Paul’s claim to Divine guidance, extending to his *opinions* as

well as commands, ver. 25, ii. 10-16, iv. 1, ix. 2, xiv. 37.—On δοκῶ, see note to iv. 9; it is the language of modesty, not misgiving. The Ap. commends his advice in all these matters, conscious that it proceeds from the highest source and is not the outcome of mere human prudence or personal inclination.

DIVISION III. CONTACT WITH IDOLATRY, viii.-x. We have traced in the previous chapters the disastrous reaction of the old leaven upon the new Christian kneading at Cor. But Christian society had its *external* as well as its internal problems—a fact already evident in the discussion of ch. vi. respecting the carrying of disputes to the heathen law-courts. A much larger difficulty, involving the whole problem of social intercourse between Christians and their heathen neighbours, had been raised by the Church Letter—the question *περὶ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων* (viii. 1). *Was it lawful for a Christian to eat flesh that had been offered in sacrifice to an idol?* Social festivities commonly partook of a religious character, being conducted under the auspices of some deity, to whom libations were poured or to whom the animals consumed had been dedicated in sacrifice. The “idol’s house” (viii. 10) was a rendezvous for banquets. Much of the meat on sale in the markets and found on ordinary tables came from the temples; and without inquiry it was impossible to discriminate (x. 25-28). Jewish rule was uncompromisingly strict upon this point; and the letter of the Jerusalem Council, addressed to the Churches of Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, had directed “the brethren from among the Gentiles” to “abstain from idolothyta” (Acts xv. 29). The Cor. Church, in consulting Paul, had expressed its own leaning towards liberty in this matter (viii.); what will the Ap. say? It is a real dilemma for him. He has to vindicate the broad principles of spiritual religion; at the same time he must avoid wounding Jewish feeling, and must guard Gentile weakness against the seductions of heathen feasts and against the peril of relapsing into idolatry through inter-

τις ὁδοκεῖ<sup>1</sup> εἰδέναι<sup>1</sup> τι, οὐδέπω<sup>2</sup> οὐδέν<sup>3</sup> ἔγνωκε<sup>4</sup> καθὼς<sup>5</sup> δεῖ<sup>6</sup> See iii. 18.  
 γυνῶναι. 3. εἰ δέ τις ἁγαπᾷ τὸν<sup>7</sup> Θεόν, οὗτος<sup>8</sup> ἔγνωσται ὑπ'<sup>9</sup> See iii. 18.  
 viii. 26; Eph. vi. 20; Col. iv. 4, 6; 1 Th. iv. 1; 2 Th. iii. 7; 1 Tim. iii. 15. h Rom. viii. 28; Mt.  
 xii. 37; Lk. x. 27 (Deut. vi. 5); 1 Jo. iv. 20 f., v. 2. i Gal. iv. 9; 2 Tim. ii. 19 (Nu. xvi. 5); Mt.  
 vii. 23, xxv. 12. g Cf. Rom.  
 ii. 8.  
 i e.g. Rom.  
 ii. 8.

<sup>1</sup> ἐγνώκειναι, all pre-Syrian uncc., 17, 46, many Ff.

<sup>2</sup> οὐπω,  $\aleph$ ABP 17, 46, 73. ουδεπω, Western and Syrian.

<sup>3</sup> Om. ουδεν all pre-Syrian uncc.—T.R. a grammatical emendation.

<sup>4</sup> ἐγνω, all pre-Syrian uncc. The -κε a doubling of the following κα-.

<sup>5</sup> Om. υπ' αυτου  $\aleph^*$  17, Clem.

course with unconverted kindred and neighbours. In theory Paul is for *freedom*, but in practice for great *restrictions* upon the use of idolothyta. (1) He admits that the question is decided in principle by the fundamental truth of religion, *viz.*, that *God is one*, from which it follows that *the sacrifice to the idol is an invalid transaction* (viii. 1 ff.; x. 19, 26). But (2) many have not grasped this inference, being still in some sense under the spell of the idol; for them to eat would be sin, and *for their sake stronger-minded brethren should abstain* (viii. 7-13; x. 23-30). To this effect (3) P. sets forth *his own example, (a) in the abridgment of his personal liberty for the good of others* (ix. 1-22; x. 33-xi. 1), and (b) *in the jealous discipline of bodily appetite* (ix. 23 ff.). The last consideration leads (4) to a solemn warning against *contamination by idolatry*, drawn (a) *from the early history of Israel*, and further (b) *from the communion of the Lord's Table*, which utterly forbids participation in "the table of demons" (x. 1-22). These instances show in a manner evident to the good sense of the readers (x. 15), that to take part in a heathen sacrificial feast is in effect a recognition of idolatry and an apostasy from Christ.

§ 25. KNOWLEDGE OF THE ONE GOD AND ONE LORD, viii. 1-6. In inquiring from their Ap. "about the *ειδωλόθυτα*," the Cor. had intimated their "knowledge" of the falsity of the entire system of idolatry. Here Paul checks them at the outset. The pretension betrays their one-sided intellectualism. Such matters are never settled by knowledge; *love* is the true arbiter (2 f.). After this caution, he takes up the statement of the Cor. creed made in the Church Letter, with its implications respecting idolatry (4 ff.).

Ver. 1a. Περὶ δὲ τῶν *ειδωλοθύτων*: another topic of the Church Letter, to which the Apostle continues his reply

(see note on vii. 1; also *Introd.*, chap. ii.). The word *ειδωλόθυτον* (see parls.), "the *idol-sacrifice*," substituted for the *ιερόθυτον* (x. 28) of the heathen vocabulary, conveys an implicit judgment on the question in hand; see note on *ειδωλον*, ver. 4, and on x. 19 f.; also Acts xv. 20, τὰ ἀλισγημάτα τῶν *ειδώλων*. — οἶδαμεν — *ἔτι πάντες γινώσκιν ἔχομεν*: the common rendering, "We know *that* we all have knowledge" yields a weak tautology, and misses the irony of the passage; otherwise than in οἶδαμεν *ἔτι* of ver. 4, this is the *causal ἔτι* (so Bg., Hn., Ed.). The Cor. in making their inquiry virtually answered it themselves; they wrote *Οἶδαμεν ἔτι οὐδὲν εἰδωλον ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ* (4); and P. takes them up at the first word with his arresting comment: "'We know' (say you?) because 'we all have knowledge'! — Knowledge puffs up," etc. — For γινώσκιν ἔχομεν, cf. ver. 10; the phrase breathes the pride of the Cor. illuminati; in γινώσκεις this Church felt itself rich (i. 5, iv. 10); its wealth was its peril.

Ver. 1b. The Ap. gives to Cor. vanity a sudden, sharp rebuke by his epigram, *Ἡ γνῶσις φυσιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη οἰκοδομεῖ*: "Knowledge puffs up, but Love builds up". Hn. aptly compares Aristotle's axiom, *τὸ τέλος οὐ γινώσκεις, ἀλλὰ πράξεις* (*Nic. Eth.*, i., 1). For *φυσιοῦω*, *to inflate*, see note on iv. 6. The appeal of the Church to Knowledge as decisive in the controversy about "meats" disclosed the great flaw in its character—its poverty of love (xiii. 1 ff.). The tacit obj. of *οἰκοδομεῖ* is the Church, the *Θεοῦ οἰκοδομή* (iii. 9, 16); Eph. iv. 15 f. describes the *edifying* power of love; see also Matt. xxii. 37-40, 1 John iv. 16-21. For the Biblical use of *ἀγάπη*, see note to xiii. 1. The divisive question at issue Love would turn into a means of strengthening the bonds of Church life; Knowledge operating alone makes it an engine of destruction (11 f.).

Vv. 2, 3. Loveless knowledge is *ruinous*



k 2 Cor. ix. αὐτοῦ.<sup>1</sup> 4. περὶ<sup>2</sup> τῆς<sup>k</sup> βρώσεως<sup>2</sup> οὖν τῶν<sup>a</sup> εἰδωλοθύτων<sup>a</sup> · <sup>1</sup>οἶδαμεν  
 10; Rom. xiv. 17; <sup>1</sup>ὅτι οὐδέν<sup>m</sup> εἰδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς Θεὸς ἕτερος<sup>2</sup> <sup>a</sup>εἰ <sup>n</sup>μὴ  
 Col. ii. 16; Heb. xii. 16. l iii. 16, vi. 2 f., etc.; diff., ver. 1. m x. 19, xii. 2; 2 Cor. vi. 16; Rom. ii. 22; 1 Th. i. 9;  
 1 Jo. v. 21; Rev. ix. 20; Acts vii. 41, xv. 20; see also ver. 1, v. 10. In LXX *passim*, for Heb. *elilim*,  
 and *gillulim*. n For this use, see i. 14.

<sup>1</sup> Om. νπ' αὐτου B\* 17, Clem. Alex.

<sup>2</sup> περὶ δε της γνωσεως, D\* E; περὶ της γνωσεως ουν, P 121.

<sup>3</sup> Om. ετερος all pre-Syrian uncc.

(1b); more than that, it is *self-stultifying*. The contrasted hypotheses—εἰ τις δοκεῖ ἐγνωκέναι τι (= δοκεῖ σοφὸς εἶναι, iii. 18) and εἰ τις ἀγαπᾷ τὸν Θεόν—define the position of men who build upon their own mental acquisitions, or who make love to God the basis of life. For emphatic δοκεῖ, cf. iii. 18, vii. 40; it implies an opinion, well- or ill-founded, and confidence in that opinion. The pf. ἐγνωκέναι signifies *knowledge acquired* (for which, therefore, one might claim credit), while the aors. ἐγνώ and γνῶναι denote the *acquisition of (right) knowledge*, rendered impossible by self-conceit—"he has never yet learnt as he ought to do". For τι—probably τι in this connexion, *something* emphatically, *something great*—cf. note on τὸ εἰδέναι, ii. 2. The *Enchiridion* of Epictetus supplies a parl. to ver. 2: "Prefer to seem to know nothing; and if to any thou shouldst seem to be somebody, distrust thyself"; similarly Socrates, in Plato's *Apology*, 23.

Ver. 3 is one of Paul's John-like sayings. In the apodosis he substitutes, by an adroit turn, "is known (ἐγνωσται: pf. pass. of *abiding effect* upon the obj.) by God" for "hath come to know God," the expected consequence—see the like correction in Gal. iv. 9; cf. Phil. ii. 12 f., iii. 12; John xv. 16; 1 John iv. 10. Paul would ascribe nothing to human acquisition; religion is a bestowment, not an achievement; our love or knowledge is the reflex of the divine love and knowledge directed toward us. Philo, quoted by Ed., has the same thought: γινωρίζομεθα μᾶλλον ἢ γνωρίζομεν (*De Cherub.*, § 32).—οὗτος ἐγνωσται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Θεοῦ), "*he* (and not the other) is known by Him". Ev. reverses the ref. of the prons.: "He (God) hath been known by him (the man loving Him)"—an unlikely use of οὗτος.

Ver. 4. After his thrust at Cor. γνῶσις, P. resumes, with οὖν (cf. xi. 17-20), from ver. 1 the question "About the eating of idolothya," repeating the "we know" at which he had interrupted his correspondents. For οἶδαμεν in a *confessio*

*fidei*, cf. 1 John v. 18 ff. That the theological statement given in vv. 4 ff. *comes from the mouth of the Corinthians* seems probable from the following considerations: (a) the repeated οἶδαμεν (*h.l.* in this Ep.; cf. the frequent interrog. οὐκ οἶδατε; of chh. iii., v., vi.; also xii. 2), by which P. *associates himself with the readers*, who are men of knowledge (i. 5, x. 15, etc.); (b) the solemn rhythm of vv. 4b and 6, resembling a confessional formula (cf. Eph. iv. 4 ff., 1 Tim. iii. 16)—ver. 5 may be an interjected comment of the Church Letter upon its creed; (c) the expression "gods many and lords many" applied to heathen divinities, which is foreign to Pauline as to Jewish phraseology, but natural on the lips of old polytheists; (d) the aptness with which ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡ γνῶσις (7) fits in with this explanation, being understood as *Paul's reply* to his readers' declaration of their enlightened faith. See, on this question, W. Lock in *Expositor*, V., vi., 65. The articles of belief cited from the Cor. in vv. 4b and 6 had probably been formulated first by P., like the Πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν of vi. 12, and so would be fitly quoted to him.—οὐδὲν εἰδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ (cf. x. 19), being parl. to οὐδεὶς Θεὸς κ.τ.λ., should be rendered not "An idol is nothing," etc., but "There is no idol in the world" (so R.V. virtually, Mr., Hf., Bt., Ed., Sm.). Existence is denied to the idol not absolutely (see 5, x. 19 f.), but relatively; it has no real place ἐν κόσμῳ, no power over the elements of nature; "the earth is the Lord's," etc. (x. 26); there is no Zeus in the sky, nor Poseidon ruling the sea, but "one God and Father" everywhere,—a faith emancipating enlightened Christians from every heathenish superstition.—οὐδὲν εἰδωλον κ.τ.λ. forms the polemic counterpart to οὐδεὶς Θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἰς (see parls.),—the cornerstone of Jehovahism, which Christ has made the world's creed.—εἰδωλον (sc. a thing possessing εἶδος, *form* only), *semblance, phantasm*, renders in the LXX several Hebrew words for false gods—

εἰς· 5. καὶ γὰρ εἴπερ εἰσὶ ὁ λεγόμενοι θεοί, εἴτε ἐν οὐρανῷ εἴτε ἐπὶ τῆς<sup>1</sup> γῆς, ὥσπερ εἰσὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ καὶ ὁ κύριοι πολλοί,<sup>2</sup> 6. ἀλλ' ἡμῖν εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πατήρ, ὁ ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς<sup>3</sup> εἰς αὐτόν· καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ δι' οὗ<sup>4</sup> τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eph. ii. 11;  
2 Th. ii. 4.  
<sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts  
xxv. 26;  
1 Tim. vi.  
15; Lk.  
xvi. 13;  
Rev. xvii.  
14.

<sup>3</sup> See i. 30.  
<sup>4</sup> Rom. xi.

36; Eph. i. 5; cf. Col. i. 16. \* Rom. xi. 36; Col. i. 16; Heb. i. 2; Jo. i. 3, etc. Cf. xv. 57; 1 Tim. ii. 5; Rom. i. 5, v. 1 f., 17, 21; Gal. i. 1; Eph. i. 5, ii. 18; 1 Th. v. 9; Tit. iii. 6; 1 Jo. iv. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Om. τῆς all uncc. and many minn.

<sup>2</sup> Om. ἀλλ' (?) B, basm., Irint, Eus.; Lachm. and W.H. bracket.

ἡμιν δε, 17, cop., Cyrhier., Epiph.

<sup>3</sup> on (?) B, æth., Epiph.; W.H. marg.

<sup>4</sup> The minn. 55, 72\*\*, 109, 178, supported by Gregory of Nazianzus *orat.* 39, 12, Basil in several passages, Cyr., Dam., make the addition καὶ ἐν πνεύμα ἁγίον ἐν φ τὰ πάντα—a Trinitarian gloss. Chrysostom<sup>202</sup> expressly controverts this reading.

—esp. *'elitim*, *nothings*, and *hebbel*, *emptiness*; the term was applied first to the images, then to the (supposed) godships they represent, branding them as *shams* and *shows*; see 1 Thess. i. 9, Acts xiv. 15, Ps. xcvi. 5. The κόσμος reveals the being and power of the One God (Rom. i. 20); idolaters have no living God, but are ἄθεοι ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ (Eph. ii. 12).

Ver. 5: a comment of the Cor. on their confession of faith, showing their "knowledge" of its bearing.—καὶ γὰρ εἴπερ εἰσὶν κ.τ.λ.: "For indeed, granting the existence of so-called gods, whether in heaven or upon earth, as indeed there are many (such) gods and lords, yet to us," etc. The —περ of εἴπερ and ὥσπερ enhances the supposition (see El., *ad loc.*), allowing its utmost possibility.—εἴπερ κ.τ.λ. admits their *existence* (in some sense) as *reputed deities*; ὥσπερ κ.τ.λ. points to their astonishing *multitude*, while distinguishing them, in a manner parl. to the distinction between ὁ Θεὸς and ὁ Κύριος, as "gods" in their assumed deity and "lords" in their assumed dominion. The repeated εἰσὶν asserts an actual being of some sort behind the εἰδωλον (see x. 19-22), but the θεότης or κυριότης is merely λεγόμενη; for the force of this ptp., cf. 2 Thess. ii. 4, Eph. ii. 11. With πολλοὶ cf. κατέδωλον πόλιν, Acts xvii. 16, and the Gr. saying, Πάντα θεῶν πλέα.—Κύριος is a title often given to gods in Gr. inscriptions; a *h.l.* for Bib. Gr.: cf., however, *'adonim* in Isa. xxvi. 13; also Deut. x. 17; Ps. cxxxvi. 2 f.—*In heaven, on earth*: the two great domains of God's kingdom (Matt. vi. 10), usurped by the false gods.

Ver. 6 affirms in positive Christian

terms, as ver. 4b stated negatively and retrospectively, the creed of the Cor. believers. The "one God" of O.T. monotheism is "to us one God the Father". "Of whom are all things, and we for Him:" the universe issues from God, and "we," His sons in Christ, are destined therein for His use and glory—He would reap in "us" His glory, as a father in the children of his house; see, on this latter purpose, Eph. i. 5, 10 ff., 18b, iii. 9 ff.; also 1 Peter ii. 9, Jas. i. 18, John xvii. 9 f., etc.; cf. Aug., "*Fecisti nos ad Te*". In the emphatic ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν there speaks the joyful consciousness of Gentiles called to know and serve the true God; cf. xii. 2 f., Eph. ii. 11 ff.—The "one Lord Jesus Christ" is Mediator, as in 1 Tim. ii. 5—"through whom are all things, and we through Him"; again ἡμεῖς stands out with high distinction from the dim background of τὰ πάντα. The contrasted ἐξ οὗ, εἰς αὐτόν of the previous clause is replaced by the doubled διὰ of this: God is the source of all nature, but the *end* specifically of redeemed humanity; Christ is equally the Mediator—and in this capacity the Lord (xv. 24-28)—of nature and of men. The universe is *of God through Christ* (Heb. i. 2, John i. 3): we are *for God through Christ* (2 Cor. v. 18, Eph. i. 5, etc.). Col. i. 15 ff. unfolds this doctrine of the double Lordship of Christ, basing His redemptional upon His creational headship.—It is an exegetical violence to limit the second τὰ πάντα, as Grotius and Baur have done, to "the ethical new creation"; in 2 Cor. v. 18 the context gives this limitation, which in our passage it excludes. The inferior



t See ver. 1.  
u *συνηθεία*, xi. 16; Jo. m. xvi. 39.  
v See note below.  
w See ver. 1.  
x With subjective gen., x. 29; 2 Cor. i. 12, iv. 2, v. 11; Rom. ii. 15, ix. 1; Tit. i. 15, etc. y The adj., in this sense, *h.l.* (see ver. 12, and Rom. xiv. 1 for *-ω*). For other sense of adj., i. 25, iv. 10. z Rev. iii. 4, xiv. 4; *-σμος*, 2 Cor. vii. 1. a See iii. 2. b 2 Cor. iv. 14, xi. 2; 5 times in Rom.; 4 times besides in P.; also in Acts, Lk., Mt. xxvi. 53. c xiv. 12, xv. 58; freq. in P.; also in GG. and Acts.

<sup>1</sup> *συνηθεία*, *℣*\*ABP 17, 46, 67\*\*, cop., Euthal., Dam. *συνειδήσει*, DGL, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *συνηθεία* *εως* *αρτι* *του* *ειδωλου* (in this order): all uncc. but ALP.

<sup>3</sup> *παράστασις*, *℣*\*AB 17, 46, 67\*\*, cop. basm.

<sup>4</sup> *Om. γαρ* *℣*AB, am. tol. cop. basm.

Ins. *γάρ* DGLP, etc.—Western and Syrian.

<sup>5</sup> *εαν μη φαγ. υστερουμεθα . . . εαν φαγ. περισσευομεν* (in this order): A\*B 17\*, 46, oldest vg. cop. basm.; so Tr., Al., W.H., Nestle, El., R.V.

The order of T.R. is that of Western and Syrian uncc., the minn., latt. and syrr.; *℣* and A\*\* read *εαν μη φαγ. περισσευομεν . . . εαν φαγ. υστερουμεθα*: so Lachm. Tr. further follows B in reading *περισσευομεθα* for *-ομεν*.

reading *δι' ὧν* (for *οὗ*: see txtl. note), "because of whom are all things," would consist with a lower doctrine of Christ's Person, representing Him as preconceived object, while with *δι' οὗ* He is pre-existent medium of creation. The full Christology of the 3rd group of the Epp. is latent here. The faith which refers all things to the one God our Father as their spring, and subordinates all things to the one Lord our Redeemer, leaves no smallest spot in the universe for other deities; intelligent Christians justly inferred that the material of the idolothya was unaffected by the hollow rites of heathen sacrifice.

§ 26. THE WEAK CONSCIENCE OF THE OLD IDOLATER, viii. 7-13. The knowledge of the one Father and Lord upon which the Cor. Church prided itself, had not released all its members from fears respecting the *idolothya*; in some the intellect outran the heart, in others it lagged behind. With the latter, through weakness of understanding or force of habit, the influence of the heathen god still attached to objects associated with his worship (7). For a man in this state of mind to partake of the consecrated flesh would be an act of compliance with heathenism; and if the example of some less scrupulous brother should lead him thus to violate his conscience and to fall into idolatry, heavy blame will lie at the door of his virtual tempter (10-12). Such blame P. declares that he will himself on no account incur (13).

Ver. 7. "But not in all is there the

knowledge" (*ἡ γνώσις*) which you and I claim to have (1, 10), expressed just now in the terms of the Church confession (4 ff.).—*τῇ συνηθείᾳ* *εως* *αρτι* *του* *ειδωλου*, "by reason of their habituation up till now to the idol": for this dat. of defining cause, cf. Eph. ii. 1.—*εως* *αρτι* (cf. iv. 8, 11) qualifies the quasi-vbl. noun *συνηθεία*, actively used, which, as in 4 Macc. xiii. 21 and cl. Gr., signifies with the objective gen. (= *συνηθεία* *πρὸς* or *μετά*) *intercourse, familiarity with*; the other, passive sense is seen in xi. 16. The Western reading, *συνειδήσει*, preferred by some critics as the *lectio ardua*, gives the sense, "through relation of conscience to the idol" (Hf., Hn.).—*ὡς* *ειδωλόθυτον* *ἐσθίουσι*, "as an idol-sacrifice eat (the meat in question)"—under the consciousness that it is such, with the sense haunting them that what they eat belongs to the idol and associates them with it; cf. x. 18 ff. and notes. "And their conscience, since it is weak (unable to get rid of this feeling), is soiled" (opp. of the *καθαρά συνείδησις* of 1 Tim. iii. 9, 2 Tim. i. 3). The consciousness of sharing in idol-worship is defiling to the spirit of a Christian; to taste knowingly of idolothya, under any circumstances, thus affects converts from heathenism who have not the full faith that the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof; now, "whatsoever is not of faith is sin" (Rom. xiv. 23).

Ver. 8. *βρώμα* *δέ* *κ.τ.λ.*: "But *food* will not present us to God," *non exhibebit nos Deo* (Mr.): that on the ground of

οὔτε ἐὰν μὴ<sup>1</sup> φάγωμεν<sup>2</sup> ὑστερούμεθα.<sup>1</sup> 9. • βλέπετε δὲ • μήπως<sup>3</sup> ἡ ἐξουσία ὑμῶν αὕτη<sup>4</sup> πρόσκομμα γένηται τοῖς ἁσθενούσιν.<sup>2</sup>  
 10. ἐὰν γάρ τις ἴδῃ σε,<sup>3</sup> τὸν ἔχοντα ἔγνωσιν, ἐν εἰδωλείῳ<sup>4</sup> κα-  
 κείμενον, οὐχὶ ἡ<sup>5</sup> συνειδήσις αὐτοῦ ἁσθενούς<sup>4</sup> ὄντος<sup>4</sup> <sup>κ</sup> οἰκοδομηθῇ-

25; Acts xiii. 40; Lk. xxi. 8. Cf. iii. 10, and reff. f See vii. 37; also vi. 12.  
 32 f. (Isa. viii. 14), xiv. 13, 20; 1 Pet. ii. 8; cf. -κοπῶ, Rom. xiv. 21; ἐγκοπή, ix. 12 below.  
 h N.T. *h.l.*; 1 Esdr. ii. 9; 1 Macc. i. 47, x. 83. i In this sense, Mk. ii. 15, xiv. 3; Lk. vii. 37.  
 = ἀνακεῖμ. k See ver. 1; here only ironical. See note below.

<sup>1</sup> εἰ μὴ φαγ. ὑστερούμεθα . . . εἰ φαγ. περισσευόμεν (in this order): A<sup>2</sup>B 17\*, 46, oldest vg. cop. basm.; so Tr., Al., W.H., Nestle, El., R.V.

The order of T.R. is that of Western and Syrian uncc., the minn., latt. and syrr.; *℣* and A\*\* read εἰ μὴ φαγ. περισσευόμεν . . . εἰ φαγ. ὑστερούμεθα: so Lachm. Tr. further follows B in reading περισσευόμεθα for -ομεν.

<sup>2</sup> ἁσθενεσιν, all uncc. but L.

<sup>3</sup> BG, vg., Aug., Ambrst. om. σε; bracketed by Lachm. and W.H.

<sup>4</sup> Many Latin interpp., including vg., read *cum sit infirma*, as if for ἀσθενὴς οὐσα.

which the verdict turns may be said to "present" one to the judge. To "commend" is *συν.*, not *παρίστημι* (see parls.); for the *fut.* (see txtl. note), cf. Rom. xiv. 10, 2 Cor. iv. 14, Col. i. 28.—*βρώματα* do not enter into our permanent being (vi. 13; see note); they will not be the criteria of the approaching Judgment.—The alternative οὔτε clauses negative the two opposite ways in which "food" might have been supposed to "present us to God": "neither if we do not eat, are we the worse off (*ὑστερούμεθα*: see note on i. 7); nor if we eat, are we the better off (*περισσεύομεν*: do we abound, exceed others)". The latter predicate is appropriate to the "strong," who deemed themselves in a superior position, on a higher ground of faith.—Ver. 8, like vv. 4-6, represents the *pro* in the question *περὶ βρώσεως*, as vv. 7, 8-13 the *contra*. Chap. viii. is virtually a dialogue; the double (challenging and rebutting) δὲ of vv. 8 f., with the words "your right" of ver. 9, in accordance with Paul's dialectical style (cf. Rom. iii. 1-8), compels us to read this ver., like vv. 1, 4-6, as *from the mouth of the Cor.*, possibly from the Church Letter; "hic alter erat, vel esse poterat, Corinthiorum prætexus" (Cv.). At the word *μολύνεται* P. hears some of his readers interject: "The conscience of the weak brother is defiled, you say, by eating after my example. But (δὲ) how so? You have taught us that God will not judge us by these trifling externals; abstinence or use of 'meats' makes no difference to our intrinsic state." This Paul admits, to set against it the caution βλέπετε δὲ μὴ κ.τ.λ., on which the rest of the paragraph hangs.

Ver. 9. "Beware, however, lest this right of yours"—*sc.* to eat the idolothyta, for which many of the Cor. are contending, and probably in the Church Letter (1). For ἐξουσία in this use, cf. ix. 4 ff., 12, also ἔξεστιν in vi. 12, x. 23. The Jerus. Council (Acts xv. 29), to whose decree P. was a party, had not denied in principle the lawfulness of using idolothyta; it forbade such use to the mixed Judæo-Gentile Churches within a certain area, in deference to Jewish feeling. Paul comes in effect to the same conclusion, though he *advises* instead of commanding. The πρόσκομμα is an obstacle thrown in the way of "the weak," over which they may stumble into a moral fall, not having the strength either to overcome their scruples or to disregard an example contrary to their conscience.

Ver. 10 enforces (γάρ) the above warning.—σὲ τὸν ἔχοντα γνῶσιν, "thee, the man that has knowledge" (see 1): the Cor. pretension to superior enlightenment, shown in vv. 2 f. to be faulty in Christian theory, now discloses its practical mischief. The behaviour of the Christian man of knowledge who "reclines (at table) in an idol's temple," is represented as a sort of bravado—a thing done to show his "knowledge," his complete freedom from superstition about the idol. This act is censured because of its effect upon the mind of others; in x. 18-22 it will be condemned on its own account. The form εἰδωλῶν (or -είων) occurs in the Apocrypha; it follows the formation of Gr. temple names—Ἀπολλωνεῖον, etc.—οὐχὶ ἡ συνειδήσις αὐτοῦ, ἁσθενούς ὄντος κ.τ.λ.; "will not his conscience, weak as he is, be 'edified' unto eating



1 See i. 18. <sup>m</sup> Rom. iv. 19, xiv. 1 f., 21, in figur. sense. See ver. 7. <sup>n</sup> xv. 3; 2 Cor. v. 15; Rom. v. 6 ff., vi. 8 ff., viii. 34, xiv. 9; Gal. ii. 21; 1 Th. iv. 14, v. 10; 1 Pet. iii. 18; Jo. xi. 50 ff. o See vi. 18. p N.T. *h.l.*; cf. 1 Kings i. 8; Prov. xxvi. 22. q x. 14. διο, see xii. 3. r Rom. xiv. 21; Mt. xv. 12, xvii. 27; Sir. ix. 5, xxiii. 8, xxxii. (xxxv.) 15. s Rom. xiv. 21, pl.

σεται εἰς τὸ τὰ <sup>1</sup> εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθίειν; **ΙΙ.** καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἀπολείται <sup>1</sup> ὁ <sup>1</sup> ἀσθενῶν <sup>2</sup> ἀδελφὸς <sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ <sup>3</sup> τῇ σῇ <sup>1</sup> γνῶσει, <sup>2</sup> δι' <sup>2</sup> ἐν <sup>2</sup> Χριστὸς <sup>2</sup> ἀπέθανεν. **12.** οὕτω δὲ <sup>1</sup> ἁμαρτάνοντες <sup>1</sup> εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφούς καὶ <sup>1</sup> τύπτοντες αὐτῶν τὴν <sup>1</sup> συνείδησιν <sup>1</sup> ἀσθενοῦσαν, <sup>1</sup> εἰς Χριστὸν <sup>1</sup> ἁμαρτάνετε. **13.** <sup>1</sup> διόπερ εἰ <sup>1</sup> βρῶμα <sup>1</sup> σκανδαλίζει τὸν ἀδελφόν μου, οὐ μὴ φάγω <sup>1</sup> κρέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, ἵνα μὴ τὸν ἀδελφόν μου <sup>1</sup> σκανδαλίσω.

<sup>1</sup> ἀπολλυται γαρ: **Σ\***B 17, cop. basm., Clem.; ἀπολλυται ουν, AP. καὶ ἀπολλυται: **Σ**cD<sup>b</sup> 46, 67\*, Bas. καὶ ἀπολείται: DcGL, etc., vg. syrr. (late Western and Syrian).

<sup>2</sup> ο ἀσθενων εν τη σῃ γνῶσει, ο ἀδελφος δι' ον κ.τ.λ. (in this order): all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>3</sup> εν, all uncc. but L.

<sup>4</sup> The Western texts om. the second μου.

the foods offered to idols? "—not *because* he is weak (as though overpowered by a stronger mind), but *while* he is still weak, as under the lingering belief that the idol is "something in the world" (7): "his verbis exprimitur horror infirmi, tamen edentis" (Bg.).—Thus eating unpersuaded "in his own mind" (Rom. xiv. 5), he sins (Rom. xiv. 23), and therefore "is perishing" (11). The vb. "edified"—instead of "persuaded" or the like—is used in sad irony (cf. Tert., "ædificatur ad ruinam," *De Præscr. Hæretic.*, 3); P. probably takes up the word in this connexion from the Church Letter: the eaters of idolothyta thought their practice "edifying" to less advanced brethren—"edifying, forsooth!—to what end?"

Ver. 11. "For the weak man [whom you talk of building up!] is *being destroyed* through thy knowledge—the brother, on whose account Christ died!" (Rom. xiv. 15). This affirms, with terrible emphasis, the issue implied by ver. 10: "est ædificatio ruinosa" (Cv.).—ὁ ἀσθενῶν means (more than ὁ ἀσθενής) the man in a continued state of weakness.—ἐν τῇ σῇ γνῶσει, "on the ground (or in the sphere) of thy knowledge"; in this atmosphere the weak faith of the other cannot live (cf. ἐν in ii. 4; Eph. iv. 16, ἐν ἀγάπῃ). His "knowledge" leaves the tempter inexcusable. "Notice the threefold darkness of the picture: there perishes, thy brother, for whom Christ died" (Bt.). Paul appeals to the strongest feelings of a Christian—brotherly love and loyalty to Christ. For the prospective δι' ἐν, cf. Rom. iv. 25; Christ's death

is thus frustrated of its dear object (cf. Gal. ii. 21) by thy heartless folly!

Ver. 12. In such case, not only the weak brother sins by yielding, but the strong who tempted him; and the latter sins directly "against Christ" (for the construction, cf. vi. 18): "But sinning in this way against the brethren, and inflicting a blow on their conscience while it is weak, you sin against Christ".—τὴν συνείδησιν ἀσθενοῦσαν, not "their weak conscience" (τὴν ἀσθεν.), but "their conscience weak as it is": how base to strike the weak!—τύπτω describes as the violent wrong of the injurer, what is a *μόλυσμα* and *πρόσκομμα* (7; 9) in its effect upon the injured. A *blow* on the conscience shocks and deranges it.—For the bearing of such an act on *Christ*, see Matt. xviii. 6 ff., xxv. 40, 45; also Zech. ii. 8, etc. The principle of union with Christ, which forbids sin against oneself (vi. 15), forbids sin against one's brother.

Ver. 13 sums up the debate in the language of personal conviction: "Wherefore verily"—for this last reason above all—"if (a matter of) food (βρῶμα, indef.) is stumbling my brother, I will eat no flesh-meats for evermore, that I may not stumble my brother".—κρέα (pl. of κρέας) signifies the kinds of βρῶμα in question, including probably beside the idolothyta other animal foods which might scandalise men of narrow views, such as the vegetarians of Rom. xiv. 13-21 (see notes *ad loc.*).—Four times in vv. 11-13 P. repeats the word ἀδελφός, seeking to elicit the *love* which was necessary to control Cor. knowledge (cf. 2 f.).—For "σκανδαλίω,

IX. 1. Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος<sup>1</sup>; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἑλεύθερος<sup>1</sup>; οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν<sup>2</sup> ἡ Χριστὸν<sup>2</sup> τὸν<sup>2</sup> Κύριον ἡμῶν ἑώρακα<sup>3</sup>; οὐ τὸ ἔργον μου ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν Κυρίῳ; 2. <sup>4</sup> εἰ ἄλλοις οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος, ἄλλὰ<sup>4</sup> γε ὑμῖν εἰμι· ἡ γὰρ ὁσφραγίς τῆς<sup>4</sup> ἐμῆς<sup>4</sup> ἀποστολῆς ὑμεῖς ἐστε ἐν Κυρίῳ.

xv. 58, xvi. 10; Rom. xiv. 20; Phil. i. 22, ii. 30; 2 Tim. iv. 5; Acts xiii. 2, xiv. 26.  
21; cf. Phil. iii. 8. For ἄλλα after hypoth., see iv. 15, viii. 6; 2 Cor. xi. 6, xiii. 4; Rom. vi. 5.  
e Rom. iv. 11; 2 Tim. ii. 19; Rev. v. 1, etc. -ίζομαι, 2 Cor. i. 22; Rom. xv. 28; Eph. i. 13, iv. 30;  
Rev. vii. 3, etc. f Rom. i. 5; Gal. ii. 8; Acts i. 25; Deut. xxii. 7.

<sup>1</sup> . . . ελευθερος; . . . αποστολος; (in this order):  $\aleph$ ABP 17, 37, 46, vg. sy<sup>sch</sup>. cop.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰησοῦν (without Χριστον),  $\aleph$ AB 46, oldest vg. sah. basm.  
Χριστον Ἰησουν, G, Tert., Aug., Pelag.; Ἰησουν Χριστον, DKLP, etc., sy<sup>sch</sup>.  
cop. Cf. note on ver. 4.

<sup>3</sup> εορακα,  $\aleph$ B<sup>7</sup>DcGP; so Tisch., W.H., Nestle. See Wr., p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> σφραγίς μου της αποστολης:  $\aleph$ BP 17, 46.

to put a σκάνδαλον (cl. σκανδάληθρον, trap-stick = πρόσκομμα, 9) in another's way," cf. Rom. xiv. 21 and parls. The strong negation οὐ μὴ ("no fear lest": see Wr., p. 634 ff.) is further heightened by εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, "to eternity". The rendering "while the world standeth" is based on the use of αἰῶν (*perpetuity*) in such passages as i. 20, where the context narrows its meaning; in this phrase the noun has its full sense, but used rhetorically.

§ 27. PAUL'S APOSTOLIC STATUS, ix. 1-6. The Ap. is ready to forego his right to use the idolothya, wherever this claim hurts the susceptibilities of any brother (viii. 13). He is "free" as any man in Cor. in such respects; more than this, he is "an apostle" (ix. 1), and the Church of Cor. is witness to the fact, being itself his answer to all challengers (2 f.). If so, he has the right to look to his Churches for maintenance, and that in the ordinary comfort of married life—a claim unquestioned in the case of his colleagues in the apostleship (4-6).

Ver. 1. οὐκ εἰμὶ ἑλεύθερος; This question, arising out of the foregoing §, properly comes first. The freedom supposed is that of *principle*; in ver. 19 it will take a personal complexion. P. is no longer bound by Mosaic restrictions in the matters under dispute (cf. ver. 21, x. 29, Gal. ii. 4, iv. 12, v. 1); he holds the right belonging to every emancipated Christian.—Far beyond this reaches the question, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἀπόστολος; which P. answers by putting two other questions, one to his own consciousness, the other to that of his readers: "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord? Are not you my work in the Lord?"—Ἰησοῦν . . . ἑώρακα (cf.

Acts vii. 55, ix. 5, 17, xxii. 8, xxvi. 15) is a unique expression with P.; it describes not a spiritual apprehension, the γνῶναι Χριστὸν of the believer, nor the ecstatic visions which he had sometimes enjoyed in a state of trance (2 Cor. xii. 1 ff.), but that actual beholding of the human and glorified Redeemer which befell him on the way to Damascus; from this dated both his faith and his mission (Acts ix. 1-32, Gal. i. 10-17). Paul seldom uses "Jesus" as the name of our Lord distinctively, always with specific ref. to the historical Person (cf. xii. 3, 1, 1 Thess. iv. 14; Eph. iv. 21; Phil. ii. 10; 2 Cor. iv. 10-14). The visible and glorious man who then appeared, declared Himself as "Jesus"; from that instant Saul knew that he had seen the crucified Jesus risen and reigning. Asking of his new-found Lord, "What wilt Thou have me to do?" he received the command out of which his commission unfolded itself. Personal knowledge of the Lord and a "word from His mouth" (Acts xxii. 14) were necessary to constitute an Apostle in the primary sense, the immediate "emissary" of Jesus (cf. Mark iii. 13, Acts i. 21 f.); in virtue of this experience, P. classes himself with "the other App." (xv. 7 ff., Gal. i. 16 f.); his right to do so was in due time acknowledged by them (Gal. ii. 6-9). The great interview, in its full import, was Paul's own secret; his Apostolic power, derived therefrom, was manifest to the whole world (2 Cor. iii. 1 ff., xii. 12), the Cor. Church supplying a conspicuous proof.

Vv. 2, 3. If not at Corinth amongst those who cried "I am of Cephas," elsewhere Paul's apostleship was denied by the Judaistic party, against whom he



g2 Cor. vii. 11; Phil. i. 7, 16; 2<sup>1</sup> Tim. iv. 16; 1 Pet. k<sup>2</sup> ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφῆν<sup>3</sup> γυναῖκα<sup>3</sup> 1 περιάγειν, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ<sup>m</sup> ἀπό-  
 (with dat.); Acts xxii. 1, xxv. 16. h See ii. 14. i xi. 22; Rom. x. 18 f. k See vii. 37. l Trans.,  
 N.T. h.h.; Ezek. xxxvii. 2. Cf. Acts xiii. 11; Mt. iv. 23, etc. m In this sense, xii. 28 f., xv. 7,  
 9; 2 Cor. xi. 5 (?); Gal. i. 17, 19; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11; 1 Th. ii. 6; 2 Pet. iii. 2; Gospp. and  
 Acts, *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> ἐστιν αὐτῇ (in this order): **ABP** 17, 37, 46.

<sup>2</sup> πειν, B\*; or πιν, **B\* D\* G**. See Wr., p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> Clem. Al., Hier., Aug., Hil., with the arm. vers., read *γυναίκας* or *αδελφας* *γυναίκας*, conforming the obj. to *εχομεν*.

had afterwards to write 2 Cor. x. ff. In this trial he counts on the Cor. standing by him: "If to others I am no apostle, at any rate (*ἀλλά γε, at certe, Bz.*) I am to you". He does not say "of others," as though distinguishing two fields of jurisdiction in the sense of Gal. ii. 8, rather "in the eyes of others"; cf. the dat. of viii. 6. For *ἀλλά γε*, cf. Plato, *Gorg.*, 470 D., *εἰ δὲ μὴ (δρῶ), ἀλλ' ἀκούω γε*.—*γε* throws its emphasis on *ὑμῖν*; so P. continues: "The seal of my apostleship you are, in the Lord"; cf. Rom. iv. 11, 2 Cor. i. 22. This seal came from the hand of the Lord, affixed by the Master to His servant's work (cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1 ff.). Despite its imperfections, the Cor. Church was a shining evidence of Paul's commission; it was probably the largest Church as yet raised in his independent ministry. For *ἐν Κυρίῳ*, see note on iv. 15, and vii. 22.—"This"—referring to vv. 1, 2—"is my answer to those that put me on my defence": I point them to you!—*ἀπολογία* (see parls.) is a *self-exculpation*. For *ἀνακρίνω*, cf. notes on ii. 14 f., iv. 4.—It is Paul's *ἀποστολή*, not the *ἐξουσία* of vv. 4 ff., that is called in question; hence the vein of self-defence pervading the Epp. of this period. Granted the *apostleship* (and this the readers cannot deny), the right followed as a matter of course: this needed no "apology".

Vv. 4-6. The rights P. vindicates for himself and his fellow-labourers in the Gospel, are (a) the right to maintenance; (b) to marriage; (c) to release from manual labour.—(a) *μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν*; "Is it that we have not?"—ironical question, as in xi. 22—"Of course we have". P. writes in pl. *collegas includens* (Bg.), the *ἀποστολή* suggesting οἱ λοιποὶ mentioned in the next ver.—*ἐξουσίαν φαγεῖν καὶ πίνειν* (later Gr. for *πίνειν*), "right to eat and drink,"—sc. as guests of the Church: see

Mark vi. 10, Luke x. 7, xxii. 30. The added *καὶ πίνειν*, and the illustrations of vv. 7 and 13, show that the obj. of the two vbs. is not the idolothya, but the material provision for Christ's apostles, supplied by those they serve (11); this *ἐξουσία* is analogous to, not parl. with, that of viii. 9, belonging not to the *ἐλεύθερος* as such, but to the *ἀπόστολος*; cf. the *Didaché*, 13, "Every true prophet is worthy of his food". George Fox characteristically notes the moderation of the demand: "The Ap. said 'Have I not power to eat and to drink?' But he did not say, 'to take tithes, Easter reckonings, Midsummer dues, augmentations, and great sums of money'." *ἐξουσίαν*, as a verbal noun, governs the bare inf., like *ἔξιστιν*.—(b) Paul claims, in order to renounce, the *ἐξουσίαν ἀδελφῆν γυναῖκα περιάγειν*—the "right to take about (with us) a sister as wife"—i.e., a Christian wife: brachyology for "to have a Christian sister to wife, and take her about with us".—*ἀδελφῆν* is obj., *γυναῖκα* objective complement to *περιάγειν*, on which the stress lies; "non ex habendo, sed ex circumducendo sumtus afferebatur ecclesiis" (Bg.). The Clementine Vg. rendering, *mulierem sororem circumducendi* (as though from *γυν. ἀδελφ.*), gives a sense at variance both with grammar and decorum, not to be justified by Luke viii. 2 f. This misinterpreted text was used in defence of the scandalous practice of priests and monks keeping as "sisters" *γυναῖκες συνεισακτοί*, which was condemned by the Nicene Council, and often subsequently; so Jerome (Ep. 23, *ad Eustoch.*), "Agapetorum pestis . . . sine nuptiis aliud nomen uxorum . . . novum concubinarum genus" (see Suicer's *Thesaurus*, s. vv. Ἀγαπητή, Ἀδελφή).—From the *ὡς καὶ* clause it appears that "the rest of the App.," generally speaking, were married, and their wives often travelled

στολοι καὶ οἱ ἄδελφοὶ τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Κηφᾶς; 6. ἡ μόνος ἐγὼ καὶ Βαρνάβας, οὐκ ἔχομεν ἔξουσίαν τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι;

7. Τίς στρατεύεται ἰδίοις ὀψωνίοις ποτέ; τίς φυτεύει ἄμπε-  
λῶνα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐσθίει; ἢ τίς ποιμαίνει

i. 18, ii. 9 ff., Jo. i. 43. p In this usage, Rom. iv. 4 f.; 1 Th. ii. 9; 2 Th. iii. 8 ff.; see iv. 12. Gal. i. 19; Acts i. 14; Mt. xii. 46 ff., xiii. 55; Jo. ii. 12, vii. 3, 5, 10, 12, iii. 22, xv. 5; Gal. 2 Cor. x. 3; 1 Tim. i. 18; 2 Tim. ii. 4; Jas. iv. 1; 1 Pet. ii. 11; Lk. iii. 14; Isa. xxix. 7. r 2 Cor. xi. 8; Rom. vi. 23; Lk. iii. 14; 1 Esdr. iv. 56; 1 Macc. iii. 28, xiv. 32. s In this use, Heb. i. 5, 13; cf. Eph. v. 29. t See iii. 6; with ἀμπε., Deut. xx. 6. u Mt. xx. 1 ff., xxi. 28 ff.; Lk. xiii. 6; Isa. v. 1 ff., etc. v Vb., 1 Pet. v. 2 and Acts xx. 28 (ποιμνιον); Jude 12; Rev. ii. 27, etc., vii. 17; Jo. xxi. 16; Mt. ii. 6; Lk. xvii. 7 (with ἀροτριω); 1 Ki. xxv. 16. Noun, Mt. xxvi. 31; Lk. ii. 8; Jo. x. 16; Gen. xxxii. 16.

<sup>1</sup> Om. του all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>2</sup> τον καρπον: all pre-Syrian uncc. εκ των καρπων, C<sup>3</sup>, Dam.

<sup>3</sup> Om. η (?) BC<sup>2</sup>DG, latt. vg. sah. Tr., W.H., and Nestle bracket.  
η retained by NAS<sup>4</sup>KLP, cop. BDG is a suspicious group (W.H.).

with them; the "forsaking" of Luke xviii. 28-30 was not final (in the parl. Matt. xix. 28 f., Mark x. 28 ff., γυνή does not appear); according to tradition, John however was celibate. "The brothers of the Lord" were also orthodox Jews in this respect (on their relationship to Jesus, see Lt., *Essay in Comm. on Galatians*); indeed, they came near to founding a kind of Christian dynasty in Jerus. "And Cephas," separately mentioned as the most eminent instance of the married Christian missionary. The association of the ἀδελφοὶ τ. Κυρ. with the ἀπόστολοι does not prove that they were counted amongst these, or bore this title of office: while distinguished from the latter by their specific name (cf. Gal. i. 19), they are linked with them as persons of like eminence; see the position of James in Acts.—(c) The third ἔξουσία, μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι, Paul and his old comrade Barnabas had laid aside. Barn. had stripped himself of property at Jerus. in the early days (Acts iv. 36 f.); and he and P. together, in the pioneer mission of Acts xiii. f., worked their way as handicraftsmen. Now separated, they both continued this practice, which was exceptional—μόνος ἐγὼ κ. Βαρνάβας. The allusion implies wide-spread knowledge of the career of Barn., which ends for us at Acts xv. 39. Notwithstanding the παροξυσμὸς in which they parted, the two great missionaries remained in friendly alliance; cf. Paul's reff. to Mark, Barnabas' cousin, in Col. iv. 10, 2 Tim. iv. 11. For ἐργάζομαι, as denoting manual labour, see parls.; a cl. usage, like that of Eng. *workmen*. This third ἔξουσία was the negative side of the first (cf. 1 Thess. ii. 9, also 2 Cor. xi. 9, and ἀδάπανον θῆσω of 18 below).—The three

rights in fact amount to the *one* which Paul argues for in the sequel: he might justly have imposed his personal support, and that in the more expensive character of a married man, upon the Christian communities for which he laboured, thus sparing himself the disadvantages and hardships of manual toil.

§ 28. THE CLAIM OF MINISTERS TO PUBLIC MAINTENANCE, ix. 7-15a. Paul asserts his right to live at the charge of the Christian community, in order to show the Cor. how he has waived this prerogative (15b, etc.). But before doing this, he will further vindicate the right; for it was sure to be disputed, and his renunciation might be used to the disadvantage of other servants of Christ. He therefore formally establishes the claim: (a) on grounds of natural analogy (7); (b) by proof from Scripture (8-10); (c) by the intrinsic justice of the case (11); (d) by comparison with O.T. practice (13); finally (e) by ref. to the express commandment of the Lord (14). In ver. 12 he indicates, by the way, that "others" of inferior standing are making themselves chargeable on the Cor. Church.

Ver. 7 puts the question under three figures—virtual arguments from nature—drawn from the *camp*, the *vineyard*, the *flock*. These figures had been similarly used by our Lord: (1) in Luke xi. 21 f., xiv. 31; (2) in Matt. xx. 1 ff., xxi. 28 ff.; (3) in Luke xii. 32, John x., and xxi. 15 ff. Cf. in Paul for (1) xiv. 8, Eph. vi. 10 ff., 1 Thess. v. 8; (2) iii. 6 ff.; (3) Acts xx. 28, Eph. iv. 11. On ὀψωνίοις, see Gm.: it denotes primarily "rations" served out in lieu of pay; then military "stipends" of any kind; then "wages" generally; see parls.—ἰδίοις ὀψων., noi



<sup>w</sup> See iii. 3. <sup>v</sup> ποιμνην καὶ ἐκ τοῦ γάλακτος τῆς <sup>v</sup> ποιμνης οὐκ ἐσθίει; 8. μὴ <sup>x</sup> καὶ, xvi. 6 (?) ; 2 <sup>w</sup> κατὰ <sup>w</sup> ἄνθρωπον ταῦτα λαλῶ, <sup>1</sup> x <sup>η</sup> οὐχὶ <sup>2</sup> x καὶ ὁ νόμος ταῦτα <sup>Cor. i. 13;</sup> λέγει <sup>2</sup>; 9. ἐν γὰρ τῷ Μωσέως <sup>3</sup> νόμῳ γέγραπται, <sup>4</sup> “Οὐ <sup>v</sup> φιμώσεις <sup>5</sup> βοὺν <sup>15</sup> ἀλωῶντα.” μὴ <sup>11</sup> τῶν βοῶν <sup>11</sup> μέλει τῷ Θεῷ, 10. ἡ δι’ ἡμᾶς <sup>11</sup> πάντως λέγει; δι’ ἡμᾶς γὰρ ἐγράφη, ὅτι <sup>11</sup> ἐπ’ <sup>11</sup> ἐλπιδί <sup>11</sup> ὁφείλει <sup>11</sup> <sup>as here, Rom. iv. 9; Lk. xii. 41.</sup> <sup>y</sup> κημώσεις, if genuine, *h.l.* <sup>φ</sup>ιμώσεις, Deut. xxv. 4; 80 1 Tim. v. 18; 1 Pet. ii. 15; Mt. xxii. 12, 34; Mk. i. 25, etc. See txtl. and exegetical notes. <sup>z</sup> 1 Tim. v. 18 (Deut. xxv. 4); 1 Chron. xxi. 20. <sup>a</sup> See vii. 21. With gen., N.T. *h.l.*; usually *περι*, Mt. xxii. 16, etc. <sup>b</sup> See v. 10. <sup>c</sup> See vii. 36. <sup>d</sup> Rom. iv. 18, v. 2, viii. 20; Tit. i. 2; Acts ii. 26 (Psa. xvi. 9), xxvi. 6.

<sup>1</sup> λεγω, DG—characteristic Western alteration.

<sup>2</sup> η καὶ ο νόμος ταυτα ου λεγει; **ABCD** 46.

η ει και ο νομος ταυτα λεγει; G, arm. T.R. in KLP, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Μωϋσεως: all uncc. but A. So *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> γεγραπται γαρ (om. rest of clause): DG, Hil., etc.—Western emendation.

<sup>5</sup> κημώσεις (?), B\*D\*G, Chr., Thdrt., Cyr. So Tisch., Tr., Al., El., Nestle, W.H. *margin*. See note 3 on last p.; on the other hand, κημ. is *h.l.*, and φιμ. might easily be borrowed from Deut.

φιμώσεις, **AB<sup>3</sup>CD<sup>b</sup>KLP**, etc. So Lachm., W.H. *txtl.*, and R.V.

<sup>6</sup> οφείλει ειπ' ἐλπίδι (in this order): pre-Syrian non-Western uncc.

“at his proper pay,” but “at his private (as distinguished from public) charges”: cf. xi. 21, Gal. ii. 2. The use of *ποτέ* to widen negative, interr. (virtually negative), and hypothetical propositions, common in cl. Greek, is infrequent in N.T.—In the third question, a partitive *ἐκ* with gen. replaces the acc., the image suggesting a *share*: “the shepherd is still remunerated in the East by a share of the milk” (Mr.); or is P. thinking of the solid food (*ἐσθίει*) which comes “out of the milk”? For the cognate acc., *ποιμαίνει ποιμνην*, cf. 1 Peter v. 2, also John x. 16.

Vv. 8-10a. *μὴ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον κ.τ.λ.*; “Am I saying these things as any man might do”—in accordance with human practice (as just seen in 7)?—*κατὰ ἄνθρ.*, in contrast with what *ὁ νόμος λέγει*; cf. Gal. iii. 15 ff. This dialectic use of *μὴ*, *ἢ* or *ἡ καὶ*, in a train of questions, is very Pauline; *ἡ καὶ* recommends the second alternative; cf. Rom. iv. 9, Luke xii. 41.—“The law” is abolished as a means of obtaining salvation (Rom. iii. 19 ff., etc.); it remains a revelation of truth and right (Rom. vii. 12 ff.), and P. draws from it guidance for Christian conduct; cf. xiv. 34, Rom. xiii. 8 ff., and (comprehensively) Rom. viii. 4. The ethics of the N.T. are those of the Old, enhanced by Christ (see Matt. v. 17 ff.). Paul speaks however here, somewhat distantly, of the “law of Moses” (cf. vv. 20 f., x. 2); but of “the law of Christ” in Gal. vi. 2 (cf. John i. 17, viii. 17, x. 34, xv. 25).—*Οὐ φιμώσεις κ.τ.λ.*, “Thou shalt not muzzle a thresh-

ing ox,” cited to the same effect in 1 Tim. v. 18,—*οὐ* with fut. reproducing the Heb. *lo'* with impf. of emphatic prohibition. Deut. xxv. 4, detached where it stands, belongs to a series of Mosaic commands enjoining humane treatment of animals, regarded as being in some sense a part of the sacred community: cf. Exod. xx. 10, xxiii. 12, 19, Deut. xxii. 4, 6 f., 10. Corn was threshed either by the feet of cattle (Mic. iv. 12 f.), or by a sledge driven over the threshing-floor (2 Sam xxiv. 22).—*μὴ τῶν βοῶν μέλει τῷ Θεῷ κ.τ.λ.*; “Is it for the oxen that God cares, or on our account, by all means, does He say (it)?” The argumentative *πάντως* (cf. Rom. iii. 9, Luke iv. 23), “on every ground”—slightly diff. in ver. 22, more so in v. 10: not that “God is concerned *wholly* (*exclusively*) for us” in this rule; but on *every* account a provision made for the beasts in man’s service must hold good, *à fortiori*, for God’s proper servants; cf. Matt. vi. 26 ff., also x. 31, xii. 12. *δι’ ἡμᾶς*, emphatically repeated, signifies not *men* as against oxen, but *nos evangelii ministros* (Est.) in analogy to oxen; the right of Christ’s ministers “to eat and drink” is safeguarded by the principle that gives the ox his provender out of the corn he treads. Paul’s method in such interpretations is radically diff. from that of Philo, who says, *Οὐ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλόγων ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν νοῦν κ. λόγον ἐχόντων*, *De Victim. offer.*, § 1: Philo destroys the historical sense; Paul extracts its moral principle.

Ver. 10b. *δι’ ἡμᾶς γὰρ* (cf. 1 Thess.

ὁ ἄροτριῶν ἄροτριᾶν, καὶ ὁ ἄλωων τῆς ἑλπίδος<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> μετέχειν<sup>2</sup> ἔπ' ἑλπίδι.<sup>1</sup> 11. εἰ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν τὰ πνευματικὰ ἔσποιραμεν,<sup>3</sup> ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν τὰ σαρκικά<sup>4</sup> θερίσομεν<sup>2</sup>; 12a. εἰ ἄλλοι τῆς ἐξουσίας<sup>5</sup> ὑμῶν<sup>6</sup> μετέχουσιν, οὐ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς; 12b. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐχρησάμεθα τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ ταύτῃ ὅτι πάντα στέγομεν, ἵνα μὴ ἐγκο-

Lk. xvii. 7 (see deut. v); Deut. xxii. 10. Heb. ii. 14, v. 13, vii. 13; Prov. i. 18, etc. g In this

contrast, iii. 1; Rom. vii. 14 (σαρκίος), xv. 27; cf. Eph. vi. 12, etc. h In this sense, 2 Cor. ix. 6, 10; Gal. vi. 7 f.; Jas. iii. 18. i 2 Cor. xi. 15; Gen. xiv. 28; Isa. xlix. 6. k 2 Cor. ix. 6; Mt. xxv. 24, 26; Jo. iv. 36; Ps. cxv. 5. l With obj. gen., Rom. ix. 21; Mt. x. 1; Jo. xvii. 2; Sir. x. 4, xvii. 2. m See vii. 21. n xiii. 7; 1 Th. iii. 1, 5; Sir. viii. 17. Only Pauline in N.T. o N.T. h.l. -πτω, Rom. xv. 22; Gal. v. 7; 1 Th. ii. 18; 1 Pet. iii. 7; Acts xxiv. 4. p προσκ. διδ., 2 Cor. vi. 3.

<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' ἐλπίδι του μετεχειν: N<sup>2</sup>A (εφ') BCP 17, syrr. sah. cop., Or., Eus., Cyr., Aug.; in *spe fructus percipiendi*, vg., Pelag.

της ἐλπίδος αὐτου μετεχειν: DG.

T.R. a conflate (Syrian) reading, combining the Western and non-Western texts.

<sup>2</sup> θερισωμεν, CDGLP, above thirty minn.; *metamus*, latt. vg., Latt Ff.: by itacism.

<sup>3</sup> της υμων εξουσιας (in this order): all uncc. but KL.

ii. 20, for γὰρ in affirm. reply) κ.τ.λ.: "Yes, it was written on our account (cf. Rom. iv. 23 f.)—(to wit), that the ploughing (ox) ought to plough in hope, and the threshing (ox) in hope of partaking" (ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τοῦ μετέχειν). The explanatory ὅτι clause (cf. i. 5, 26, iv. 9 and note) restates and amplifies the previous quotation. The Ap. is not explaining how the command came to be given ("because," E.V.), but unfolding the principle that lies in it.—The right of the ox in threshing also belongs in equity to the ox *at the plough*; all contributors to the harvest are included, whether at an earlier or later stage.—ὀφείλει, emphatic—*debet* (Vg.): the hope of participation in the fruit is *due* to the labourer—beast or man. The moral, as applied to Christian teachers, is obvious; it embraces the successive stages of the common work (cf. iii. 9, John iv. 36).—ἀροτριᾶν (sometimes "to sow"); so El. and some others here) contains the root of the Lat. *aro* and older Eng. *ear*.

Vv. 11, 12a appeal to the sense of justice in the Cor.; τὸ δίκαιον δείκνυσιν τοῦ πράγματος (Thp.): cf. Gal. vi. 6.—μέγα εἰ . . . ; "Is it a great thing if . . . ?" = "Is it a great thing to ask (or look for) that . . . ?" cf. 2 Cor. xi. 15; the construction is akin to that of θαυμάζω εἰ (see Gm., s.v. El. i., 4)—a kind of litotes, suggesting where one might have vigorously asserted. The repeated collocation ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν, ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν, brings out the *personal* nature of this claim: "We sowed for you the things of the Spirit; should not we reap from you the (needed) carnal things?"—τὰ πνευματικὰ (cf. ii. 12, xii. 1-13, Rom. viii. 2, 5 f., Gal.

v. 22, etc.) include all the distinctive boons of the Christian faith; "the carnal things" embrace, besides food and drink (4), all suitable bodily "goods" (Gal. vi. 6).—The question of ver. 12a assumes that other Christian teachers received maintenance from the Cor. Church; the claim of Paul and his fellow-missioners was paramount (cf. iv. 15; also 2 Cor. x. 12-18, xi. 12 ff., 20, where this comparison comes up in a new form).—ὑμῶν is surely gen. of *object*, as in Matt. x. 1 (= ἐξουσίαν ἐπὶ, Luke ix. 1), John xvii. 2,—*"the claim upon you"*. Ev. and Ed. read the pron. as *subjective* gen.—the latter basing the phrase on iii. 22 f.—*sc.* "if others share in *your domain*," instead of "in *dominion over you*"; this rendering is sound in grammar, and has a basis in iv. 7-12, but lies outside the scope of ἐξουσία in this context. The expression "others participate" suggests a right belonging to these "others" in a lesser degree (cf. μετέχω in 10): the πατήρ should be first honoured, then the παιδαγωγοί (iv. 15).

Ver. 12b. "But we did not use this right"—i.e., P. and his comrades in the Cor. mission (2 Cor. i. 19).—ἀλλὰ πάντα στέγομεν: "Nay, we put up with everything (*omnia sustinemus*, Vg.), lest we should cause any (kind of) hindrance to the good news about Christ".—στέγω (see parls.), syn. in later Gr. with ὑπομένω, βαστάζω, "marks the patient and enduring spirit with which the Ap. puts up with all the consequences naturally resulting from" his policy of abstinence (El.). What this involved we have partly seen in iv. 11 ff.; cf. 2 Cor. xi. 27, Acts xx. 34.—The ἐνκοπή he sought to obviate



q See iii. 16. πῆν<sup>1</sup> τινα<sup>1</sup> ὁ δῶμεν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ. 13. οὐκ οἴδατε  
 r H.J. Adj. 2 Tim. iii. 15; Josh. vi. 7; 2 Macc. v. 16, etc. 17b, in this use, Jer. xxxvii. 9. **τούτων.**  
 s x. 18; Rom. xi. 3 (3 Kings xix. 10); Heb. vii. 13, xiii. 10; Mt. v. 23, etc.; Rev. vi. 9, etc. t παρεδρ., N.T. h.J.; cf. vii. 35; Prov. i. 21. u H.J. v With dat., xvi. 1; Tit. i. 5; Mt. xi. 1; Acts xxiii. 31, xxiv. 23 With inf., Lk. viii. 55; Acts xviii. 2, xxiv. 23. With dat. and inf., thus, h.J. w See ii. 1. x Rom. i. 17 and Heb. x. 31 (Hab. ii. 4); cf. Mt. iv. 4 (Deut. viii. 3).

xxxvii. 9. **τούτων.**

s x. 18; Rom.

xi. 3 (3

Kings xix. 10); Heb. vii. 13, xiii. 10; Mt. v. 23, etc.; Rev. vi. 9, etc. t παρεδρ., N.T. h.J.; cf. vii. 35; Prov. i. 21. u H.J. v With dat., xvi. 1; Tit. i. 5; Mt. xi. 1; Acts xxiii. 31, xxiv. 23 With inf., Lk. viii. 55; Acts xviii. 2, xxiv. 23. With dat. and inf., thus, h.J. w See ii. 1. x Rom. i. 17 and Heb. x. 31 (Hab. ii. 4); cf. Mt. iv. 4 (Deut. viii. 3).

<sup>1</sup> τινα εγκοπήν (in this order): **ABC** 17, 46.

**εγκοπήν**, **BD\*<sup>L</sup>**; Tisch. **εγκοπήν**, **BG**; **W.H.**, Nestle.

<sup>2</sup> τα εκ: **BD\*<sup>G</sup>** 46. **Om.** τα **ACD<sup>b</sup>cKLP** (**Alex.** and **Syrian**).

<sup>3</sup> παρεδρενοντες: all uncc. but **KL**.

<sup>4</sup> ου κεχρημαι ουδενι: all uncc. but **K**.

(military term of later Gr., from ἐνκόπτω, to cut into, break up, a road, so to hinder a march) lay (a) in the reproach of venality, as old as Socrates and the Sophists, attaching to the acceptance of remuneration by a wandering teacher, which his enemies desired to fasten on Paul (1 Thess. ii. 3 ff., 2 Cor. xi. 7 ff., xii. 13 ff.); and (b) in the fact that P. would have shackled his movements by taking wages from particular Churches (19), so giving them a lien upon his ministrations. For the Hebraistic phrase ἐνκοπήν δίδωμι (= ἐνκόπτω), cf. xiv. 7, 2 Thess. i. 8.—τοῦ Χριστοῦ is always obj. gen. after εὐαγγέλιον; see Rom. i. 2 f., also μαρτύριον τ. Χριστοῦ, i. 6 above.

Vv. 13, 14. After the personal "aside" of vv. 11 f., Paul returns to his main proof, deriving a further reason for the disputed ἐξουσία from the Temple service. "Do you not know"—you men of knowledge (cf. iii. 16)—ὅτι οἱ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐργαζόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐσθίουσιν; "that those employed in the sacred offices eat what comes from the sacred place (the Temple)?"—"qui sacris operantur, ex sacrario edunt" (Cv.): see the rules ad hoc in Lev. vi. 8-vii. 38 and Num. xviii. 8-19. For ἐργάζομαι (of business, employment), cf. iv. 12, Acts xviii. 3, etc.—"Those that are assiduous at the altar," qui altari assident (Bz.)—i.e., the priests engaged in the higher ritual functions—are distinguished from other Temple ministers; the position of Paul and his colleagues is analogous to that of these chief dignitaries.—παρεδρενῶ, to have one's seat beside; cf. εὐπάρεδρον, vii. 35. P. argues by analogy from the Jewish priest to the Christian minister in respect

of the claim to maintenance; we cannot infer from this an identity of function, any more than in the previous comparison with "the threshing ox".—τ. θυσιαστήριῳ συνεμερίζονται, "have their portion with the altar," i.e., share with it in the sacrifices—"altaris esse socios in dividendo victimas" (Bz.); parts of these were consumed in the altar-fire, and parts reserved for the priests (Lev. x. 12-15). Some refer the first half of ver. 13 to Gentile and the last to Israelite practice; but "with the Ap., τὸ ἱερόν is only the sanctuary of the God of Israel, τὸ θυσιαστήριον only the altar on which sacrifice is made to Him" (Hf.): cf. Acts xxii. 17, etc., and the Gospels passim, as to ἱερόν; x. 18, as to θυσιαστήριον; cf. x. 1-12, for the use in this Ep. of O.T. analogies.—"So also (in accordance with this precedent) did the Lord appoint for those that preach the good tidings to live of the good tidings."—ἐκ τ. εὐαγγ. in ver. 14 matches ἐκ τ. ἱεροῦ, ver. 13; τοῖς . . . καταγγέλλουσιν, τοῖς . . . ἐργαζομένοις: cf. ἱερουργούντα τ. εὐαγγ. τ. Θεοῦ, Rom. xv. 16.—For the "ordinance" of "the Lord" (sc. Jesus), see parls.; the allusion speaks for detailed knowledge of the sayings of Jesus, on the part of writer and readers; cf. vii. 10, xi. 23 ff., and notes.—διατάσσω, act., as in vii. 17, xi. 34; mid. in xvi. 1.—ζῆν ἐκ, of source of livelihood (ex quo quod evangelium prædicant, Bz.), in cl. Gr. often ζῆν ἀπὸ (see parls.). For καταγγέλλω, see note on ii. 1.

Ver. 15a. "But for my part, I have used none of these things:" does Paul mean "none of the privileges" included in the above ἐξουσία? or "none of the

15<sup>b</sup>. Οὐκ ἔγραψα δὲ ταῦτα ἵνα οὕτω γένηται ἔν ἐμοί. <sup>a</sup> καλὸν γάρ μοι <sup>a</sup> μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τὸ <sup>b</sup> καύχημά μου ἵνα <sup>1</sup> τις <sup>1</sup> κενώσῃ. <sup>2</sup>  
 16. ἔὰν γὰρ <sup>d</sup> εὐαγγελίζωμαι, οὐκ ἔστι μοι <sup>b</sup> καύχημα. <sup>c</sup> ἀνάγκη γάρ μοι <sup>e</sup> ἐπικείται, <sup>f</sup> οὐαὶ δέ μοι <sup>g</sup> ἔστιν ἔὰν μὴ <sup>h</sup> εὐαγγελίζωμαι. <sup>8</sup>

Acts xx. 35; cf. Phil. i. 23. b See v. 6. c See i. 17. d See i. 17, for absol. use. e See vii. 1. f Heb. ix. 10; Acts xxvii. 20; Jo. xi. 35. g Jude 11; Syn. Gosp., Rev., *passim*; with *εστιν*, N.T. *h.l.*; Hos. ix. 12.

<sup>1</sup> οὐδεὶς,  $\aleph^*$ BD\* 17, sah. basm., Tert., Ambrst. οὐθεις μη, A. τις (interr.), G 26. ἵνα τις:  $\aleph^*$ CDB<sup>c</sup>KLP, etc., vg., Bas., Chr., Hier., Aug.

<sup>2</sup> κενώσει, all uncc. but K.

<sup>3</sup> εὐαγγελισωμαι (?), BCDG, vg., Aug., Ambrst. So Tr., W.H. *txt.*, Nestle. εὐαγγελίζωμαι,  $\aleph^*$ AK (LP, -ζομαι), etc.; Tisch., W.H. *marg.* The Westerns (DG, etc.) have -σωμαι twice in this ver.

reasons" by which they have been enforced (so Hf., Hn., the former with exclusive ref. to 13 f.)? The parl. sentence of ver. 12, and the οὕτως γένηται of the next clause, are decisive for the former view. "The authority" in question included a number of rights (4 ff.), all of which P. has foregone.—ἐγὼ emphasises, in preparation for the sequel, and in distinction from the broader statement of ver. 12, etc., Paul's individual position in the matter; and the pf. κέχηρμαι (replacing the historical aor. of 12) affirms a settled position; the refusal has become a rule. From this point to the end of the ch. the Ap. writes in the 1st sing., revealing his inner thoughts respecting the conduct of his own ministry.

§ 29. PAUL'S RENOUNCEMENT OF RIGHT FOR THE GOSPEL'S SAKE, ix. 15<sup>b</sup>-23. The Ap. has been insisting all this time on the right of Christ's ministers to material support from those they serve, in order that for his own part he may explicitly renounce it. This renunciation is his "boast," and his "reward"; of his office he cannot boast, nor seek reward for it, since it was imposed upon him (15-18). In this abnegation P. finds his freedom, which he uses to make himself impartially the slave of all; untrammelled by any particular ties, he is able to adapt himself to every condition and class of men, and thus to win for the Gospel larger gains (19-22). For himself, his best hope is to partake in its salvation with those he strives to save (23).

Ver. 15<sup>b</sup>. "Now I have not written this (4-14) in order that it should be so done (*viz.*, provision made for 'living of the gospel') in my case." The epistolary ἔγραψα may refer either to a whole letter now completed (Rom. xv. 15), or to words just written (Wr., p. 347; cf.

v. 11).—ἐν ἐμοί (the sphere of application), "in the range of my work and responsibility," not "to me" (dat. of person advantaged, as in vv. 20 ff.); cf. iv. 2, 6.—On the best-attested reading, καλὸν γάρ μοι μᾶλλον ἀποθανεῖν ἢ τὸ καύχημά μου οὐδεὶς κενώσει, the sentence is interrupted at ἦ: "For it is well for me rather to die than"—P. breaks off, impatient of the very thought of pecuniary dependence (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 10), and instead of completing the comparison by the words "that any one should make void my boast," he exclaims vehemently, "My boast no one shall make void!" (so Al., Ed.). μᾶλλον ἦ qualifies the whole clause, not καλὸν alone. This anacoluthon, or aposiopesis, if it has no exact parl. in the N.T., is only an extreme instance of Pauline *oratio variata* (such as appears, e.g., in Gal. ii. 4 f. and again in ver. 6, and in Rom. v. 12-15), where an extended sentence forgets its beginning, throwing itself suddenly into a new shape; this occurred in a smaller way in vii. 37 above. Strong feeling (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9 ff., on the same point) is apt to disorder Paul's grammar in this way. He began to say that he would rather die than be dependent on Cor. pay; he ends by saying, absolutely, he will never be so dependent. The T.R. attempts to patch the rent.—Other explanations of the older txt. are given: (a) Lachmann puts a stop after καυχ. μου—"Better for me to die than my boast; no one shall make it void!" (b) Mr. and Bt. make ἦ disjunctive, despite the μᾶλλον: "Better for me to die—or (sc. if I live) no one shall make void my boast!" (c) Ev. and El. read οὐδεὶς κενώσει as equivalent to ἵνα τις κενώσει, supposing ἵνα to be understood and the οὐ to be pleonastic—expedients for which there is a precarious grammati-



h Rom. viii. 17. εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἐκὼν τοῦτο πράσσω, ἡμισθὸν ἔχω· εἰ δὲ ἄκων, xxi. 13. οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι. 18. τίς οὖν μοι ἔστιν ὁ ἡμισθός; i See iii. 8. With εχω, ἵνα εὐαγγελιζόμενος ἀδάπανον ὀθήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ, 3 ff.; cf. 2 Jo. 8. k N.T. h.h.; Job xiv. 17. l Eph. i. 10, iii. 2, 9; Col. i. 25; 1 Tim. i. 4; Lk. xvi. 2 ff.; Isa. xxii. 19, 21. Cf. iv. 1 ff. m In this sense, Gal. ii. 7; Rom. iii. 2; 1 Th. ii. 4; 1 Tim. i. 11; Tit. i. 3; Lk. xvi. 11; Jo. ii. 24. n H.h. o In this usage, Rom. iv. 17 (Gen. xvii. 5); Mt. xxii. 44 (Ps. cix. 1); Gen. xxii. 12; Wisd. x. 21. Poetical in cl. Gr.

<sup>1</sup> μ ο υ, N\*ACK 17, 46, vg. syr<sup>sach</sup>. sah. cop., Cyr., Hier. μοι, BD\*GLP, etc., Chr., Aug. Seemingly Western.

<sup>2</sup> εσται μοι: D\*G.

<sup>3</sup> Om. του Χριστου NABCD\* 17, 46, vg. sah. cop.

cal analogy. (d) Lachmann also conjectured ἀποθανεῖν νῆ for ἀποθανεῖν ἤ, Michelsen and Baljon adding the easy insertion of δ before οὐδεῖς: "It is good for me rather to die! Yea, by my glorying (cf. xv. 31), which no one shall make void." (e) Hf., Gd., and others, in despair fall back on the T.R.

Vv. 16-18. Paul goes on to explain, by two contrasted suppositions (in *actual* and *conceivable* matter), that this is a point of honour with him. Forced as he had been into the service of the Gospel, in a manner so diff. from the other App., unless he might serve gratuitously his position would be too humiliating.

Ver. 16. The fact of his preaching supplies in itself no καύχημα: "For if I be preaching the good news (εὐαγγελίζομαι), it is no (matter of) boasting to me; for necessity is imposed on me". For ἀνάγκη, see notes on vii. 26, 37; also Philem. 14, where it contrasts with κατὰ ἐκούσιον with ἐκὼν here.—Ἐπικείμαι is virtually pass. to ἐπιτίθημι (see parls.), "to lay" a task, by authority, "upon" some one: P. was, in the Apostolic ranks, a *pressed man*, not a volunteer,—"*laid hold of*" (Phil. iii. 12) against his previous will; he entered Christ's service as a captive enemy (cf. xv. 8, 2 Cor. ii. 14). While a gift of Divine mercy (vii. 25, 2 Cor. iv. 1, etc.), his commission was a determination of the Divine sovereignty (i. 1., etc.). For service rendered upon this footing there can never be any boasting; cf. Luke xvii. 10.—That all glorying in this direction was excluded, is sustained by the exclamation, "For woe is to me if I should not preach the Gospel!" δπου τὸ οὐαὶ παρακεῖται ἐὰν μὴ ποιῇ, οὐκ ἔχει καύχημα (Or.).—ἐὰν μὴ εὐαγγελίσωμαι (contrast the pr. εὐαγγελίζωμαι, of former clause), aor. subj., of comprehensive fut. ref., from the standpoint of the original "necessity imposed"; cf., for the con-

struction, viii. 8, xv. 36. The interjection οὐαὶ is here a quasi-substantive, as in Rev. ix. 12. Had P. disobeyed the call of God, his course from that time onwards must have been one of condemnation and misery. To fight against "Necessity" the Greeks conceived as ruin; their Ἀνάγκη was a blind, cruel Fate, Paul's ἀνάγκη is the compulsion of Sovereign Grace.

Ver. 17 completes a chain of four explanatory verbs (cf. i. 17-21). To make his position clearer, P. puts two further contrasted hypotheses, the former imaginary, the latter suggesting the fact: (a) "For if I am engaged on this (work) of my own free will (ἐκὼν), I have reward (*mercedem habeo*)"—sc. the supposed καύχημα of ver. 16, the right to credit his work to himself (cf. Rom. iv. 2, 4); not the *future* Messianic reward (so Mr. and others), for ἔχω implies *attained* possession (see parls.), much as ἀπέχω in Matt. vi. 2, etc. For πράσσω, see note on v. 2. (b) "But"—the contrasted matter of fact—"if against my will (ἄκων = ἀνάγκη, 16), with a stewardship I have been entrusted"; cf. iv. 1 ff., 1 Tim. i. 12, etc.—The οἰκονόμος (see note, iv. 1), however highly placed, is a slave whose work is chosen for him and whose one merit is faithful obedience. In Paul's consciousness of stewardship there mingled submission to God, gratitude for the trust bestowed, and independence of human control (cf. 19, iv. 3).—The use of πιστεύω in pass. with personal subject and acc. of thing (imitating vbs. of *double acc.*), is confined to Paul in N.T.; see Wr., pp. 287, 326. To οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευμαι one tacitly adds, from the contrasted clause, καὶ ἡμισθὸν οὐκ ἔχω: "Christ's bondman, I claim no hire for my stewardship; God's trust is enough for me".

Ver. 18. Yet, after all, Paul has his reward: "What then (οὖν, things being so) is my reward?"—ὁ ἡμισθός, "the

εἰς τὸ μὴ καταχρησασθαι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ μου ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. 19. ὁ ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν ἐκ πάντων, πᾶσιν ἑμαυτὸν ἔδουλωσα, ἵνα τοὺς πλείονας κερδήσω. 20. καὶ ἐγενόμην τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὡς Ἰουδαῖος,

21; commonly bare gen. in cl. Gr.      a See vii. 15.      t x. 5, xv. 6; 2 Cor. ii. 6, iv. 15, ix. 2; Phil. i. 14; Heb. vii. 23; Acts xix. 32, xxvii. 12; Lk. vii. 43; Exod. xxiii. 2.      u 1 Pet. iii. 1 and Mt. xviii. 15, of persons.

p See vii. 31.  
q See vii. 37.  
r N.T. h.h.  
With apo,  
Rom. vi.  
18, 22, vii.  
3, viii. 2,  
ix. 2; Phil.  
i. 14; 1 Pet. iii. 1 and Mt. xviii. 15, of persons.

reward" proper to such a case, is simply to take no pay: "that, while I preach the good news, I may make the good news free of charge" (ἑδωκέναν θήσω, gratuitum constituam, Bz.). No thought of future (deferred) pay, nor of supererogatory work beyond the strict duty of the οἰκονομος, but only of the satisfaction felt by a generous mind in rendering unpaid service (cf. Acts xx. 33 ff.). The Ap. plays on the word μισθός—first denied, then asserted, much as on σοφία in ii. 1-8; he repudiates "reward" in the mercenary sense, to claim it in the larger ethical sense. He "boasts" that the Cor. spend nothing on him, while he spends himself on them (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 9-12, xii. 14 f.).—ἵνα replaces the inf. in apposition to μισθός, "marking the purposive result involved" (El.)—to make, as I intended, the Gospel costless.—θήσω is fut., intimating assurance of the purpose, as in Gal. ii. 4 (see Wr., p. 361).—τίθῃμι with objective complement, a construction of cl. Gr. poetry and later prose, which Heb. idiom demands frequently in LXX; cf. xii. 28, xv. 25.—"So that I might not use to the full (εἰς τ. μὴ καταχρησασθαι: see vii. 31) my right in the gospel"—sc. that maintained in the former part of the ch.: a further purpose of Paul's preaching gratuitously, involved in that just stated, and bearing on himself as the ἀδάπ. θήσω bore upon the readers.—Ἐξουσία ἐν τ. εὐαγγελίῳ is "a right (involved) in (proclaiming) the good news," belonging to the εὐαγγελιζόμενος (14). P. was resolved to keep well within his rights, in handling the Gospel (cf. Matt. x. 8; also vi. 7b, 8a above). This sentiment applies to every kind of "right in the gospel" of gratuitous salvation; it reappears, with another bearing, in 2 Cor. xiii. 3-10.

Ver. 19. ἐλεύθερος γὰρ ὢν κ.τ.λ. serves further to explain, not εἰς τ. μὴ καταχρησθ. (the impropriety of a grasping use of such right is manifest), but Paul's general policy of self-abnegation (15-18). The real aim of this long discussion of ministerial ἐξουσία comes into view; the Ap. shows himself to the Cor. as an example of superior privilege held upon trust for the community, of liberty asserted

with a view to self-abnegation: "For, being free from all, to all I enslaved myself, that I might gain the more".—πάντων is masc., like the antithetical πᾶσιν (cf. τ. πᾶσιν, 22); ἐλεύθερος ἐκ—a rare construction (commonly ἀπό)—implies extrication, escape from danger (cf. Luke i. 71, 2 Tim. ii. 26). In ver. 1 ἐλεύθερος signified freedom from needless and burdensome scruple, here freedom from entangling dependence. Paul freed himself from everybody, just that he might be everybody's servant; had he been bound as a salaried minister to any particular Church, his services would in that degree have been limited. For the motive of this δουλεία, cf. Gal. v. 13; and for Paul's aim, in its widest bearing, Rom. i. 14, xv. 1; also John xiii. 12 ff., Luke xxii. 24 ff.—τοὺς πλείονας, "the more"—not "the greater part" (as in x. 5; so Mr. and others), nor quam plurimos (Bg.), but "so much more" than could otherwise have been gained (cf. 2 Cor. iv. 15, Luke vii. 43; so Ed.). The expression κερδήσω is used for σώσω (22), in allusion to the charge of gain-seeking to which P. was exposed (2 Cor. xi. 12, xii. 17 f., 1 Thess. ii. 5; cf. Tit. i. 7, 11); "gain I did seek," he says, "and greedily—the gain of winning all sorts of men for Christ" (cf. Matt. iv. 19).

Vv. 20-22. This gain of his calling P. sought (1) among the Jews, and those who with them were under law (20); (2) amongst the body of the Gentiles, without law (21); (3) amongst the weak believers, who were imperilled by the inconsiderate use of liberty on the part of the stronger (22a). Each of these classes the Ap. saves by identifying himself with it in turn; and this plan he could only follow by keeping clear of sectional obligations (19). Ed., coupling vv. 20b and 21, distinguishes three points of view—"race, religion, conscience"—"I became to the Jews as a Jew," for Paul was no longer such in the common acceptance: see note on ἐλεύθερος (1), also Gal. ii. 4, iv. 12; for evidence of his Jewish conformity, see Acts xvi. 3, xviii. 18, xxi. 23 ff.; also the speeches in Acts xiii. 16 ff., xxii. 1 ff., xxvi. 2 ff.; and Rom. i. 16, ix. 1 ff., xi. 1, xv. 8, for his warm patriotism.—τοῖς ὑπὸ



v Rom. vi. 14 f.; Gal. iv. 4 f., 21. In this exact meaning, Acts ii. 23; 22a. <sup>Wisd.</sup> <sup>xvii. 2.</sup> <sup>-ws, Rom.</sup> <sup>il. 12.</sup> <sup>15; Rom. xi. 32; Eph. iv. 13; Phil. ii. 21; Mk. xiv. 64.</sup> <sup>y See i. 25 and iv. 10.</sup> <sup>z z. 17; 2 Cor. v. 10.</sup> <sup>a See v. 10.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Insert *μη ὡν αὐτος ὑπο νόμον* all uncc. but K, and many minn., latt. vg. sah. syrP, Or., Cyr., Dam., Aug.—lost through homœoteleuton (repeated *ὑπο νόμον*).

<sup>2</sup> Θεου . . . Χριστου: all uncc. but D<sup>c</sup>KL.

<sup>3</sup> κερδανω, all uncc. but B<sup>c</sup>DKL. The same MSS., κερδησω in context.

<sup>4</sup> τοὺς ἀνόμους: all uncc. but B<sup>c</sup>GKL.

<sup>5</sup> Om. *ως* B<sup>c</sup>AB d e vg., Or., Cyp., Amb., Ambrst.

<sup>6</sup> Om. *τα* all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>7</sup> παντας (for *παντες τινας*), the Westerns, including vg.: *ut omnes facerem salvos*.

*νόμον* enlarges the category *τ. Ἰουδαίους* by including circumcised proselytes (see Gal. v. 1-3); and *ὡς ὑπὸ νόμον* defines Paul's Judaism as subjection, by way of accommodation, to legal observance, to which the ptpl. phrase (wanting in the T.R.), *μη ὡν αὐτὸς ὑπὸ νόμον*, intimates that he is no longer bound in principle—*μη* with ptp. implying subjective standpoint ("not being in my view"), and *αὐτὸς* denoting *on my part, of and for myself* (cf. Rom. vii. 25). P.'s self-denying conformity to legal environment brought on him the reproach of "still preaching circumcision" (Gal. v. 11).—In relation to Gentiles also he takes an attitude open to misunderstanding and which he wishes to guard: "to those out-of-law (*τ. ἀνόμοις*) as out-of-law—though I am not out-of-law in respect of God, but in-law (*ἐννόμος*) in respect of Christ". *ἄνομος* was the Jewish designation for all beyond the pale of Mosaism (see Rom. ii. 9-16, etc.): Paul became this to Gentiles (Gal. iv. 12), abandoning his natural position, in that he did not practise the law of Moses amongst them nor make it the basis or aim of his preaching to them; see Acts xiv. 15 ff., xvii. 22 ff. He was *ἄνομος* therefore, in the narrow Jewish sense; not so in the true religious sense—"in relation to God"; indeed P. is now *more than ὑπὸ νόμον*, he is *ἐννόμος Χριστοῦ* (= *ἐν νόμῳ Χριστοῦ*; cf. Gal. vi. 2, Rom. iii. 27, 31, viii. 2)—*non exstans exlex Deo, sed inlex Christo* (Est.). The Christian stands within the law as entering into its spirit and becoming one with it in nature; he is "in the law of Christ" as he is "in Christ" (cf. Gal. ii.

20, 2 Cor. v. 17). This *νόμος Χριστοῦ* P. expounds in Rom. xii., xiii. (esp. 10), Col. iii., Eph. iv. 20-v. 9, after John xiii. 34, Matt. v.-vii., etc. Its fulfilment is guaranteed by the fact that it is "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus" (Rom. viii. 1 ff.), who "dwells in" the Christian (iii. 16), operating not as an outward yoke but an implanted life.—*ἵνα κερδανῶ τ. ἀνόμοις* follows *τ. ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος*, after the *μη ὡν* parenthesis, in the manner of the two *ἵνα* clauses of ver. 20 (*κερδανῶ* and *κερδήσω* are the Attic and non-Attic forms of the 1st aor. subj.).—Describing the third of his self-adaptations, P. resumes the *ἐγενόμην* of the first, coming home to the situation of his readers: "I became to the weak (not as weak, but actually) weak (see txil. note), that I might gain the weak". So well did he enter into the scruples of the timid and half-enlightened (see e.g. viii. 7, 10, Rom. xiv. 1 f.), that he forgot his own strength (viii. 4, Rom. xv. 1) and felt himself "weak" with them: cf. 2 Cor. xi. 29, *τίς ἀσθενεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ*;

Ver. 22b sums up (in the pf. *γέγονα* of abiding fact replacing the historical *ἐγενόμην*, and with the objective *σῶσω* for the subjective *κερδήσω*) the Apostle's conduct in the various relations of his ministry: "To all men I have become all things, that by all means I might save some".—On *πάντως*, which varies in sense according to its position and context, see ver. 10, v. 10; here it is adv. of manner to *σῶσω*, *omni quovis modo*. "That in all this description of his *οἰκονομία* or *συγκατάβασις* P. sets forth no unchristian compliance with men, but

σωσω. 23. τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> δὲ ποιῶ διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, ἵνα ὁ συγκοινωνῶς<sup>b</sup> αὐτοῦ γένωμαι.

24. Οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι οἱ ἐν ὁ σταδίῳ τρέχοντες πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἰς δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ βραβεῖον; οὕτω τρέχετε ἵνα καταλάβητε.

25. πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος πάντα ἐγκρατεύεται· ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν

Eph. v. 11. d See iii. 16. e In this sense, N.T. *h.l.*; cf. Lk. xxiv. 13, etc. See Herod. v. 22  
ἀγωνίζεσθαι σταδίων. f Phil. iii. 14; -εὐω, Col. ii. 18, iii. 15. g In this sense, Rom. ix. 30;  
Phil. iii. 12 f.; Exod. xv. 9. h Col. i. 29, iv. 12; 1 Tim. iv. 10, vi. 12; 2 Tim. iv. 7; Lk. xiii. 24;  
Jo. xviii. 36; Sir. iv. 28, etc. i See vii. 9.

<sup>1</sup> πάντα, all uncc. but KL, and all anc. verss. but syr. and go.

the practical wisdom of true Christian love and self-denial in the exercise of his office, this he expects will be self-evident to his readers, so well acquainted with his character (2 Cor. i. 12 ff., v. 11). This kind of wisdom is so much more manifestly the fruit in P. of experience under the discipline of the Spirit, as his temper was the more fiery and uncompromising" (Mr.); "non mentientis actus, sed compatiētis affectus" (Aug.). This behaviour appeared to his enemies time-serving and duplicity (2 Cor. i. 12, iv. 2, xii. 16, Gal. i. 10).

Ver. 23. Paul's course in its chameleon-like changes is governed by a simple practical aim: "But all things I do for the gospel's sake". His one purpose is to fulfil his Gospel stewardship (17, iv. 1 ff., etc., Acts xx. 24); Phil. iii. 7-14 presents the inner side of the "one thing" he pursues. The intensity with which this end is sought accounts for the variety of means; the most resolute, in a complicated situation, becomes the most versatile of men. διὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, "on the gospel's account", with a view to spread the good news most widely and carry it into effect most completely: for διὰ of the end as a ground of action, cf. iv. 17, viii. 11, Rom. iv. 25. For himself Paul's sole ambition is "that I may be joint-partaker in it (with those I save)"—that he may win its salvation along with many others, the fruit of his ministry (cf. 1 Thess. ii. 19 f.; also John xiv. 3, xvii. 24).

§ 30. PAUL'S ASCETICISM, ix. 24-27. The last words of § 29 indicate that the writer feels his own salvation to be bound up in his mission to his fellowmen. The self-denial practised for the latter of these objects is necessary, in point of fact, for both. His example should teach the Cor. the need of stern self-discipline on their personal account, as well as in the interests of weaker brethren. From ix. 24 onwards to x. 22 P. pursues this line of

warning, addressed to men who were imperilling their own souls by self-indulgence and worldly conformity. Of the danger of missing the prize of life through indiscipline P. is keenly sensible in his own case; he conveys his apprehension under the picture, so familiar to the Cor., of the Isthmian Games.

Ver. 24. Οὐκ οἶδατε . . . ; cf. ver. 13, etc. οἱ ἐν σταδίῳ τρέχοντες, πάντες μὲν τρέχουσιν, εἰς δὲ κ.τ.λ.: "Those that run in the stadium, run *all* (of them), but *one* receives the prize". As much as to say, "Entering the race is not winning it; do not be satisfied with running, but make sure of winning—So *run that you may secure (the prize)*!" The art. is wanting with σταδίῳ, as often after prps., esp. when the noun is quasi-proper; cf. our "at court," "in church." The *stadion* was the race-course, always a fixed length of 600 Gr., or 606½ Eng. ft.; hence a measure of distance, as in Matt. xiv. 24—a *furlong*.—For the antithesis of πάντες and εἰς, conveying the point of the warning, cf. the emphatic πάντες of x. 1-4 (see note); also vi. 12, x. 23.—οὕτως may point backward to εἰς ("run like that one": cf. 14, ii. 11), or forward to ἵνα (καταλάβ.)—a particle substituted for the regular correlative, ὥστε (cf. Acts xiv. 1, John iii. 16), where the result is an aim to be achieved; the latter connexion is more probable, since the following vv. dilate on the conditions of success.

Ver. 25. πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀγωνιζόμενος κ.τ.λ.: "But every combatant is temperate in everything—they, to be sure, that they may win a perishable garland; but we an imperishable." The stress in the first clause lies on πᾶς, πάντα—no competitor can afford to be self-indulgent in anything; in the second on ἐκεῖνοι, ἡμεῖς—if they are so abstinent for so poor a prize, what should *we* be? For ten months before the contest in the Great Games, the athletes were required, under



k xv. 53 f.; ἵνα \* φθαρτὸν στέφανον λάβωσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ \* ἀφθαρτον. 26. ἐγὼ  
 Rom. i.  
 23; 1 Pet. <sup>n</sup> τοῖνυν \* οὕτω τρέχω, \* ὥς οὐκ ᾠδήλως. \* οὕτω πυκτεύω, ὥς οὐκ  
 i. 18, 23.  
 1 Phil. iv. 1; α ἄερα ἑδέρων. 27. ἀλλ' ὅτι ὑποπιάζω μου τὸ σῶμα καὶ ὁ δουλαγωγῶ,  
 1 Th. ii.  
 19; 2 Tim. <sup>n</sup> μὴ πως ἄλλοις ᾗ κηρύξας αὐτοὺς ᾗ ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι.  
 iv. 8; Jas.  
 i. 12; 1  
 Pet. v. 4; Rev. ii. 10, iii. 11, etc.; Mt. xxvii. 29, etc. -ωω, 2 Tim. ii. 5. m xv. 32; Rom. i. 23; 1 Pet.  
 i. 4, 23, iii. 4. n H.J. in Paul; Heb. xiii. 13; Lk. xx. 25; Isa. iii. 10, v. 13. o Cf. iii. 15.  
 p H.J.; -λος, xiv. 8; -της, 1 Tim. vi. 17. q xiv. 9; Eph. ii. 2; 1 Th. iv. 17; Acts xxii. 23; Rev. ix.  
 2, xvi. 17; Wisd. v. 11 f. r 2 Cor. xi. 20; Acts v. 40, vi. 37, xxii. 19; Mt. xxi. 35, etc. s Lk. xviii.  
 5; -πιον, Prov. xx. 30. t N.T. h.l.; Diodorus, and Longinus. u See viii. 9. v See i. 23.  
 Absol., xv. 11; Rom. x. 14 f.; 1 Pet. iii. 19; similarly in Syn. Gosp. w 2 Cor. xiii. 5 ff.; Rom. i.  
 28; 2 Tim. iii. 8; Tit. i. 16; Heb. vi. 8.

oath, to follow a prescribed diet (ἀναγ-  
 κοφαγία) and regimen (ἀσκήσις): Pau-  
 sanias V. 24. 9; Philostratus *De Gymn.*,  
 p. 4; Arrian-Epict., III. xv. 3, xxiii. 2;  
 Xenoph. *Symp.* viii. 37; Horace, *Ars Poet.*  
 412 ff., "Qui studet optatam cursu con-  
 tingere metam, Multa tulit fecitque puer,  
 sudavit et alsit, Abstinitu venere et vino."  
ἐγκρατεύεται (see vii. 9) implies temper-  
 ance in a positive degree—not mere ab-  
 stinence, but vigorous control of appetite  
 and passion; πάντα is acc. of specifica-  
 tion. The "garland" of the victor in  
 the Isthmian Games was of pine-leaves,  
 at an earlier time of parsley, in the  
 Olympian Games of wild-olive; yet these  
 were the most coveted honours in the  
 whole Greek world.—φθαρτὸν and ἀφθαρ-  
τον are again contrasted in xv. 53.

Vv. 26, 27. "Therefore I so run, in  
 no uncertain fashion; so I ply my fists,  
 not like one that beats the air." "So—  
 as the context describes, and as you see  
 me (cf. xv. 32)"; the Ap. feels himself,  
 while he writes, to be straining every  
 nerve like the racer, striking home like  
 the trained pugilist: for this graphic  
οὕτως, cf. xv. 11, Gal. i. 6, 2 Thess. iii.  
 17; the adv. would be otiose as mere ante-  
 cedent to ὥς.—τοῖνυν (similarly τοίγαρ  
 in 1 Thess. iv. 8) brings in the prompt,  
 emphatic inference drawn from the last  
 clause: "We are fighting for the im-  
 mortal crown—I as a leader and exem-  
 plar; surely then I make no false step in  
 the course, I strike no random blows."  
ἀδήλως is susceptible both of the objec-  
 tive sense prevailing in cl. Gr., *obscure*,  
*inconspicuous* (preferred by Mr. and Gd.  
 here, as though P. meant, "not keeping  
 out of sight, in the ruck"; cf. xiv. 8); and  
 (preferably) of the subjective sense, *un-*  
*sure*, *without certain aim* (Thuc., I. 2. 1;  
 Plato, *Symp.* 181 D; Polybius)—"ut non  
 in incertum" (Bz.); "scio quod petam et  
 quomodo" (Bg.); πρὸς σκοπὸν τινα  
βλέπων, οὐκ εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην (Cm.): cf.  
 Phil. iii. 14. The image of the race  
 suggests that of *pugilism* (πυκτεύω).

another exercise of the Pentathlon of the  
 arena: the former a familiar N.T. meta-  
 phor, the latter *h.l.*—ὥς οὐκ ἄερα δέρων,  
 "ut non aerem caedens" (Bz.), "smit-  
 ting something more solid than air"  
 (οὐκ negatives ἄερα, not δέρων),—esp. my  
 own body (27); cf. Virgil's "verberat  
 ictibus auras" (*Aen.* v. 377). P.'s are  
 no blows of a clumsy fighter that fail to  
 land—struck *in's Blaue hinein*. Bg.,  
 Hf., Ed. suppose him to be thinking of  
 the σκιομαχία, *sham-fight*, practised in  
 training or by way of prelude, without  
 an antagonist. δέρω means to *flay*, then  
*beat severely*, *smite*; cf. our vulgar *hiding*.

Ver. 27. The fully-attested reading  
ὑποπιάζω (from ὑπὸ and ὤψ, to hit  
under the eye) continues the pugilistic  
 metaphor and suits Paul's vehemence;  
 "contundo corpus meum" (Bz.), "livid-  
 um facio" (Cod. Claromontanus), "I  
 beat my body black and blue": a vivid  
 picture of the corporal discipline to which  
 P. subjects himself in the prosecution of  
 his work (cf. iv. 11—esp. κολαφιζόμεθα;  
 2 Cor. xi. 23 ff., Gal. vi. 17, 2 Tim. ii.  
 4). ὑποπιάζω (ὑπὸ + πιάζω; cf. 2 Cor.  
 xi. 32, etc.)—preferred by Hf. and Hn.,  
 after Clem. Alex.—giving the milder  
 sense, to *force under*, *subdue*, *subigo*  
 (Cv.), is almost syn. with δουλαγωγῶ.

P.'s severe bodily suffering, entailed by  
 the circumstances of his ministry, he  
 accepts as needful for his own sanctifi-  
 cation (cf. 2 Cor. xii. 7)—a physical  
 castigation which tames the flesh for the  
 uses of the spirit (cf. 1 Pet. iv. 1 f.; also,  
 for the principle involved, Rom. viii. 13,  
 Col. iii. 5). The practices of the Middle-  
 Age Flagellants and similar self-torturers  
 have been justified by this text; but  
 Paul's discipline was not arbitrary and  
 self-inflicted, it was dictated by his call-  
 ing (12b, 23)—a cross laid on him by the  
 hand of God, and borne for the Gospel's  
 and the Church's sake (cf. Col. i. 24).  
 In Col. ii. 23 he guards against the  
 ascetic extravagances which this passage,  
 perhaps even in his life-time, was used

X. 1. \*Οὐ \*θέλω δὲ<sup>1</sup> ὑμᾶς \*ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οἱ<sup>2</sup> ἡμῶν πάντες \*ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην \*ἦσαν καὶ πάντες<sup>3</sup> διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης<sup>4</sup> διήλθον, 2. καὶ πάντες \*εἰς τὸν Μωσῆν<sup>5</sup> \*ἐβαπτίσαντο<sup>6</sup> ἐν τῇ<sup>7</sup>

c ix. 20; Gal. iv. 21, v. 18; Acts iv. 12; Jo. i. 49. d 2 Cor. i. 16; Acts ix. 32; Mt. xii. 43; Lev. xxvi. 5; elsewhere with acc. e Rom. vi. 3; Gal. iii. 27; Acts viii. 16. Cf. i. 13 and xii. 13. Mid. voice, here only; Mk. vii. 4 (?); Acts xxii. 16.

<sup>1</sup> γαρ, all uncc. but  $\aleph^c$ KL, all anc. verss. but syr.

<sup>2</sup> Μωυσην: see note on ix. 9.

<sup>3</sup> ἐβαπτισθησαν (?),  $\aleph^c$ ACDG 17, 46 (Western and Alexandrian); so Tisch., Tr. marg., W.H. marg., Nestle. ἐβαπτισαντο, BKLP, etc. (Neutral and Syrian); so Tr. txt., W.H. txt., El.—the more difficult reading: see note below.

to support.—This “buffeting” of his physical frame enabled P. to “lead (his body) about as a slave,”—as one might do a bullying antagonist after a sound beating. Paul’s physical temperament, it appears, had stood in the way of his success as a minister of Christ; and the hindrance was providentially overcome by the terrible hardships through which he passed in pursuit of his ministry. This experience he commends to the Cor. He had felt the fear, from which the above course of rigorous self-abnegation in the interest of others has saved him, “lest haply, after preaching to others, I myself should prove reprobate” (ἀδόκιμος γένωμαι): the opp. result to that of ver. 23.—For κηρύσσω, see i. 23; the κήρυξ at the Games summoned the competitors and announced the rules of the contest. With ἀδόκιμος, *rejectaneus*, cf. δοκιμάζω, iii. 13, and note; see 2 Cor. xiii. 5 ff., and other parls.—On the Gr. Games, see the *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antig.* (Isthmia, Stadium); Hermann, *Lehrbuch d. gottesdienstl. Alterthümer*, § 50; also the supplementary Note on *Greek Athletic Festivals* in Bt.

§ 31. THE BACKSLIDING OF ANCIENT ISRAEL, x. 1-5. The Apostle has just confessed, in warning others, his own fear of reprobation. That this is no idle fear the history of the O.T. Church plainly proves. All the Israelite fathers were rescued from Egypt, and sealed with the ancient sacraments, and virtually partook of Christ in the wilderness; but, alas, how few of those first redeemed entered the Promised Land!

Vv. 1, 2. The phrase οὐ θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν (see parls.) calls attention to something not altogether within the range of the reader’s knowledge (contrast οὐκ οἶδατε; ix. 24, etc.); γὰρ attaches the paragraph, by way of enforcement, to the foregoing ἀδόκιμος. “Our fathers” is not written inadver-

tently to Gentile “brethren,” out of P.’s “national consciousness” (Mr.); the phrase identifies the N.T. Church with “Israel” (cf. Rom. iv. 1, 11 ff., xi. 17 f., Gal. iii. 7, 29, Phil. iii. 3; also Clem. *ad Cor.* 4); the fate of the fathers admonishes the children (Ps. lxxviii. 8, xcv. 9, etc.; Matt. xxiii. 29 ff., Heb. iii., iv.). The point of the warning lies in the five-times repeated πάντες: “All our fathers escaped by miracle from the house of bondage; all received the tokens of the Mosaic covenant; all participated under its forms in Christ; and yet most of them perished! (5)”; cf. the πάντες μὲν . . . εἰς δὲ of ix. 24, and note.—For ὑπὸ τὴν νεφέλην, διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης, cf. Ps. cv. 39, cvi. 11; also Wisd. x. 17, xix. 7. “The cloud” shading and guiding the Israelites from above, and “the sea” making a path for them through its midst and drowning their enemies behind them, were glorious signs to “our fathers” of God’s salvation; together they formed a λούτρον παλινγενεσίας (Tit. iii. 5), inaugurating the national covenant life; as it trode the miraculous path between upper and nether waters, Israel was born into its Divine estate. Thus “they all received their baptism unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea,” since in this act they committed themselves to the guidance of Moses, entering through him into acknowledged fellowship with God; even so the Cor. in the use of the same symbolic element had been “baptized unto Christ” (cf. Rom. vi. 3 f., Gal. iii. 27). For the parl. between *Moses and Christ*, see Heb. iii. Paul sees a baptism in the waters of the Exodus, as Peter in the waters of the Deluge (1 Pet. iii. 20 f.). —ἐβαπτίσαντο, mid. voice (see parls.), implies consent of the subjects—“had themselves baptised” (cf. ἀπελούσασθε, vi. 11)—aggravating their apostasy.

Vv. 3, 4. After deliverance came the question of *sustenance*. This was effected



f See iii. 2. νεφέλη καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, 3. καὶ πάντες τὸ<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> ἑβρώμα<sup>2</sup>  
 g See ii. 13.  
 h Heb. ix. ἡ πνευματικὸν<sup>2</sup> ἔφαγον 4a. καὶ πάντες τὸ<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸ<sup>3</sup> ἡ πόμα<sup>4</sup> ἡ πνευμα-  
 10; Ps. ci.  
 9; Dan. τικὸν<sup>4</sup> ἔπιον<sup>4</sup>. 4b. ἔπινον γὰρ ἐκ ἡ πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας<sup>1</sup>  
 i. 16  
 (Theod.).  
 i Rom. ix. 33 (Isa. viii. 14); 1 Pet. ii. 8; Mt. vii. 24, xvi. 18, etc.

<sup>1</sup> το αὐτο om. B\*, aeth.; A 46 om. αὐτο.

<sup>2</sup> πνευματικὸν βρώμα ἐφαγον (in this order): B\*BC<sup>2</sup>P.

πνευμ. ἐφ. βρ.: A 17, Mcion. βρ. πνευμ. ἐφ.: B<sup>c</sup>DGKL, etc.; Western and Syrian.

<sup>3</sup> aeth., Chr. om. το αὐτο. A 46 om. αὐτο.

<sup>4</sup> πνευματικὸν ἐπιον πομα (in this order): all non-Western pre-Syrian uncc.

in the desert by means no less miraculous and symbolic: "and they all ate the same spiritual food, and all drank the same spiritual drink"—the manna of Exod. xvi. 13 ff., etc., and the stream drawn from the rocks of Rephidim (Exod. xvii.) and Kadesh (Num. xx.).—The epithet πνευματικὸν does not negative the materiality of the βρώμα and πόμα, any more than the corporeality of the ripe Christian man described in ii. 15; it ascribes to these nutriment a higher virtue—such as, e.g., the bread of Christ's miracles had for intelligent partakers—a *spiritual meaning and influence*: for the bread, see Deut. viii. 2 f. (cf. Matt. iv. 3 f., John vi. 31 ff., Ps. lxxviii. 23 ff.); for the water, Exod. xvii. 7, Num. xx. 13, Ps. cv. 41, Isa. xxxv. 6.—In drinking from the smitten rock the Israelites "were drinking" at the same time "of a spiritual rock"—and that not supplying them once alone, but "following" them throughout their history. Ver. 4b explains 4a (γὰρ): P. justifies his calling the miraculous water "spiritual," not by saying that the rock from which it issued was a spiritual (and no material) rock, but that there was "a spiritual rock accompanying" God's people; from this they drank in spirit, while their bodies drank from the water flowing at their feet. The lesson is strictly parl. to that of Deut. viii. 3 f. respecting the manna. In truth, another rock was there beside the visible cliff of Rephidim: "Now this rock (ἡ πέτρα δέ) was the Christ!" The "meat" and "drink" are the actual desert food—"the same" for "all," but endowed for all with a "spiritual" grace; the "spiritual rock" which imparted this virtue is distinguished as "following" the people, being superior to local limitations—a rock not symbolic of Christ, but *identical with Him*. This identification our Lord virtually made in the words of John vii. 37. The impf.

ἔπινον (4b), exchanged for ἔπιον (4a), indicates the continuous aid drawn from this "following rock".

Baur, Al., and others suppose P. to be adopting the Rabbinical legend that the water-bearing Rephidim rock journeyed onwards with the Israelites (see *Bammid-bar Rabba*, s. 1; Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenthum*, I. 312, 467, II. 876 f.). Philo allegorized this fable in application to the Logos (*Leg. alleg.* II. §§ 21 f.; *Quod det. bot. insid. solet*, § 30). This may have suggested Paul's conception, but the predicate πνευματικῆς emphatically discards the prodigy; "we must not disgrace P. by making him say that the pre-incarnate Christ followed the march of Israel in the shape of a lump of rock!" (Hf.). ὁ Χριστός—not the doctrine, nor the hope of the Christ, but *Himself*—assumes that Christ existed in Israelite times and was spiritually present with the O.T. Church, and that the grace attending its ordinances was mediated by Him. "The spiritual homogeneity of the two covenants"—which gives to the Apostle's warning its real cogency—"rests on the identity of the Divine Head of both. The practical consequence *saute aux yeux*: Christ lived already in the midst of the ancient people, and that people has perished! How can you suppose, you Christians, that you are secured from the same fate!" (Gd.).

Holsten rejects the parenthetical ἡ πέτρα δέ clause as a theological gloss; but it is necessary to explain the previous ἐκ πνευμ. ἀκολ. πέτρας, and is covered doctrinally by the δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα of viii. 6 (see note). Already Jewish theology had referred to the hypostatized "Wisdom" (see *Wisd. x.*), or "the Logos" (Philo *passim*), the protection and sustenance of ancient Israel. The O.T. saw the spiritual "rock of Israel" in Jehovah (Deut. xxxii., 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, Isa. xvii. 10, xxvi. 4, etc.), whose offices

ῥ' δὲ<sup>1</sup> πέτρα<sup>1</sup> ἣν ὁ Χριστός. 5. ἀλλ' οὐκ<sup>1</sup> ἐν<sup>m</sup> τοῖς<sup>m</sup> πλείουσιν<sup>k</sup> αὐτῶν<sup>1n</sup> εὐδόκησεν<sup>2</sup> ὁ<sup>2</sup> Θεός. • κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

6. Ταῦτα δὲ<sup>2</sup> τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν, εἰς<sup>3</sup> τὸ<sup>3</sup> μὴ εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἡέπιθυμητὰς κακῶν, καθὼς κἀκεῖνοι ἐπεθύμησαν. 7. μηδὲ<sup>4</sup> εἰδω-

Ezek. xxxvii. 11. 1 2 Cor. xii. 10; Mt. iii. 17, and paral.; Jer. xiv. 12. m See ix. 19. n i. 21; Gal. i. 15; Col. i. 19; Mt. iii. 17, etc.; Lk. xii. 32. Cf. εὐδοκία, Eph. i. 5, 9; Ph. ii. 13; Mt. xi. 26; Lk. ii. 14, x. 21. o Numb. xiv. 16. p In this sense, Rom. v. 14; diff. in Rom. vi. 17, etc. q 2 Cor. iv. 4; 2 Th. ii. 2; 1 Pet. iii. 7; Acts vii. 19. r N.T. h.l.; Numb. xi. 34. A cl. word. s Absol., Rom. vii. 7, xiii. 9 (Ex. xx. 17); Gal. v. 17; Ja. iv. 2. t See ver. 10.

<sup>1</sup> ἡ πέτρα δε: BBD\*<sup>c</sup>—irregular order.

<sup>2</sup> ἡ εὐδοκησεν, AB\*<sup>c</sup>. On the augment, see Wr., p. 83.

of grace, in the N.T. view of things, devolve on Christ.—The Ap. does not in so many words associate the “spiritual food” and “drink” of vv. 3 f. with the Lord’s Supper, as he did the crossing of the Red Sea with Baptism; but the second analogy is suggested by the first, and by the reference to the Eucharist in vv. 15 ff. In no other place in the N. T. are the two Sacraments collocated.

Ver. 5. “But not with the greater part (of them)”—a “tragic *litotes*: only Joshua and Caleb reached the Promised Land” (Num. xiv. 30: Mr.). The result negatives what one expects from the antecedents; hence the strong adversative ἀλλ’ οὐκ.—τοῖς πλείουσιν—“the majority” of the πάντες so highly favoured; cf. xv. 6. ἡ εὐδόκησεν ἐν (after the LXX), Heb. *chaphets* d’; the ἐν resembles that of ix. 15; see Wr., p. 291.—κατεστρώθησαν γὰρ κ.τ.λ., “For they (their bodies) were laid prostrate in the wilderness,” gives graphic proof, in words borrowed from the O.T. narrative, of God’s displeasure; sooner or later this doom overtook nearly all the witnesses of the Exodus (cf. Heb. iii. 17). “What a spectacle for the eyes of the self-satisfied Cor.: all these bodies, full-fed with miraculous nourishment, strewing the soil of the desert!” (Gd.).

§ 32. THE MORAL CONTAGION OF IDOLATRY, x. 6-14. The fall of the Israel of the Exodus was due to the very temptations now surrounding the Cor. Church—to the allurements of idolatry and its attendant impurity (6 ff.), and to the cherishing of discontent and presumption (9 f.). Their fate may prove our salvation, if we lay it to heart; the present trial, manifestly, is nothing new; and God who appoints it will keep it within our strength, and will provide us with means of escape (11 ff.). The whole is summed up in one word, “Flee from idolatry!” (14).

Ver. 6. ταῦτα τύποι ἡμῶν ἐγενήθησαν may mean (a) “These things have been made our examples,” *typi nobis* (Cv.)—sc. ex. for our use; (b) “In these things (acc. of *specification*) they proved types of us”—*figurae nostri* (Vg., Bz., Mr., Bt., R.V. marg.); or (c) “As types of us they became such” (so Hf.: cf. ταῦτα . . . ἦτε, vi. 11)—a construction clashing with that of the parl. ver. 11. (a) best suits the application of ταῦτα in the sequel (cf. 1 Pet. v. 3); to make the fallen Israelites prophetic “types” of the Cor. would be to presume the ruin of the latter!—ἐγενήθησαν is pl. despite the neut. pl. subject ταῦτα, through the attraction of the predicate: so πάντα ταῦτα κακουργίαι ἦσαν in Xenophon; the incidents included are *distinctly* viewed. For the deterrent “example,” cf. Heb. iv. 11.—With ἐπιθυμ. κακῶν cf. ἐφευρετὰς κακῶν, Rom. i. 30: the double ἐπιθυμητὰς . . . ἐπεθύμησαν recalls Num. xi. 4 (LXX); in alluding to the old “lusting” for the diet of Egypt, the Ap. hints at the attraction of the Cor. idol-feasts; but his dehortation applies to all κακά (cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 7, 1 Thess. v. 15, etc.). The general admonition is specialised in four particulars, with repeated μηδὲ—*idolatry, fornication, tempting of the Lord, murmuring*—based on the analogy furnished by vv. 1-5.

Ver. 7. μηδὲ εἰδωλολάτραι γίνεσθε, “And do not become idolaters”: in apposition to the εἰς τὸ μὴ clause of ver. 6, the dependent sentence of purpose passing into a direct impv.; for the like conversational freedom, cf. i. 31, iv. 16, vii. 37, ix. 15, and notes. The repetition of this warning in ver. 14 shows its urgency. Even where eating of the εἰδωλόθυτα was innocent, it might be a stepping-stone to εἰδωλολατρεία.—Enforcing his appeal by ref. to the calf-worship at Sinai, the Ap. dwells on the *accompaniments* of this apostasy: here



- Exod. xxxii. 6; intrans. *passim*.  
 In this sense, opp. to καθίζω or the like, Acts ix. 6, 34. xii. 7, etc.; Mk. ix. 27; Lk. iv. 29, v. 25, etc.; Jo. xi. 31. w N.T. *h.l.*; cf. Judg. xvi. 25; 2 Ki. vi. 5; Jer. xxxviii. 4. x See vi. 18. y Of persons, Rom. xi. 11, 22, xiv. 4; Heb. iv. 11; Rev. ii. 5; Lk. xxi. 24. z Lk. iv. 12 (Deut. vi. 16), x. 25; Ps. lxxvii. 18. a Exod. xvii. 2, 7; Acts v. 9, xv. 10; Heb. iii. 9; (Jo.) viii. 6; Cf. vii. 5. b Numb. xxi. 6; Mk. xvi. 18; Lk. x. 19; cf. Jo. iii. 14. c Exod. xvi. 7; Numb. xiv. 29; Mt. xx. 11; Lk. v. 30; four times in Jo.
- ἡλολάτραι γίνεσθε καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν, ὡς<sup>1</sup> γέγραπται, “Ἐκάθισεν ὁ λαὸς φαγεῖν καὶ πιεῖν<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἠνέστησαν παίζειν”. 8. μηδὲ πορνεύομεν, καθὼς τινες αὐτῶν ἐπόρευον καὶ ἔπεσον<sup>3</sup> ἐν<sup>4</sup> μία ἡμέρα εἰκοσιτρεῖς χιλιάδες. 9. μηδὲ ἐκπειράζομεν τὸν Χριστόν,<sup>5</sup> καθὼς καὶ τινες αὐτῶν ἐπείρασαν<sup>6</sup> καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν<sup>7</sup> ἀπώλοντο. 10. μηδὲ γογγύζετε,<sup>8</sup> καθὼς<sup>9</sup> καὶ<sup>10</sup> τινες αὐτῶν

<sup>1</sup> ὡς περ, ḤABD<sup>c</sup>L, many minn. : unusual in this connexion. ὡς, CD\*KL, etc.

<sup>2</sup> πειν, Ḥ (πιν) B\*D\*G; see note on ix. 4.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπεσαν: all pre-Syrian uncc. So *passim*; see Wr., pp. 86 f.

<sup>4</sup> Om. εν Ḥ\*BD\*G (Neutral and Western). Ins. εν: Alexandrian and Syrian.

<sup>5</sup> τὸν Κυρίον, ḤBCP 17, 46, 73, syr. mg. cop., Epiph. τὸν Θεον A 2, Euthal. τὸν Χριστόν DGKL, etc., latt. vg. syr<sup>sch</sup>. sah., Mcion. (Western and Syrian).

<sup>6</sup> ἐξεπείρασαν (?), ḤCD\*GP 17, 46, 73—assimilated to previous vb. επείρασαν, ABD<sup>c</sup>KL, etc.; so W.H. *txt.*, Nestle, El.

<sup>7</sup> ἀπώλυντο, ḤAB: *h.l.* for the impf.

<sup>8</sup> γογγύζομεν, ḤDG (Western)—assimilated to context.

<sup>9</sup> καθάπερ, ḤBP, Or., Bas.

<sup>10</sup> Om. καὶ all uncc. but KL.

lay the peril of his readers who, when released from the superstition of the old religion (viii. 4), were still attracted by its feasting and gaiety: “The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to sport” (following the LXX precisely). This παίζειν, as in idolatrous festivals commonly, included singing and dancing round the calf (Exod. xxxii. 18 f.); there is no need to imagine a darker meaning. It was a scene of wild, careless merriment, shocking under the circumstances and most perilous, that Moses witnessed as he descended bearing the Tables of the Law.—πειν, cf. ix. 4 and note.

Ver. 8. μηδὲ πορνεύομεν: here P. comes closer to his readers, adopting the communicative 1st pl. For the prevalence of this vice at Cor. and its connexion with Cor. idolatry, see vii. 2, vi. 11, and *Introd.*, p. 734 (cf. Num. xxv., 1 f. also Rev. ii. 14); for its existence in the Cor. Church, ch. v. above, and 2 Cor. xii. 21. Wisd. xiv. 12 affirms, of idolatry at large, ἀρχὴ πορνείας ἐπίνοια εἰδώλων; see the connexion of Rom. i. 24 with the foregoing context.—“23,000” is a curious variation from the figure given in Num. xxv. 9 for the slain of Baal-Peor, which is followed by other Jewish authorities, viz., 24,000. It is more respectful to

credit the Ap. with a trifling inadvertence than to suppose, with Gd., that he makes a deliberate understatement to be within the mark. Ev. gives no evidence for his alleged “Jewish tradition” in support of the reduced estimate. Possibly, a primitive error of the copyist, substituting γ’ for δ’ (Hn.).

Vv. 9, 10. The sins condemned in vv. 7, 8 are sins of *sensuality*; these, of *unbelief* (Ed.)—which takes two forms: of *presumption*, daring God’s judgments; or of *despair*, doubting His goodness. The whole wilderness history, with its crucial events of Massah and Meribah, is represented as a “trying of the Lord” in Ps. xcv. 8 ff. (cf. Num. xiv. 22), a δοκιμασία (Heb. iii. 7-12); this process culminated in the insolence of Num. xxi. 4 f., which was punished by the infliction of the “fiery serpents”. The like sin, of presuming on the Divine forbearance, the Cor. would commit if they trifled with idolatry (cf. 22) and “sinned wilfully after receiving the knowledge of the truth” (Heb. x. 26; Rom. vi. 1); cf. Deut. vi. 16 (Matt. iv. 7), Ps. lxxviii. 17 ff., for this trait of the Israelite character. ἐκ-πειράζω is to *try thoroughly, to the utmost*—as though one would see how far God’s indulgence will go. The graphic

\* ἐγόγγυσαν καὶ ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ. 11. ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> δὲ πάντα<sup>1</sup> ὅτι<sup>2</sup> συνέβαινον<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνοις, ἐγράφη δὲ πρὸς ἡμῶν, εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντησεν.<sup>4</sup> 12. ὥστε ὁ δοκῶν ἐστάναι ὀλεσέτω μὴ πέσῃ. 13. Πειρασμός ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἴληφεν εἰ μὴ ἀνθρώπινος· πιστὸς δὲ ὁ Θεός, ὃς οὐκ

f 1 Pet. iv. 12; 2 Pet. ii. 22; four times in Lk. and Acts; once in Mt. g In this use, vi. 5, vii. 35, xii. 7, etc. h Eph. vi. 4; Tit. iii. 10; Judith vii. 27; Wisd. xvi. 6; -τεται, see iv. 14. i In this sense, h.l. Cf. Mt. xiii. 39; Heb. ix. 26; also Rom. x. 4; 1 Pet. i. 9. k Pl., in like sense, ii. 7; Eph. iii. 9, 11; Col. i. 26; 1 Tim. i. 17; Heb. i. 8, xi. 3. l xiv. 36; Eph. iv. 13; Ph. iii. 11; Acts xiv. 7. In lit. sense, Acts xvi. 1, etc. m See iii. 18. n In this tense and sense, 2 Cor. i. 24; Rom. v. 2, xi. 20; 2 Tim. ii. 19. Same inf. in Acts xii. 14; Lk. xiii. 25. o See viii. 9. p Gal. iv. 14; 1 Tim. vi. 9; Heb. iii. 8 (Ps. xciv. 8); Jas. i. 2, 12; 1 Pet. i. 6; Mt. vi. 13, etc. q λαμβανω with like subject, Lk. v. 26, vii. 16; Exod. xv. 15. r See ii. 13. s See i. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Om. πάντα AB 17, sah., Mcion., Tert., Or., Cyr., Bas. ταῦτα δε πάντα: CKLP, etc., vg. syrr. cop. (Alexandrian); πάντα δε ταῦτα: ΞDG 46, Aug. (Western).

<sup>2</sup> τυπικῶς: all uncc. but DGL, which assimilate to ver. 6.

<sup>3</sup> συνεβαινεν, ΞBCK, twelve minn., Mcion., Or., Bas., Cyr. συνεβαινον, ADG, etc. (Western).

<sup>4</sup> κατηντηκεν, ΞBD\*G, Bas., Euthal., Cyr.

κατηντησεν, ACD<sup>c</sup>KL, etc.—Alexandrian and Syrian.

<sup>5</sup> ου (sic) καταλαβη: G, latt. vg. (non apprehendat), Latt. Ff.

impf., ἀπώλλυντο, "lay a-perishing," transports us to the scene of misery resulting from this experiment upon God I—ὑπὸ ἀγῆτης after ἀπόλλυμι—a cl. idiom, h.l. for N.T.—elsewhere construed with dat., or ἐν and dat., of cause or ground of destruction (viii. 11, Rom. xiv. 15, etc.).—The "murmuring" also occurred repeatedly in the wilderness; but P. alludes specifically to the rebellion of Korah and its punishment—the only instance of violent death overtaking this sin (Num. xvi. 41). The ὀλοθρευτῆς in such supernatural chastisement is conceived as the "destroying angel" (2 Sam. xxiv. 16, Isa. xxxvii. 36), called ὁ ὀλοθρεύων in Exod. xii. 23, Heb. xi. 28 (cf. Wisd. xviii. 25); in later Jewish theology, *Sammael*, or the Angel of Death (Weber, *Altsyn. Théologie*, p. 244). The O.T. analogy suggests that P. had in view the murmurings of jealous partisans and unworthy teachers at Cor. (i. 12, iii. 6, iv. 6, 18 ff.); at this point he reverts to the impv. of 2nd. pers., γογγύετε.—*tives* (*quidam*), used throughout of the Israelite offenders, may mean many or few, anything short of "all" (1-4); cf. ver. 5, also ix. 22, viii. 7, Rom. iii. 3.

Ver. 11. "Now these things befel them by way of example" (τυπικῶς)—or "typically," "prefiguratively," if the other rendering of τύποι in ver. 6 be preferred ("in figura contingebant illis," Vg.); the adv. became current in the latter sense in eccl. Gr. The judgments quoted were

exemplary in their nature; the story of them serves as a lesson for all time—"they were written with a view to (πρὸς) our admonition"—συνέβαινον, impf., of the train of events; ἐγράφη, aor., of the act of record summing them up. For the admonitory purpose of O.T. writers, see Isa. xiii. 16, xxx. 8 ff., Hab. ii. 2 f., Deut. xxxi. 19 ff.—"Unto whom the ends of the ages have reached" (κατήντηκεν, *devenierunt*, Vg.)—"whom they have overtaken", καταντάω signifies reaching a mark, "arriving at" a definite point, whether the ultimate goal or not (see parls.). τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων is syn. with ἡ συντέλεια τ. αἰώνων (Matt. xiii. 40, etc.) and other eschatological expressions (cf. 1 Peter i. 20, Heb. i. 2; also Gal. iv. 4, Eph. i. 10); the pl. indicates the manifold issues culminating in the Christian Church. "World-ages" (αἰῶνες) do not simply follow each other, but proceed side by side; so in particular the age of Israel and that of the Gentiles" (Hf.); "the ends" of Jewish and Pagan history alike are disclosed in Christianity; both streams converged, under God's direction (cf. Acts xv. 15 ff., xvii. 26 ff.), upon the Gentile Churches (τέλος has the double sense of conclusion and aim). The Church is the heir of the spiritual training of mankind; cf., for the general idea, John iv. 37 f., 2 Tim. iii. 16 f., Gal. iii. 29, Eph. i. 9 ff.

Vv. 12, 13. The "examples" just set forth are full of warning (α), but with ar



† With inf., † ἑάσει<sup>1</sup> ὑμᾶς ὡς πειρασθῆναι ὑπὲρ ὃ<sup>2</sup> δύνασθε, ἀλλὰ ποιήσει σὺν Mt. xxiv. 43; Lk. iv. 41; 4 times in Acts. τῷ<sup>3</sup> πειρασμῷ καὶ τὴν ἑκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑμᾶς<sup>3</sup> ὑπενεγκεῖν. 14. ὃ δὲ διόπερ, ἀγαπητοί μου, φεύγετε ἀπὸ τῆς εἰδωλολατρείας.

u See ver. 9 above.

v See iv. 6.

w Heb. xlii. 7;

Wisd. ii. 17, viii. 10, xi. 14.

x 2 Tim. iii. 11;

1 Pet. ii. 19;

Job ii. 10; Ps. liv. 12;

Prov. vi. 33.

y See viii. 13.

z Ph. ii. 12;

2 Pet. i. 17;

Mt. xii. 18 (Isa. xlii. 1).

a See vi. 18.

b Gal. v. 20; Col. iii. 5; 1 Pet. iv. 3; -της, ver. 7 above.

<sup>1</sup> αψησει DG—Western emendation.

<sup>2</sup> G and several latt. insert ου (*super id quod non*).

<sup>3</sup> Om. υμας all uncc. but B<sup>c</sup>DcK.

aspect of (b) encouragement besides. (a) "So then"—ὥστε with impv., as in iii. 21 (see note)—"he that thinks (ὁ δοκῶν: see note, iii. 18) that he stands, let him take heed (βλεπέτω) lest he fall!" For "such *thinking*, as it leads to trust in oneself, is the beginning of a perilous security" (Hf.); this vanity was precisely the danger of the Cor. (see iv. 6 ff., v. 2, etc.). For the pf. ἐστάναι, in this emphatic sense (*to stand fast*), see parls. A moral "fall" is apprehended, involving personal ruin (5, 8; Rom. xi. 11, 22).—(b) The example which alarms the self-confident, may give hope to the despondent; it shows that the present trials are not unprecedented: πειρασμός ὑμᾶς οὐκ εἴληφεν εἰ μὴ ἀνθρώπινος, "It is only human temptation that has come upon you"—such as men have been through before. Ver. 13 follows sharply on ver. 12, ἀσυνδέτως, correcting a depressing fear that would arise in some minds.—εἴληφεν (see parls.) describes a situation which "has seized" and holds one in its grasp (pf.).—ἀνθρώπινος connotes both *quod hominibus solet* (Cv.) and *homini superabilis* (Bg.), such as man can bear (R.V.).—σύμμετρος τῇ φύσει (Thd.). Some give an objective turn to the adj., reading the clause as one of further warning: "It is only trial from men that has overtaken you" (so, with variations, Chr., Est., Gr., Bg.—*opponitur tentatio demoniaca*). But the sequel implies a temptation measured by the strength of the tempted; moreover, as El. says, P. would have written οὐπω ἔλαβεν, rather than οὐκ εἴληφεν, if foreboding worse trial is store; nor did he conceive the actual trials of the Cor., any more than those of the Thess. or Asian Churches (1 Thess. iii. 5, Eph. vi. 10 ff.), as without diabolical elements (see 20 ff., vii. 5, 2 Cor. xi. 3, 14).—εἰ μὴ is attached to ἀνθρώπινος alone: lit. "temptation has not seized you, except a human (temptation)"—i.e., "otherwise than human".—πιστὸς δὲ ὁ Θεός contrasts the

human and Divine; for the natural trial a supernatural Providence guarantees sufficient aid (see parls.). δς = ὅτι οὗτος (cf. 2 Cor. i. 18): "God is faithful in that (or so that) He etc.". Paul ascribes to God not the origination, but the control of temptation (cf. Matt. vi. 13, Luke xxii. 31 f., James i. 12 ff.): the πειρασμός is inevitable, lying in the conditions of human nature; God limits it, and supplies along with it the ἐκβασις.—For the ellipsis in (ὑπὲρ ὃ) δύνασθε, cf. iii. 2.—The art. in ὁ πειρασμός, τὴν ἐκβασιν, is individualising: "the temptation" and "the egress" match each other, the latter provided for the former; hence καί, "also," *indivulso nexu* (Bg.). Issue is a sense of ἐκβασις in later Gr.; in cl. Gr. *disembarkation*, then *exit, escape*. In τοῦ δύνασθαι ὑπενεγκεῖν (for gen. inf. of *purpose*, see Wr., p. 408) the subject is not expressed; as coming under God's general dealing with men, it is conceived indefinitely—"that one may be able to bear". Shut into a *cul de sac*, a man despairs; but let him see a door open for his exit, and he will struggle on with his load. ἐκβασις signifies *getting clear away from the struggle*; ὑπενεγκεῖν, *holding up under it*, the latter made possible by the hope of the former. How different all this from the Stoic consolation of suicide: "The door stands open"! In the Cor. "temptation" we must include both the allurements of idolatry and the persecution which its abandonment entailed.

Ver. 14 gives the final point to all that has been urged, from ver. 1 onwards: the sad fate of the Israelite fathers, the correspondence between their trials and those of the Cor. readers, the possibility of effectual resistance, and the certain relief to which the Divine fidelity is pledged—these considerations combine to enforce the appeal, *Flee from idolatry*; cf. vi. 18a, and note.—διόπερ, as in viii. 13 (see note), points with emphatic finger along the line of past history; ἀγαπητοί

15. Ὡς ὁ φρόνιμοις λέγω· κρίνατε ὑμεῖς ὁ φημι· 16. τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας ὁ εὐλογοῦμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἔστιν; τὸν ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ

<sup>c</sup> 2 Cor. vi. 13; <sup>c</sup> <sup>f</sup> Acts xviii. 22. <sup>d</sup> See iv. 10. <sup>e</sup> See vii. 29. <sup>f</sup> xi. 25 ff.; <sup>g</sup> Gal. iii. 14; <sup>h</sup> Jas. iii. 10; <sup>i</sup> Rev. v. 12 f., vii. 12; <sup>j</sup> Gen. xxviii. 4. <sup>k</sup> Mt. xxvi. 26; <sup>l</sup> Mk. xi. 10, xiv. 22; <sup>m</sup> Lk. xxiv. 30. Here only of things. See also iv. 12. <sup>n</sup> With obj. gen., Ph. iii. 10. See also i. 9, and note on construction. <sup>o</sup> k xi. 25, 27; Eph. ii. 13; Heb. ix. 12, 14; 1 Pet. i. 2; Jo. i. 7; Rev. i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14, etc.; Mt. xxvi. 28, etc.; Jo. vi. 53 ff. <sup>p</sup> 1 xi. 23 ff.; Acts ii. 42, 46, xx. 7, 11, xxvii. 35; Mt. xxvi. 26, etc.; Jo. vi. 35 ff., xiii. 18, xxi. 13. <sup>q</sup> xi. 24; Acts ii. 46, etc.; Mt. xxvi. 26, etc., xiv. 19, xv. 36; Lk. xxiv. 30.

<sup>1</sup> κοινωνία ἐστὶν τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (in this order): ABP. So Tr., W.H.—diff. from parl. clause. A has ἐστὶν after κοινωνία in second clause also.

μον (*cf.* iv. 14) reinforces admonition with entreaty.

§ 33. THE COMMUNION OF THE LORD, AND OF DEMONS, x. 15-24. A further warning the Ap. will give against dalliance with idolatry, based on Christian practice as the former was based on Israelite history. He points to the *table of the Lord's Supper*, and asks the Cor. to judge as men of sense whether it is possible to take of Christ's *cup* and *loaf*, and then to sit at a table where in reality one communicates with demons! What can be more revolting than such conduct? what more insulting towards the Lord?

Ver. 15. Ὡς φρόνιμοις λέγω· κρίνατε ὑμεῖς ὁ φημι: "As to men of sense I speak; be yourselves the judges of what I affirm." With this prefatory appeal to the intelligence of the readers *cf.* the introductory phrases of Rom. vi. 19, Gal. iii. 15; the ground of admonition in this § lies entirely within the judgment of the Cor., as that of the last § did not (1). The Cor. are φρόνιμοι, intellectually clever and shrewd, not σοφοί (as some of them thought themselves to be, iii. 18); this compliment is consistent with the censure of iii. 1 ff.; see parls., also Trench Syn., § lxxv. "The new conception of the πνευματικὸς caused the word φρόνιμος to sink to a much lower level in the N.T. than it occupied in Plato or Aristotle" (Ed.). Philo disparages φρόνησις, defining it as μέση πανουργίας κ. μωρίας (*Quod Deus immut.*, § 35); he says, σοφία μὲν γὰρ πρὸς θεράπειαν Θεοῦ, φρόνησις δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπινον βίον διοίκησιν (*De præm. et pan.*, § 14).—On φημί (again in 19), *cf.* vii. 29, and note. For like appeals, see Luke xii. 57, Acts iv. 19. The questions that follow, the readers will easily answer from their knowledge of religious custom and feeling.

Ver. 16. κοινωνία is the key-word of this passage (see parls.); the Lord's

Supper constitutes a "communion" centring in Christ, as the Jewish festal rites centred in "the altar" (18), and as "the demons," the unseen objects of idolatrous worship, supply their basis of communion in idolatrous feasts (21 f.). Such fellowship involves (1) *the ground of communion*, the sacred object celebrated in common; (2) *the association* established amongst the celebrants, separating them from all others: "The word *communion* denotes the fellowship of persons with persons in one and the same object" (Ev.). These two ideas take expression in vv. 16, 17 in turn; their joint force lies behind the protest of vv. 20 ff.—Appealing to the Eucharist—or *Eulogia*, as it was also called—P. begins with "the cup" (*cf.* the order of Luke xxii. 17 ff., and *Didachē* ix. 2 f.), the prominent object in the sacrificial meal (21), containing, as one may say, the essence of the feast (*cf.* Ps. xxiii. 5). τ. εὐλογίας is attributive gen. (like "cup of salvation" in Ps. cxvi. 13; see other parls., for both words); so Cv., "destinatus ad mysticam eulogiam," and Hn. (see his note). Christ blessed this cup, making it thus for ever a "cup of blessing"; *cf.* the early sacramental phrases, οἱ τῆς εὐλογίας ἰησοῦ ἄρτοι in Or. on Matt. x. 25, and τὰς εὐλογίας τ. Χριστοῦ ἐσθίειν from the Catacombs (X. Kraus, *Roma sotteranea*, 217), cited by Hn. On this view, δ εὐλογοῦμεν is no repetition of τῆς εὐλογίας, but is antithetical to it in the manner of Eph. i. 3: *sc.* "the cup which gives blessing, for which we give blessing to God". The prevalent interpretation of τ. ποτήρ. τ. εὐλογίας makes the phrase a rendering of *kōs habb'arakah*, the *third* cup of the Passover meal, over which a specific blessing was pronounced (often identified with that of the Eucharist); or, as Ed. thinks (referring to Luke xxii. 20), the *fourth*, which closed the meal and was attended with the singing of the



<sup>n</sup> xi. 24 ff.; <sup>1</sup> κοινωνία τοῦ <sup>a</sup> σώματος τοῦ <sup>b</sup> Χριστοῦ ἐστιν; 17. ὅτι εἰς ἄρτος, Mt. xxvi. 26; Rom. ἐν σῶμα <sup>ο</sup> οἱ <sup>ο</sup> πολλοὶ ἐσμεν, <sup>p</sup> οἱ γὰρ <sup>p</sup> πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου vii. 4; Ph. iii. 21; Col. i. 22; Heb. x. 10; 1 Pet. ii. 24. <sup>o</sup> Ver. 33; <sup>a</sup> Cor. ii. 17; Rom. v. 15, 19, xii. 5; Heb. xii. 15; Mt. xxiv. 12; Mk. vi. 2. <sup>p</sup> See ix. 22.

Hallel. Such a technical Hebraism would scarcely be obvious to the Cor., and the gen. so construed is artificial in point of Gr. idiom; whereas the former construction is natural, and gives a sense in keeping with the readers' experience.—τὸ ποτήριον, τὸν ἄρτον are acc. by *inverse relative attraction*, a constr. not unknown, though rare, in cl. Gr. (see Wr., p. 204). Hf. thinks that, with the merging of these nouns in the rel. clause, the *act of blessing* the cup and *breaking* the bread becomes the real subject of *κοινωνία* in each instance—as though P. wrote, “when we bless the cup, break the bread, is it not a communion, etc.?” In any case, the “communion” looks beyond the bare ποτήριον and ἄρτος to the whole sacred action, the *usus poculi*, etc. (Bg.), of which they form the centre. “The bread” is “blessed” equally with “the cup,” but in its case the prominent symbolic act is that of *breaking* (see parls.), which connotes the distribution to “many” of the “one loaf.” Thus “the sacramental bread came to be known as the *κλασμός*: so *Did.*, § 9” (Ed.).—On the pl. εὐλογοῦμεν, κλῶμεν, Mr. observes: “*Whose* was it to officiate in this consecration? At this date, when the order of public worship in the Church was far from being settled, *any Christian man was competent*. By the time of Justin (*Apol.* i. 65) the function was reserved for the *προεστώς*, but on the understanding that he represented the community and acted in communion with it (see Ritschl, *Alt kath. Kirche*,<sup>2</sup> pp. 365 f.). The pls. of our passage speak out of the consciousness of the Christian fellowship, in which it is matter of indifference who may be, in this instance or that, its administrative organ.”—οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ αἵματος, τοῦ σώματος, τοῦ Χριστοῦ; “Is it not a communion of (or in) the blood, the body, of Christ?” (cf., for the gen. after κοινωνία, note on i. 9)—not “a communion *with* the blood, etc.” The stress lies on τοῦ Χριστοῦ in both questions: through the cup and loaf believers participate together in *Christ*, in the sacrifice of His blood offered to God (Rom. iii. 25, Eph. i. 7, Heb. ix. 11 ff., 24 ff.), and in the whole redemption wrought through His bodily life and death and resurrection. τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ

carries our thoughts from the incarnation (Phil. ii. 7), through the crucifixion (Col. i. 22), on to the heavenly glory of the Redeemer (Phil. iii. 21). The cup and bread are here styled “a communion in Christ’s blood and body”; in His own words (xi. 25), “the *new covenant* in My blood,”—a communion on the basis of the covenant established by the sacrifice of the Cross.

Ver. 17 unfolds the assertion virtually contained in the question just asked: “Seeing that (ὅτι) there is one bread, we, the many, are one body”; so Vg., “Quoniam unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus,” Cv., Bz., Bg., Hf., Bt., Hn., Gd., El., R.V. marg.; cf. the mutually supporting unities of Eph. iv. 4 ff. The saying is aphoristic: *One bread makes one body* (Hn.)—a maxim of hospitality (equally true of “the cup”) that applies to all associations cemented by a common feast. “The bread” suggests the further, kindred idea of a *common nourishment* sustaining an identical life, the loaf on the table symbolising the ἀληθινὸς ἄρτος of John vi., which feeds the Church in every limb (xii. 13).—“For (γὰρ of explanation) we all partake from (partitive ἐκ, cf. ix. 7) the one bread”; eating from the common loaf attests and seals the *union* of the participants in Christ.

Ver. 17 is parenthetical, but no interpolation as Sm. thinks; it is necessary to develop the idea of κοινωνία in ver. 16, showing how vital to the Church is the fellowship of the Lord’s Table, that was being violated by attendance at idol-feasts.—The elliptical ὅτι . . . ἐσμεν is often construed as a continued dependent clause under the regimen of ὅτι: either (a) “Since we, who are many, are one bread (loaf), one body” (A.V., R.V. txt., with several ancient Verss., Est., Al., Sm.); or (b) “Since there (is) one bread, (and) we, the many, are one body” (D.W., Mr.)—these renderings making the two statements a double reason for the κοινωνία of ver. 16, instead of seeing in the εἰς ἄρτος an evidence of the ἐν σῶμα. But (a) confuses two distinct figures, and identifies unsuitably “the bread” with the Church itself. (b) escapes this error by reading into the first clause the ἐστὶν required to match ἐσμέν in the second; but the copulative “and” is





<sup>a</sup> (Nolo). <sup>a</sup> οὐ \*θελω δὲ ὑμᾶς \*κοινωνοὺς τῶν \*δαιμονίων γίνεσθαι. 21. οὐ  
xvi. 7; <sup>a</sup>  
Cor. xii. δύνασθε ἐποτήριον Κυρίου πίνειν καὶ ἐποτήριον \*δαιμονίων, οὐ  
20; Rom. vii. 16; <sup>a</sup> δύνασθε ὁ τραπέζης Κυρίου ἁμετέχειν καὶ ὁ τραπέζης \*δαιμονίων.  
Th. iii. 10;  
<sup>a</sup> Jo. 13; 22. ἡ ὁ παραζηλοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον; μὴ ὁ ἰσχυρότεροι αὐτοῦ ἔσμεν;  
Rev. ii.  
21; freq.  
in Gospp.; cf. x. 1. b Rom. xi. 9; Ps. lxxvii. 20; also Mt. xv. 27; Lk. xvi. 21, xxii. 21, 30. For  
τρ. δαιμ., cf. Isa. lxx. 11. c Rom. x. 19 (Deut. xxxii. 21), xi. 11, 14. d See i. 25.

called the mysterious guiding voice within him δαιμόνιον τι. Ed. observes a tendency, beginning with Eurip. and Plato and accentuated in the Stoics, "to use the word in a depreciatory sense"; already in Homer it often suggested the *uncanny*, the supernatural as an object of dread. The word was ready to hand for the LXX translators, who used it to render various Heb. epithets for heathen gods. Later Judaism, which peopled the unseen with good and evil spirits, made δαιμόνια a general term for the latter, apart from any specific refer. to idols (see, already, Tob. iii. 8, etc.); hence its prominence in the Gospels, and the origin of the word *demoniac* (ὁ δαιμονιζόμενος): on the whole subject, see Cr. s.v., also Everling's *Paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*. For κοινωνοὶ τ. δαιμονίων, cf. Isa. xlv. 11, where the "fellows" of the idol signify a kind of religious guild, brought into mystic union with their god through the sacrificial meal (see Cheyne *ad loc.*); also Isa. lxx. 11. Ver. 20c is calculated to bring home to the Cor. the fearful danger of trifling with idolatry.

Vv. 21, 22. This lively apostrophe sets in the strongest light the inconsistency of Cor. Christians who conform to idolatry, the untenability of their position. "You cannot drink the Lord's cup and the cup of *demons*"—the two together! "You cannot partake of the Lord's table and the table of *demons*!" Cf. the τίς μετοχή, κοινωνία, κ.τ.λ.; cf. 2 Cor. vi. 14 ff., and other parls. The nouns forming the obj. are anarthrous as being qualitative, the impossibility lying in the *kind* of the two cups; cf. note on ii. 5. "The Lord's cup" is that received at His direction and signifying allegiance to Him; in ver. 16, "the cup of (His) blessing."—Possibly, P. alludes here to Mal. i. 7, 12, where "the table" signifies "the altar of Jehovah"; but the expression is borrowed without this identification. In this context table and altar are essentially distinguished; the altar *supplies* the table (cf. Heb. xiii. 10). "S. Coena convivium, non sacrificium; in mensa, non in altari" (Bg.). The τράπεζα includes the ποτήριον and

ἄρτος of ver. 16 together. This passage gives its name of "the Lord's Table" to the Eucharist.—"Or (is it that) we provoke the Lord to jealousy?"—is this what we mean by eating at both tables? Paul includes himself in this question; such conduct is conceivable in his case, since he had no scruple against the idolothya on their own account (see viii., ix. 1). Deut. xxxii. 21 (neighbouring the previous allusion of 20) sufficiently indicates the result of such insolence: see other O.T. parls. For this argumentative ἤ in Paul's questions, cf. vi. 9, etc., ix. 6.—If the Cor. are daring Christ's sovereign displeasure by coquetting with idolatry, they must suppose themselves "stronger than He"! As sensible and prudent men they must see the absurdity, as well as the awful peril, of such double-dealing: cf. Deut. xxxii. 6, 28 f. ἰσχυρός (i. 25) implies inherent, personal strength. Of the δύναμις τ. κυρ. Ἰησοῦ P. had given a solemn impression in ch. v. 4 f.; cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 3 f.

§ 34. LIBERTY AND ITS LIMITS, x. 23-xi. 1. The maxim "All things are lawful" was pleaded in defence of the use of the idolothya, as of other Cor. laxities; so the Ap. has to discuss it a second time (cf. vi. 12). In ch. vi. he bade his readers guard the application of this principle for their own sake, now for the sake of others; there in the interests of purity, here of charity (23 f.). When buying meat in the market, or when dining at an unbeliever's table, the Christian need not enquire whether the flesh offered him is sacrificial or not; but if the fact is pointedly brought to his notice, he should abstain, to avoid giving scandal (25-30). Above all such regulations stands the supreme and comprehensive rule of *doing everything to God's glory* (31). Let the Cor. follow Paul as he himself follows Christ, in living for the highest good of others (32-xi. 1)

Ver. 23. Ὅτι πάντα ἔξεστιν κ.τ.λ., see notes to vi. 12. The form of that ver. seems to be purposely repeated here (μοι only omitted), with the effect of bringing out the *altruistic* as complementary to the *self-regarding* side of Christian ex-

23. \* Πάντα μοι <sup>1</sup> \* ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' \* οὐ πάντα \* συμφέρει. \* πάντα <sup>c</sup> See vi. 12.  
μοι <sup>1</sup> \* ἔξεστιν, ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα \* οἰκοδομεῖ. 24. μηδεὶς \* τὸ \* ἑαυτοῦ <sup>f</sup> See viii. 10.  
<sup>h</sup> ζητεῖτω, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ \* ἑτέρου ἕκαστος. <sup>2</sup> 25. πᾶν τὸ ἐν \* μακέλλῳ <sup>g</sup> xiii. 5;  
<sup>1</sup> πωλούμενον ἑσθίετε, μηδὲν \* ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν \* συνείδησιν, <sup>h</sup> Ver. 33,  
26. \* τοῦ γὰρ \* Κυρίου <sup>3</sup> ἢ γῆ καὶ τὸ \* πλήρωμα αὐτῆς. 27. εἰ δέ <sup>1</sup> <sup>i</sup> Mt. x. 29, etc.;  
<sup>h</sup> J. in Epp. <sup>m</sup> See ii. 14. <sup>n</sup> See viii. 10. <sup>o</sup> Ps. xxiii. 1, xlix. 12. <sup>p</sup> In this sense, Mk. vi.  
43, viii. 20. <sup>21</sup>; Ph. ii. 21; Neh. 14; Ph. ii. 21; Neh.

<sup>1</sup> *Om.* μοι (supplied from vi. 12) all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>2</sup> *Om.* ἕκαστος pre-Syrian uncc. and verss.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ Κυρίου γὰρ (in this order): all uncc. but AHKLP.

<sup>4</sup> *Om.* δε pre-Syrian uncc. and verss.

pediency. On Paul's dialectical use of the words of opponents, cf. viii. 1 ff. and notes. Closing his discussion about the sacrificial meats, P. returns to the point from which he set out in ch. viii., viz., the supremacy of love in Church life—there commended as superior to *knowledge*, here as supplying the guard of *liberty*; in both passages, it is the principle of *edification*.—The tacit obj. of οἰκοδομεῖ (see viii. 1, iii. 9-17) is "the Church of God" (32). Edification, in its proper meaning, is always relative to the community; P. is safe-guarding not the particular interests of "the weak brother" so much as the welfare of the Church, when he says, "Not all things edify".

Ver. 24. With μηδεὶς τ. ἑαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ. cf. xiii. 5, Rom. xiv. 7, xv. 2, Gal. vi. 2, Phil. ii. 1 ff. After ἀλλὰ understand ἕκαστος, from the previous μηδεὶς: cf. the ellipsis in iii. 1, 7, vii. 19 (Bm., p. 392). For ὁ ἕτερος (= ὁ πλησίον, Rom. xv. 2), wider than ὁ ἀδελφός (viii. 11; cf. 27 f.)—"the other" in contrast with oneself—see parls.; Gr. idiom prefers "the other" where we say "others".—τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου, implies some definite good—"his own, the other's interest": a N.T. *h. l.*; the pl. elsewhere in such connexion (cf. Matt. xxii. 21).

Vv. 25, 26. The above rule is now applied in the concrete. πᾶν τὸ ἐν μακέλλῳ πωλούμενον κ.τ.λ., "Anything that is on sale in the meat-market eat, not asking any question of conscience". μακέλλον is a term of late Gr., borrowed from Latin (*macellum*): possibly a local word, introduced by the *colonia*; for the anathrous ἐν μακ., cf. note on ἐν σταδίῳ (ix. 24).—μηδὲν ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ συνείδησιν might mean "for conscience' sake (to avoid embarrassment of conscience) making no enquiry" (Cm.,

Er., Hf., El., Holsten), as though addressed to men of weak conscience.—Bg. however, "propter conscientiam alienam" (referring to 29); or, "because of your (*sc.* strong) conscience making no enquiry"—since you are not troubled with scruples (Est., Mr., Ed.); or, "making no enquiry on the ground of conscience," the adv. phrase simply defining the kind of question deprecated (so Bz., Hn., Bt., Gd., Ev.): the last interpretation best suits the generality of the terms, and the connexion with ver. 26. For ἀνακρίνω, see ii. 14, iv. 3, ix. 3, and notes; it signifies enquiry with a view to judgment at the bar of conscience.—μηδὲν, acc. of *definition*, as in Acts x. 20, xi. 12; Sm. baldly renders it as transitive obj., "examining nothing"—*kein Fleischstück untersuchend!* For μὴ in ptpl. clause, see Wr., p. 606.—The citation from Ps. xxiv. 1, recalling the argument of viii. 4 ff., quiets the buyer's conscience: consecration to an idol cannot deprive the Lord of anything that belongs to "the earth and its fulness," and which His providence supplies for His servants' need; cf. Rom. xiv. 6b, 14, 1 Tim. iv. 4.—πλήρωμα, in its primary sense, *id quo res impletur* (cf. Lt., *Colossians*, pp. 257 ff.); "terra si arboribus, herbis, animalibus etc., careret, esset tanquam domus supellectile et omnibus instrumentis vacua" (Cv.).

Ver. 27: a case parl. to that of vv. 25 f., attached therefore asyndetically; cf. the two clauses of ver. 16. When one buys for himself, the question arises at the *shop*; when he is the guest of another, it arises at the *table*. "If some one invites you, of the unbelievers, and you determine to go."—τῶν ἀπίστων is emphatic by position: in a non-Christian house sacrificial meat was likely to be used, and here the Christian's conduct



q Mt. xxii. 3 ff.; Lk. vii. 39; xiv. 7 ff.; Jo. ii. 2; Esth. v. 12.  
 r See vi. 6; Lk. x. 8; Mk. vi. 41; Acts xvi. 34; Gen. xliii. 31 f.  
 t ιεροθυτον, h.l.; see txtl. and exeg. notes. u Lk. xx. 37; Acts xxiii. 30; Jo. xi. 57; 2 Macc. iii. 7, vi. 11, xiv. 37. v In this sense, see i. 12. w Mt. ix. 4, xxvii. 46; Lk. xlii. 7; Acts iv. 25, vii. 26.

τις <sup>q</sup>καλεῖ ὑμᾶς τῶν ἁπίστων<sup>1</sup> καὶ θέλετε πορεύεσθαι, πᾶν τὸ <sup>r</sup>παρατιθέμενον ὑμῖν ἐσθίετε, μὴδὲν <sup>s</sup>ἀνακρίνοντες διὰ τὴν <sup>t</sup>συνείδησιν· 28. ἔὰν δέ τις ὑμῖν<sup>2</sup> εἴπῃ, “Τοῦτο <sup>u</sup>εἰδωλόθυτόν<sup>3</sup> ἐστι,” μὴ ἐσθίετε, δι’ ἐκείνον τὸν <sup>v</sup>μηνύσαντα καὶ τὴν <sup>w</sup>συνείδησιν, <sup>x</sup>οὗτο<sup>4</sup> γὰρ Κυρίου <sup>y</sup>ἡ γῆ<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὸ <sup>z</sup>πλήρωμα αὐτῆς<sup>6</sup>. 29. <sup>aa</sup>συνείδησιν δὲ <sup>ab</sup>λέγω οὐχὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ<sup>7</sup>, ἀλλὰ <sup>ac</sup>τὴν τοῦ <sup>ad</sup>ἑτέρου· <sup>ae</sup>ἵνατί γὰρ ἡ

<sup>1</sup> Add εἰς δεῖπνον DG, latt., some codd. of vg. sah. : a characteristic Western gloss.

<sup>2</sup> Om. ὑμιν G, latt. vg.

<sup>3</sup> ιεροθυτον, ῥΑΒΗ, sah., some latt. codd., Julian (as instanced in Cyr. 229) also Cyr. 228. A Biblical h.l.; see note below.

<sup>4</sup> Om. του γαρ Κυρ. . . . αυτης all pre-Syrian uncc. and verss. (including vg.),—repeated from ver. 26; C<sup>2</sup> adds it to ver. 31 instead.

<sup>5</sup> For εαυτου D\* has the correction σεαυτου; H and some others, εμαυτου.

would be narrowly watched.—θέλετε in N.T., as in cl. Gr. (see Lidd., under βούλομαι, as against Gm. under θέλω: cf. note on xii. 11), signifies *will, active purpose*, not mere *wish* (“are disposed to go,” E.V.); the invited make up their mind to go, are *bent* on it (P. “non valde probat,” Bg.; “a hint that it would be wise to keep away,” El.); the next clause discovers them there, with the viands before them. P. assumes social intercourse of Christians with heathen—not with false Christians (v. 10 f.); there can be no question, after vv. 20 ff., of attending an idol-feast or κατακεῖσθαι ἐν εἰδωλίῳ (viii. 10).—τ. παρατιθέμενον replaces τ. πωλούμενον of ver. 25; the rest is a repetition: no more need to raise the question of conscience in the one case than in the other.

Vv. 28, 29a. ἔὰν δὲ . . . εἴπῃ, “But if any one say to you”—a probable contingency, as εἴ τις καλεῖ κ.τ.λ. (27) was an assumed fact; see Bn. on the forms of the Condit. Sentence, §§ 242 ff.—δὲ confronts this contingency with *both* the situations described in vv. 25 and 27. The information, “This is sacrificial meat,” might be volunteered to the Christian purchaser in the market (by the salesman, or a by-stander), or to the Christian guest at the unbeliever’s table (by the host, or by a fellow-guest), the communication being prompted by civility and the wish to spare the supposed susceptibilities of the Christian, or by the desire to embarrass him; whatever its occasion or motive, it alters the situation. The genuine reading, ιερόθυτον (*slain-as-sacred*, i.e., *in sacrifice*), takes the state-

ment as from the mouth of unbelievers; a Jew or Christian would presumably say εἰδωλόθυτον, as above and here in T.R.: Reuss and El. suppose the informant to be “a Christian converted from heathenism” using the inoffensive term “at the table of a heathen host”; but τ. ἀπίστων suggests *heathen* company, and μηνύσαντα *private* information. “Forbear eating (μὴ ἐσθίετε, revoking the permission of 25 ff.) for the sake of him that informed (you), and for conscience’ sake.”—Μηνύω (see parl.), *to disclose* what does not appear on the surface or is imparted secretly. The informant expects the Christian to be shocked; with his συνήθεια τ. εἰδώλου (viii. 7), he looks on the flesh of the sacrifice as having acquired a religious character (it is ιερόθυτον); by saying Τοῦτο ιερόθυτον, he calls conscience into play—*whose* conscience the next clause shows.—διὰ τὸν μηνύσαντα καὶ τὴν συνείδησιν form one idea, being governed by the same prp., καὶ adding an explanation; from regard to the *conscience* of the μηνύσας—not his possible contempt or ill-will—the Christian should decline the offered flesh or stop eating it.—συνείδησιν δὲ λέγω, οὗ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κ.τ.λ., “Conscience however I mean, not one’s own, but that of the other”. Ver. 29a explains the διὰ τ. συνείδησιν of ver. 28, and reconciles its instruction with that of vv. 25, 27, while it brings the matter under the governing rule laid down in vv. 23 f. By contrast with “the other,” the 2nd pl. of ver. 28 becomes here 2nd sing. reflexive.

Vv. 29b, 30 justify, in two rhetorical questions, the Christian’s deference to

<sup>1</sup> ἐλευθερία μου κρίνεται ὑπὸ ἄλλης <sup>2</sup> συνειδήσεως; 30. <sup>3</sup> εἰ δὲ ἔγω <sup>4</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 17; Rom. viii. 21; Gal. ii. 5, v. 1, 13; Jas. i. 25, ii. 12; 1 Pet. ii. 16; 2 Pet. ii. 19. <sup>5</sup> χάριτι <sup>6</sup> μετέχω, <sup>7</sup> τί <sup>8</sup> βλασφημοῦμαι ὅτι <sup>9</sup> οὐ ἐγὼ <sup>10</sup> εὐχαριστῶ; 31. εἴτε οὖν ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε, εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε, πάντα <sup>11</sup> εἰς <sup>12</sup> δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιεῖτε. 32. <sup>13</sup> ἀπρόσκοποι γίνεσθε <sup>14</sup> καὶ <sup>15</sup> Ἰουδαίοις <sup>16</sup> καὶ <sup>17</sup> Ἕλλησι καὶ τῇ <sup>18</sup> ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ <sup>19</sup> Θεοῦ. 33. καθὼς καὶ γὰρ πάντα <sup>20</sup> πᾶσιν <sup>21</sup> ἀρέσκω, μὴ <sup>22</sup> ζητῶν τὸ ἑμαυτοῦ <sup>23</sup> συμφέρον <sup>24</sup> ἀλλὰ τὸ <sup>25</sup> τῶν <sup>26</sup> ἄλλων <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> 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<sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Om. δε all but a few minusc., with Thd. and Oec.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ Ἰουδαίοις γίνεσθε (in this order): B\*ABC, 17, 37, 73.

<sup>3</sup> συμφέρον, B\*ABC.

the conscience of another: (a) *ἵνα τί* γὰρ κ.τ.λ.; "For to what purpose is my liberty judged by another conscience?" i.e. "What good end will be served by my eating under these circumstances, and exposing my freedom to the censure of an unsympathetic conscience?" cf. ii. 15, Matt. vii. 6. *ἵνα τί* (γένηται); *ut quid?* (Vg.), signifies *purpose*, not *ground* as Mr. and others take it; there is *nothing to be gained* by the exercise of liberty in this case. For κρίνω in adverse sense, see parls. For the previous συνειδ. τὴν τοῦ ἑτέρου (alterius), ἄλλης (alienae) συνειδήσεως is substituted (cf. xv. 29, 2 Cor. xi. 4), indicating a distinction not merely in the persons but in the consciences severally possessed. The Ap. says here of Liberty what he says of Faith in Rom. xiv. 22: κατὰ σεαυτὸν ἔχε ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Question (b) intimates that, instead of any benefit resulting from the assertion of liberty in face of conscientious condemnation, positive harm ensues—thanksgiving leads to *blasphemy*! "If I with thanks (or by grace) partake, why am I blasphemed over (that for) which I give thanks?" The τί is *prospective*, as in xv. 29 f. = *εἰς τί* or *ἵνα τί*; The bare χάριτι (of God)—esp. in view of εὐχαριστῶ; cf. Rom. xiv. 6 and 16 (for βλασφημοῦμαι). Men of heathen conscience, seeing the Christian give thanks knowingly over food devoted to the idol, will regard his act as one of sacrilegious indulgence and denounce it accordingly; it seems to them a revolting hypocrisy; "Quelle religion est celle-là? devalait dire les païens" (Gd.)—a grievous πρόσκομμα both to Jews and Greeks (32); cf. Rom. ii. 24.—ὅτι οὐ absorbs

the dem. pron. governed by the same prp.; cf. vii. 39, 2 Cor. ii. 3. The repeated emphatic ἐγὼ points to the Christian as devout on his own part, yet incurring the scandal of gross irreverence.

Vv. 31, 32 conclude the matter with two solemn, comprehensive rules, introduced by the collective οὖν (cf. Rom. v. 9, xi. 22), relating to *God's glory* and *to man's salvation*. The supreme maxim of duty, πάντα εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ ποιεῖτε, applies to all that Christians "eat or drink" (including the idolothyta),—indeed to whatever they "do"; cf. Rom. xiv. 20 ff., Col. iii. 17.—A second general rule emerges from the discussion: "Offenceless prove yourselves, both to Jews and to Greeks and to the church of God". ἀπρόσκοποι here act., as in Sir. xxxv. 21, *not causing to stumble*; elsewhere pass. in sense. For γίνεσθε, see note on vii. 23. The three classes named make up Paul's world of men: "Jews" and "Greeks" embrace all outside the Church (i. 22, ix. 20 f.); Christian believers alone form "the Church of God" (cf. i. 2, and note; also Gal. vi. 16). This text and xii. 28 afford the first ex. in P. of the comprehensive use of ἐκκλησία, as transcending local ref. "The church of God" is bound up with His glory (31); its sacredness supplies a new deterrent from self-indulgence. It contains "the weak" who are liable to injury (viii. 9, ix. 22).

Ver. 33, xi. 1. Paul's personal example played a large part in his argument (ix.); it is fitting he should refer to it in summing up. The negative ἀπρόσκοποι γίνεσθε, in 2nd person, now becomes the positive ἐγὼ πάντα πᾶσιν ἀρέσκω in the 1st: "As I also in all things please all." ἀρέσκω is to *comply with, accom-*



- a See iv. 16. m πολλῶν, ἵνα σωθῶσι. XI. 1. \*μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς καὶ γὰρ  
 b Vv. 17, 22;  
 Rom. xv. Χριστοῦ.  
 11; Lk.  
 xvi. 8;  
 -vos, iv. 5. 2. b Ἐπαίνῳ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί,<sup>1</sup> ὅτι πάντα μου \*μέμνησθε, καὶ  
 c In this  
 tense, 2 Tim. I. 4. Cf. iv. 17. *μνημονεύω* common in this sense.

<sup>1</sup> Om. ἀδελφοί. NABCP, 46, 73, sah. cop.—a Western addition.

*moderate oneself to, not give enjoyment to* (cf. Rom. xv. 1, 3)—no need to speak of a “conative present,” resembling ζητῶ ἀρέσκειν. Paul’s universal compliance is qualified by its *purpose*, ἵνα σωθῶσιν, in the light of which the verbal contradiction with Gal. i. 10, 1 Thess. ii. 4, is removed; there is nothing in his power that P. will not do for any man, to help his salvation (cf. ix. 22b).—Between the ἀρέσκω and its purpose lies the μὴ ζητῶν clause, in which the Ap. professes for himself the rule commended to the Cor. in ver. 27. The “self-advantage” which P. sets aside, touches his highest welfare (cf. Rom. ix. 3); P. sacrificed what seemed to be his spiritual as well as material gain—spending, e.g., weary hours in tent-making that might have been given to pious study—to secure spiritual gain for others; thus “losing himself,” he “found himself unto life eternal.” “The many,” in contrast with the single self; cf. ver. 17, Rom. v. 15 ff.—Through his own pattern P. points the readers to that of his Master and theirs: “Show yourselves (γίνεσθε, see 32, vii. 23) imitators of me, as I also (am) of Christ”. P. does not point his readers *backward* to the historical model (“of Jesus,” or “Jesus Christ,” as in Eph. iv. 21), but *upward* to the actual “Christ,” whose existence is evermore devoted to God (Rom. vi. 10 f.) and to men His brethren (Rom. viii. 34 f., i. 30), “in” whom the Cor. believers “are” (i. 2, 30). Paul’s *imitatio Christi* turns on the great acts of Christ’s redeeming work (Eph. v. 2, Phil. ii. 5-11), rather than on the incidents of His earthly course.

**DIVISION IV. DISORDERS IN WORSHIP AND CHURCH LIFE, xi.-xiv.** The Ap. returns to the internal affairs of the Church, which occupied him in Div. I., dealing however not as at the outset with the relations of the Cor. Church to its ministry, but with the mutual relations and behaviour of its members within the society. The questions arising under this head are bound up with the moral and social problems of Divs. II. and III., and several leading topics of former

chaps. reappear in a new connexion—e.g., the Christian relationship of the sexes (common to v., vi., and xi.), the Lord’s Supper (x. and xi.), the superiority of Love to Knowledge (viii. and xiii.). The matters treated in these chaps. are well defined: (1) *the unveiling of the head by women* in public worship, xi. 2-16; (2) *profanation of the Lord’s Table*, 17-34; (3) *the exercise of spiritual gifts*, xii. 1-11 and xiv.—a subject which leads the Ap. into two digressions: (a) on *the corporate nature of the Church*, xii. 12-31; (b) on *the supremacy of love*, xiii. As in the earlier parts of the letter, the train of thought is objectively dictated; the matters taken up arise from the faulty state of the Cor. Church, and were supplied to the writer partly, as in chh. vii.-x., by the Church Letter, and partly by information conveyed in other ways (see xi. 18, and *Introd.*, chap. ii.), which indicated the existence of disorders and scandals within the community of the gravity of which it was unaware.

§ 35. **THE WOMAN’S VEIL, xi. 2-6.** P. is glad to believe that the Church at Cor. is loyal to his instructions (2); he interrupts his censures by a word of praise. This commendation, however, he proceeds to qualify. First, in respect of a matter whose underlying principles his readers had not grasped: he hears that some women speak in Church-meetings, and that bareheaded! For a woman to discard the veil means to cast off masculine authority, which is a fixed part of the Divine order, like man’s subordination to Christ (3 f.). She who so acts disgraces her own head, and only needs to go a step further to rank herself with the degraded of her sex (5 f.).

Ver. 2. The praise here given is so little suggested by the context, and to little accords with the tone of the Ep., esp. with what was said in the like connexion in iv. 16 f., that one conjectures the Ap. to be quoting *professions made in the Letter from Cor.* rather than writing simply out of his own mind: “Now I praise you that [as you say] ‘in all things you remember me, and hold fast the in-

καθὼς <sup>d</sup> παρέδωκα ὑμῖν τὰς <sup>e</sup> παραδόσεις κατέχετε. 3. <sup>f</sup>Θέλω δὲ <sup>d</sup> In this sense, ver. 23, xv. 3; Lk. i. 2; Acts xvi. 4; Gal. i. 14; Col. ii. 8; 2 Th. ii. 15, iii. 6; Mt. xv. 2, etc. f Col. ii. 1; cf. x. 1 above. g For the contrast, vii. 3 ff.; Rom. vii. 2; Eph. v. 22; Col. iii. 18 f.; 1 Tim. ii. 12-15; 1 Pet. iii. 1; Mk. x. 2 ff. h i. 24, iii. 23, xv. 24-28, 57; 2 Cor. i. 19, iv. 6, v. 18 f.; Eph. i. 17, 20, iii. 21; Ph. ii. 5-11; Col. i. 15, 19; 1 Tim. ii. 5; Tit. iii. 6; Heb. i. iii. 6, etc.; 1 Pet. iv. 11; Jo. i. 1 f., xvii. 3 f., etc.; 1 Jo. iv. 9 f., etc. i Absol., xiv. 14 f.; Eph. vi. 18; 1 Th. v. 17; 1 Tim. ii. 8, etc. k xiii. 9, xiv. 1 ff.; Acts ii. 17 f., etc.; Mt. vii. 22; Lk. i. 67. l Esth. vi. 12. m See i. 27.

ἀνὴρ <sup>1</sup> προσευχόμενος ἢ <sup>k</sup> προφητεύων, <sup>l</sup> κατὰ <sup>m</sup> κεφαλῆς ἔχων, <sup>n</sup> κα-  
 15, iii. 6; Mt. xv. 2, etc. f Col. ii. 1; cf. x. 1 above. g For the contrast, vii. 3 ff.; Rom. vii. 2; Eph. v. 22; Col. iii. 18 f.; 1 Tim. ii. 12-15; 1 Pet. iii. 1; Mk. x. 2 ff. h i. 24, iii. 23, xv. 24-28, 57; 2 Cor. i. 19, iv. 6, v. 18 f.; Eph. i. 17, 20, iii. 21; Ph. ii. 5-11; Col. i. 15, 19; 1 Tim. ii. 5; Tit. iii. 6; Heb. i. iii. 6, etc.; 1 Pet. iv. 11; Jo. i. 1 f., xvii. 3 f., etc.; 1 Jo. iv. 9 f., etc. i Absol., xiv. 14 f.; Eph. vi. 18; 1 Th. v. 17; 1 Tim. ii. 8, etc. k xiii. 9, xiv. 1 ff.; Acts ii. 17 f., etc.; Mt. vii. 22; Lk. i. 67. l Esth. vi. 12. m See i. 27.

<sup>1</sup> Om. ο B\*D\*G; so W.H. marg.

<sup>2</sup> του Χριστου, NABD, 17, 37, 46, Clem. CGKLP om. του. See note below.

structions as I delivered them to you". For such adoption by P. of the words of his readers, see notes on viii. 1 ff. Self-esteem characterised this Church (iv. 8 ff., v. 2); the declaration was sincere, and contained a measure of truth; P. accepts it for what it is worth.—**δέ**, introducing the new topic, marks also the connexion between vv. 1 and 2: "I bid you imitate me—but I am glad to know (from your letter) that you do".—**πάντα**, acc. of *definition* (not obj.), as in ix. 25, x. 33; the vb. regularly governs a gen. in N.T.: **μνησθε**, like *memini*, a pf. pres.—"you have been kept in remembrance of me".—**παράδοσις**, a "giving-over" (without the associations of our *tradition*), applies to historical fact, teaching, or rules of practice delivered, through whatever means, to the keeping of others: for reference to *fact* and *usage*, see ver. 23; to *fact* and *doctrine*, xv. 1; to the three combined, as here, 2 Thess. ii. 15; for its currency in Jewish Schools, Matt. xv. 2 ff., etc.—**κατέχετε**, as in xv. 2 = **κρατεῖτε**, 2 Thess. ii. 15. **καθὼς κ.τ.λ.** implies maintenance in *form* as well as substance, observance of the **τύπος διδασχῆς** (Rom. vi. 17).

Ver. 3. **θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι** (= οὐ θέλω κ.τ.λ. of x. 1; see note): "But I would have you know"—the previous commendation throws into relief the coming censure. The indecorum in question offends against a foundation principle, *viz.*, that of *subordination under the Divine government*; this the Cor., with all their knowledge, cannot "know," or they would not have allowed their women to throw off the **ἐξουσία ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς** (10). The violated principle is thus stated: "Of every man the Christ is the head, while the man is head of woman, and God is head of Christ". As to the wording of this sentence: **παντὸς ἀνδρὸς** bears emphasis in the 1st

clause asserting, like the parl. 2nd clause, a universal truth which holds of the man (*vir*) as such; the predicate of the 1st clause is distinguished by the def. art.,—"Christ is the (proper, essential) head," etc. (cf. ἡ ἐλπίς, Eph. ii. 14, and see Bm., pp. 124 f.); **ὁ Χριστός**, in 1st and 3rd clauses, means "the Christ" in the wide scope of His offices (cf. x. 4, xii. 12, xv. 22); for anarthrous **κεφαλὴ γυναικὸς**, cf. note on ii. 5. That Christ is "every man's" true head is an application of the revealed truth that He is the "one Lord" of created nature (viii. 6; Col. i. 15 f.), combined with the palpable fact that the **ἀνὴρ** has no (intervening) lord in creation (cf. 9); he stands forth in worship, amidst his family, with no visible superior, holding headship direct from his Maker, and brought by his manhood into direct responsibility to Him "through whom are all things". Ed., following Cm. and Mr. (not Hn.), limits this manly subordination to the Christian order of life; "the man is head of the woman in virtue of the marriage union, Christ of the man in virtue of union with Him through faith": but faith is common to the sexes, on this footing **οὐκ ἐν ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλῳ** (Gal. iii. 28); on the other hand, in Pauline theology, the law of marriage and the social order are grounded in Christ. Paul's argument has no force unless the parl. assertions rest on a common basis. The question is one that touches the fundamental properties of life (8-15); and the three headships enumerated belong to the hierarchy of nature.—"The Christ" of the 3rd clause is "the Christ" of the 1st, without distinction made of natures or states; He who is "every man's head," the Lord of nature, presents the pattern of loyalty in His perfect obedience to the Father (xv. 28, Gal. iv. 4; Heb. v. 5, 8, etc.); cf. iii. 22 f., where



<sup>n</sup> N.T. *h.l.*; <sup>Lev. xiii.</sup> <sup>45:</sup> <sup>xii. 11.</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>Acts xxi.</sup> <sup>24: Numb.</sup> <sup>vi. 9.</sup> <sup>q</sup> N.T. *h.l.*; <sup>Gen.</sup> <sup>xxxviii.</sup> <sup>15, etc.</sup> <sup>r</sup> Acts viii. 32, xviii. 18; <sup>2</sup> Ki. xiv. 26. <sup>2</sup> xiv. 35; Eph. v. 12; Tit. i. 12; Gen. xii. 3, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *αντης* (?) all uncc. but BD<sup>c</sup>K, in conformity with ver. 4. W.H. place *εαντης* in *marg.* The reading *αντης* has the appearance of a harmonistic emendation.

with the same *δέ* . . . *δὲ* a chain of subordinate *possession* is drawn out, corresponding to this subordination of *rule*. Submission in office, whether of woman to man or Christ to God, consists with equality of nature.

Vv. 4, 5: the high doctrine just asserted applied to the matter of feminine attire. Since man *qua* man has no head but Christ, before whom they worship in common, while woman has man to own for her head, *he must not and she must be veiled*. The regulation is not limited to those of either sex who "pray or prophesy"; but such activity called attention to the apparel, and doubtless it was amongst the more demonstrative women that the impropriety occurred; in the excitement of public speaking the shawl might unconsciously be thrown back. *προσευχόμενος κ.τ.λ.*, "when he (she) prays or prophesies,"—in the act of so doing.—*κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων*, "wearing down from the head (a veil": *κάλυμμα* understood), the practice being for the woman in going out of the house to throw the upper fold or lappet of her robe over her head so as to cover the brow: see Pepsos in the *Dict. of Antiq.* *ἀκατακλ. τ. κεφαλῇ*, "with the head uncovered," dat. of manner, as *χάριτι* in x. 30.—Is it the *literal* or *figurative* "head" that is meant as obj. to *καταισχύνει*? Ver. 3 requires the latter sense, while the sequel suggests the former; Al. and Ed. think *both* are intended at once. Hf. is probably right in abiding by the reading *εαντης* (see *txtl.* note); he supposes that the Ap. purposely broke off the parallelism at the end of ver. 5, thus sharpening his reproof: the man who wears a veil "puts to shame his head"—*i.e.* Christ, whose lordship he represents (7); the woman who discards it "puts to shame *her own head*"—the dishonour done to the dominant sex falls upon herself. That the shame comes home to *her* is shown by the supporting

sentence: *ἐν γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ τὸ αὐτό* (*cf.* iii. 8) *τῇ ἐξυρημένῃ*, "for she is one and the same thing with her that is shaven" (Mr., Ev., Bt., Ed., El.); "It is one and the same thing," etc. (E.V.), would require *τῷ ἐξυρησθαι*. Amongst Greeks only the *hetæra*, so numerous in Cor., went about unveiled; slave-women wore the shaven head—also a punishment of the adulteress (see Wetstein *in loc.*, and *cf.* Num. v. 18); with these the Christian woman who emancipates herself from becoming restraints of dress, is in effect identified. To shave the head is to carry out thoroughly its unveiling, to remove nature's as well as fashion's covering (15).

Ver. 6, with a second *γάρ*, presses the above identity; the Ap. bids the woman who discards the veil carry her defiance a step further: "For if a woman is not veiled, let her also crop (her head); but if it is a disgrace for a woman to crop (it) or to keep (it) shaven, let her retain the veil" (*καλυπτέσθω*, pr. impv., *continuous*). P. uses the *modus tollens* of the hypothetical syllogism: "If a woman prefers a bare head, she should remove her hair; womanly feeling forbids the latter, then it should forbid the former, for the like shame attaches to both." The argument appeals to Gr. and Eastern sentiment; "physical barefacedness led to the inference of moral, in a city like Corinth" (Ev.). *κεῖρασθω* and *κείρασθαι*, aor. mid., denote a single act on the woman's part, "to cut off her locks"; *ἐξυρᾶσθαι*, pres. mid.,—a shaven condition; the single act comprises the inf. in one view.—Paul's directions do not agree precisely with current practice. Jewish men covered their heads at prayers with the Tallith (*cf.* the allusion of 2 Cor. iii. 14 ff.)—this custom, retained probably by some Jews at Christian meetings (4), P. corrects without censure; women were both veiled and kept behind a screen. Amongst the Greeks,

7. Ἄνῃρ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ὀφείλει κατακαλύπτεσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν, <sup>t See vii. 36.</sup>  
<sup>u Gen. i. 26</sup> εἰκὼν καὶ δόξα Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων, γυνὴ δὲ δόξα ἀνδρός ἐστίν. f.; cf. xv. 49; 2 Cor. iv. 4; Rom. i. 23, viii. 29; Col. i. 15, iii. 10. x Rom. i.  
 8. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἐκ γυναικός, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ ἐξ ἀνδρός. 9. καὶ γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἐκτίσθη ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἀλλὰ γυνὴ διὰ τὸν ἀνδρα.  
 v Cf. 2 Cor. iv. 6; Ph. i. 11; Heb. i. 3; Jo. i. 14, xvii. 22; Ps. xviii. 1. w See vii. 26.  
 25; Col. i. 16, iii. 10; 1 Tim. iv. 11; Mt. xix. 4; Mk. xiii. 19.

1η γυνὴ δε: N<sup>c</sup>ABD\*G.

both sexes worshipped with *uncovered* head, although women covered their heads at other times (see Hermann, *Gottesdienstl. Alterthümer*, § 36, 18 f.; Plato, *Phædo*, 89B, C), while Roman men and women alike *covered* their heads during religious rites (Servius *ad Æn.*, iii., 407). The usage here prescribed seems to be an adaptation of Gr. custom to Christian conceptions. With us the diff. of sex is more strongly marked in the general attire than with the ancients; but the draped head has still its appropriateness, and the distinction laid down in this passage has been universally observed.—The woman is recognised by the side of the man as “praying” and “prophesying” (see note on xii. 10); there is no ground in the text for limiting the ref. in her case to the exercise of these gifts in domestic and private circles (thus Hf., Bt., and some others); on the contradiction with xiv. 34, see note *ad loc.* Under the Old Covenant women were at times signally endued with supernatural powers, and the prophetess occasionally played a leading public part (e.g. Deborah and Huldah); in the Christian dispensation, from Acts i. 14 onwards, they receive a more equal share in the powers of the Spirit (see Acts ii. 17 f., Gal. iii. 28). But in the point of ἐξουσία there lies an ineffaceable distinction.

§ 36. MAN AND WOMAN IN THE LORD, xi. 7-16. The Ap. has insisted on the woman's retaining the veil in token of the Divine order pervading the universe, which Christ exhibits in His subordination to the Father. But he has some further observations to make on the relative position of the sexes. In the first place, he bases what he has said of the headship of man on the story of creation, exhibiting man as the direct reflexion of God, woman as derived and auxiliary (7-9); in this connexion the ref. to “the angels” must be understood (10). At the same time, man and woman are necessary each to the other and derive alike from God (11 f.). Having thus grounded

the matter upon Christian principle, P. appeals in confirmation to *natural feeling* (13-15), and finally to the *unbroken custom of the Church* (16).

Ver. 7. ἀνὴρ (not ὁ ἀνὴρ) μὲν γὰρ κ.τ.λ.: “For man indeed (being man) ought not to have his head veiled” (καλύπτεσθαι, pr. inf. of custom), in contrast with woman who *ought* (5, 10)—this is as wrong on his part as it is right on hers; οὐκ negatives the whole sentence, as in ver. 1. ὀφείλει, like δεῖ (19), denotes moral or rational necessity, the former vb. in a more personal, the latter in a more abstract way. For him to veil his head would be to veil the “image and glory of God”; Christ, the image of God, became ἀνθρώπος as ἀνὴρ.—ὑπάρχων (see parls.), “being constituted” so. To accompany εἰκὼν, P. substitutes for the ὁμοίωσις (d'muth) of Gen. the more expressive δόξα—by which the LXX renders the synonymous t'munah of Ps. xvii. 15—God's “glory” being His likeness in visible splendour; cf. Heb. i. 3. P. conceives Gen. i. 26 to apply to Adam as ἀνὴρ primarily, although in ver. 27 it stands, “God created man in His own image . . . male and female created He them”.—ἡ γυνὴ δὲ κ.τ.λ. presents a shortened antithesis to the μὲν clause; logically completed it reads, “But the woman (ought to have her head veiled, for she) is the glory of the man”—δόξα ἀνδρός—not of the race (ἀνθρώπου), but of the stronger sex. Paul omits εἰκὼν, which does not hold here; she is not man's reflexion, but his counterpart—not “like to like, but like in difference,” wedded as “perfect music unto noble words”; she partakes, through him, in the εἰκὼν Θεοῦ (Gen. i. 27). That which in our common nature is most admirable—faith, purity, beauty—man sees more excellently and proportionately shown in hers. It follows that he who degrades a woman sullies his manhood, and is the worst enemy of his race; the respect shown to women is the measure and safeguard of human dignity.



<sup>9</sup> Cf. vii. 37; see note below.  
<sup>z</sup> Rev. xiv. 14. <sup>επι</sup> in like connection, Jo. xx. 7;  
 Rev. i. 20, vii. 3, etc., xii. 1, etc.  
 31; Mk. xiii. 27; Lk. xvi. 22.  
<sup>passim</sup>; Lam. iii. 3.

10. διὰ τοῦτο ὁφείλει ἡ γυνὴ ἑξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, διὰ τοὺς ἁγγέλους. 11. πλὴν οὔτε ἀνὴρ<sup>1</sup> χωρὶς γυναικός,<sup>1</sup> οὔτε γυνὴ<sup>1</sup> χωρὶς ἀνδρός<sup>1</sup> ἐν Κυρίῳ. 12. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τῆς γυναικός· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ

<sup>a</sup> In pl. abs., with art., xiii. 1; Heb. i. 4 ff.; Mt. xiii. 49, xxv. 31; Eph. v. 33; Ph. i. 18, iii. 16, iv. 14; Rev. ii. 25; Mt., Lk.,

<sup>1</sup> γυνὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρός . . . ἀνὴρ χωρὶς γυναικός (in this order): all uncc. but D<sup>b</sup>KL, all anc. verss. but syrr. and vg.

Vv. 8, 9 add two more to the chain of *for's* extending from ver. 6: a double reason for asserting that woman is man's glory appears in the revelation of the origin of mankind made by Scripture (Gen. ii. 18-25: the *second* narrative of Creation, J of the critics), where Eve is represented as framed from a rib taken out of Adam's body to be his "help-mate". Woman originates *from* (ἐστὶν ἐκ), and was created *for* (because of, ἐκτίσθη διὰ) man, not *vice versa*.—"ἐκτίσθη" differs from ἐστὶν as purpose from fact," (Ed.).—καὶ γάρ, "For also" (9)—the second statement goes to explain the first: Man was there already; and Woman was fashioned out of him for his need. Whether the story of the extracted rib is read as poetry or prosaic fact, the relationship set forth is the same.

Ver. 10 is the counterstatement to ver. 7a, undeveloped there: "For this reason the woman is bound to wear authority upon her head"—sc., the reason made out in vv. 7b-9, that her nature is derived and auxiliary. The ἐξουσία (= σημεῖον ἐξουσίας) that she "has (wears)," is that to which she submits, with the veil "upon her head" for its symbol; cf. xii. 23, where τιμὴ = σημεῖον τιμῆς. So the soldier under the Queen's colours might be said to "have authority over his head". Ev. quotes Shakesp., *Macb.*, iii., 4, "Present him *eminence* both with eye and tongue," as a parl. expression for the authority of another pictured in oneself.—διὰ τοὺς ἁγγέλους suggests, by way of after-thought, a supplementary motive for the decent veil, which the Ap. merely hints, leaving a crux for his interpreters. In iv. 9 he adduced the "angels" as interested spectators of the conduct of Christ's servants, and in vi. 3 he spoke of certain of them as to be judged by the saints (see notes); in manifold ways these exalted beings are associated with God's earthly kingdom (see Luke ii. 13, xii. 8, xv. 10, Acts i. 10, etc.; Heb. i. 14, xii. 22 f.; Rev. *passim*);

in accordance with Jewish belief, they appear as agents of the Lawgiving in Gal. iii. 19 (Acts vii. 53), and in Heb. i. 7 are identified with the forces of nature. The same line of thought connects the angels here with the maintenance of the laws and limits imposed at Creation (cf. Job. xxxviii. 7), reverence for which P. expresses in his own style by this allusion; see Hn., Ed., and Gd. in loc. With this general view the interpretation is consistent which regards the angels as present in Divine worship and offended by irreverence and misconduct (see 1 Tim. v. 21), as (possibly) edified too by good behaviour (see Eph. iii. 10); cf. the ancient words of the Liturgy, "Therefore with Angels and Archangels, etc." A familiar thought with the Ff.; thus Cm. *ad loc.*, "Open the eyes of faith, and thou shalt behold a multitude of angels; if the air is filled with angels, much more the Church"; and Thp., τοῖς ἁγγέλοις αἰδουμένη. Similarly Hooker, "The house of prayer is a Court beautilfied with the presence of Celestial powers; there we stand, we sing, we sound forth hymns to God, having His angels intermingled as our associates; with reference hereunto the Ap. doth require so great care to be taken of decency for the Angels' sake" (*Eccl. Pol.*, v. 25. 2). P. cannot mean *evil* angels subject to sensual temptation, as many, after Tert., have read the passage, basing it on a precarious interpretation of Gen. vi. 4 (see Everling, *Die paul. Angelologie u.s.w.*, pp. 32 ff.)—an explanation far-fetched and grossly improbable. Others have seen in these ἁγγελοὶ pious men, prophets, Church-officers, even match-makers! Others have proposed emendations of the text, substituting διὰ τοὺς ἀγελαίους or τὰς ἀγέλας, or διὰ τῆς ἀγγελίας (*during the preaching!*). Baur, Sm., and others would delete the troublesome words as a primitive gloss.

Vv. 11, 12. πλὴν κ.τ.λ. modifies and guards the foregoing; this conj. lies

Θεοῦ. 13. ἐν<sup>1</sup> ὅμιν αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> κρίνατε. ἄρεπον ἐστὶ γυναῖκα<sup>c</sup> Cf. Lk. xii. 57. ἀκατακαλύπτον τῷ Θεῷ προσεύχεσθαι; 14. ἡ<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲ αὐτὴ<sup>3</sup> ἡ κρίνατε, x. 15; φύσις<sup>3</sup> διδάσκει ὑμᾶς ὅτι ἀνὴρ μὲν ἐὰν ἔκομῃ, ἀτιμία αὐτῷ ἐστὶ. Acts iv. 19; Jo. vii. 24. 15. γυνὴ δὲ ἐὰν ἔκομῃ, δόξα αὐτῇ ἐστιν; ὅτι ἡ κόμη<sup>1</sup> ἀντὶ d Mt. iii. 15 i Maccc. xii. 11. -πει, Eph. v. 3; 1 Tim. ii. 10; Tit. ii. 1; Heb. ii. 10, vii. 26; Ps. lxiv. 1. e Rom. i. 26, ii. 14, 27, xi. 24; Gal. ii. 15, iv. 8; Eph. ii. 3. f H.J. in Bib. Gr. g xv. 43; Rom. i. 26, etc. -μος see iv. 10. -αζω, see Rom. i. 24, etc. h N.T. & L.: Numb. vi. 5. i Lk. xi. 11; Jas. iv. 15.

<sup>1</sup> D latt. vg., Ambrst., Pelag. (Western) read ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ for ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> Om. η all uncc. but DcKL.

<sup>3</sup> η φύσις αὐτῇ (in this order): pre-Syrian uncc.

between δὲ and ἀλλὰ in its force—but besides, howbeit. What has been said in vv. 3-10 must not be overpressed: woman is subordinate, not inferior; the sexes are alike, and inseparably necessary to the Christian order (11); and if man is the fountain, woman is the channel of the race's life (12). οὐτε γυνή . . . οὐτε ἀνὴρ κ.τ.λ.: "Neither is there woman apart from man, nor man apart from woman in the Lord." Here Tennyson is the best commentator: "Either sex alone is half itself . . . each fulfils defect in each, and always thought in thought, purpose in purpose, will in will, they grow . . . the two-celled heart beating, with one full stroke, life". ἐν Κυρίῳ (cf. vii. 39, etc.), i.e. under the rule of Christ, where woman's rights are realised as nowhere in heathenism (cf. Gal. iii. 28, Eph. v. 28; also the wording of vii. 3 f. above). For the contrast of ἐκ and διὰ, see viii. 6; "the woman has an equivalent in the Divine order of nature, that as man is the initial cause of being to the woman, so woman is the instrumental cause of being to the man" (Ev.). But the ἀνὴρ is only a relative source; God is absolute Father—τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ (cf. viii. 6, i. 30 and note, Rom. xi. 36). To Him man and woman owe one reverence.

Ver. 13. There is a constitutional feeling which supports the above inference in favour of the woman's veil; it was implied already in the καταισχύνει and αἰσχρὸν of vv. 5 f., and is now explicitly stated: "Amongst yourselves (inter rather than intra vos ipsos) judge ye; is it seemly for a woman unveiled to be engaged in prayer (pr. inf.) to God?"—an appeal to social sentiment (cf. Rom. ii. 15, μεταξὺ ἀλλήλων), recalling the κρίνατε ὑμεῖς of x. 15. πρέπον (neut. ptp.: see parls.), as distinguished from ὀφείλω or δεῖ (7, 19), denotes befittingness, suitability

to nature or character. τῷ Θεῷ lends solemnity to προσεύχεσθαι.

Vv. 14, 15. The question οὐδὲ ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ κ.τ.λ.; summons personal instinct to the aid of social sentiment: "Does not even nature of herself teach you that, etc.?" For ἡ φύσις, see Rom. ii. 14; in this connexion it points to man's moral constitution rather than to external regulations; Hf. and El. however, taking φύσις in the latter sense, reverse the order of thought in vv. 13 f., seeing in the former ver. individual instinct (they render ἐν ἑαυτοῖς within yourselves), and in this ver. social rule.—Hf. and Hn., by a strained constr. of διδάσκει, render ὅτι "because," and draw the obj. of "teach" from ver. 13, seeing in ὅτι κ.τ.λ. the ground of the affirmative answer tacitly given to both questions: "Does not nature of herself teach (this)? (Yes), for if a man have long hair, etc." The common rendering is preferable; the teaching of nature is expressed in a double sentence, which gathers the consensus gentium on the subject: "that in a man's case, if he wear long hair (vir quidem si comam nutriat, Vg.), it is a dishonour to him; but in a woman's, if she wear long hair, it is a glory to her". ἀνὴρ, γυνή stand in conspicuous antithesis preceding the conj.: what is discreditable in the one is delightful in the other. Homer's warriors, it is true, wore long hair (καρηκομῶντες Ἀχαιοί), a fashion retained at Sparta; but the Athenian youth cropped his head at 18, and it was a mark of foppery or effeminacy (a legal ἀτιμία), except for the aristocratic Knights, to let the hair afterwards grow long. This feeling prevailed in ancient as it does in modern manners (cf. the case of Absalom). In the rule of the Nazirites natural instinct was set aside by an exceptional religious vocation. The woman's κόμη is not merely



k Heb. i. 12<sup>k</sup> περιβολαίου δέδοται<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ.<sup>1</sup> 16. εἰ δέ τις<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ<sup>m</sup> φιλόνηκος  
(Pa. ci. 26); Exod. xxii. 27; Job xxvi. τοῦ<sup>o</sup> Θεοῦ.  
6; Pa. ciii. 6.

1 See iii. 18. 17. Τοῦτο δὲ<sup>2</sup> παραγγέλλων<sup>2</sup> οὐκ<sup>1</sup> ἐπαινώ,<sup>2</sup> ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τὸ  
m N.T. h.l.; Ezek. iii. 7. -κία, Lk. xxii. 24. -κειν, Prov. x. 12. n See viii. 7. o See i. 2; full expression, N.T. h.l. in pl. For pl. ἐκκλ., see vii. 17. p See vii. 10. q See ver. 2.

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ δεδοται: CHP, 37, 46. Om. αὐτῇ DG (Western). T.R., as in  $\Sigma$ AB, etc.

<sup>2</sup> παραγγέλλων οὐκ ἐπαινώ:  $\Sigma$ C<sup>3</sup>DcGKLP, etc.; some latt. cop. So Tisch., W.H. text., R.V., El., Nestle. External evidence fairly balanced.

παραγγέλλω οὐκ ἐπαινῶν: AC\*G, 17, 46, 67\*\*, vg. syrsch. So Lachm., Tr., Al., W.H. marg. Both verbs in -ων: D\*gr., 137; both in -ω: B. See note below.

no ἀτιμία, but a positive δόξα; herself the δόξα ἀνδρός, her beauty has in this its crown and ensign. And this "glory" is grounded upon her humility: "because her hair to serve as a hood (ἀντὶ περιβολαίου) has been given her"—not as a substitute for head-dress (this would be to stultify Paul's contention), but in the nature of a covering, thus to match the veil (*en guise de voile*, Gd.); cf. χάριν ἀντὶ χάριτος, John i. 16; ἀντὶ κασιγνήτου ξείνος . . . τέτευκται, *Odyssey*, viii. 456. δέδοται (pf. pass.) connotes a permanent boon (see 2 Cor. viii. 1, 1 John iii. 1, etc.). περιβόλαιον (from περιβάλλω), a wrapper, mantle, is here exceptionally used of head-gear.

Ver. 16 closes the discussion sharply, with its appeal to established Christian rule. If, after all that the Ap. has advanced in maintenance of the modest distinction between the sexes, any one is still minded to debate, he must be put down by authority—that of P. himself and his colleagues (ἡμεῖς), supported by universal Christendom; cf. xiv. 33, 37 ff.—δοκεῖ φιλόνηκος εἶναι, not "seems," but "thinks (presumes; see parls.) to be contentious"; εἰ τις takes ind. of the case supposed (as in x. 27), and too likely in quarrelsome Cor. φιλόνηκος, not *amans victoriae* (Est.) as if from νίκη, but *avidus litium* (from νίκος),—a disputer for disputation's sake.—ἡμεῖς, in contrast with αἱ ἐκκλησίαι, means not "I and those like-minded" (Mr.), but "I and my fellow-ministers" or "I and the Apostles generally" (cf. iv. 6-13, xv. 11, 2 Cor. i. 19, iv. 13, etc.).—τοιαύτην συνήθειαν, the custom described in vv. 4 f. above, which gave rise to the whole discussion; not, as many understand it, the custom of being contentious (a temper, surely, rather than a custom): no one could think of the *Αἰρ.* (ἡμεῖς) indulging such a habit! The advocates of feminine emancipation

may have supposed that P., the champion of liberty, was himself on their side, and that the rejection of the veil was in vogue elsewhere; he denies both. For συνήθεια, Lat. *con-suetudo*, see viii. 7; for αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ Θεοῦ, i. 2, iv. 17, the pl. conveying the idea of unanimity amongst many. Those who explain "such a custom" as that of "being contentious," usually link this ver. with vv. 17 ff. It is true that the σχίσματα of the sequel, like the ἐριδες of i. 11, tended to φιλονεικία; in truth the disputatiousness of the Cor. ran into everything—a woman's shawl, or the merits of the Arch-apostles!

§ 37. THE CHURCH MEETING FOR THE WORSE, xi. 17-22. The Cor. Church had written self-complacently, expecting the Apostle's commendation upon its report (2). In reply P. has just pointed out one serious irregularity, which might indeed be put down to ignorance (3, 16). No such excuse is possible in regard to the disorders he has now to speak of, which are reported to him on evidence that he cannot discredit (18)—viz., the divisions apparent in the Church meetings (19), and the gross selfishness and sensuality displayed at the common meals (20 ff.). Such behaviour he certainly cannot praise (17, 22).

Ver. 17. If the T.R. be correct, τοῦτο (repeated in 22b) points to the instruction about to be given respecting the Lord's Supper: "Moreover (δε), in giving you this charge I do not praise (you), seeing that, etc.": so Cm. and Gr. Ff., Er., Est., Bg., Hf., Hn., Sm. In vv. 3 ff. P. rectified an error, now he must censure a glaring fault; "le ton devient celui du blâme positif" (Gd.); vv. 3 and 17 both detract, in different degrees, from the "praise" of ver. 2. τοῦτο παραγγέλλων has to wait long for its explanation; P. lingers over his preliminary rehearsal of

ῥ κρείττον<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ ἦττον<sup>1</sup> ἑστέ<sup>1</sup> συνέρχεσθε. 18. ῥ πρῶτον ῥ μὲν<sup>1</sup> ῥ γάρ, ῥ συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ<sup>2</sup> ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀκούω ῥ σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ῥ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ ῥ μέρος ῥ τι πιστεύω. 19. ῥ δεῖ γὰρ καὶ ῥ αἰρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ῥ ἵνα<sup>3</sup> οἱ ῥ δόκιμοι ῥ φανεροὶ ῥ γέωνται ἐν ὑμῖν. 20. ῥ συνερχομένων οὖν ὑμῶν ῥ ἐπὶ τὸ ῥ αὐτό, οὐκ ἔστι ῥ Κυριακὸν ῥ δεῖ-

iii. 20, etc. u Rom. i. 8, iii. 2; Heb. vii. 2; Jas. iii. 17; without μεν, xii. 28; xv. 46, etc. v v. 3; 2 Cor. ix. 1, xi. 4; Rom. ii. 25, iii. 2; Heb. vii. 18, xii. 10; Acts xxviii. 22. w See i. 10. x See vii. 26. y Bibl., h.l.; Thuc. iv. 30; Xen., Eg., i. 12, etc. z See viii. 2. a Gal. v. 20; 2 Pet. ii. 1; five times (sing.) in Acts. b 2 Cor. x. 18, xiii. 7; Rom. xiv. 18, xvi. 10; 2 Tim. ii. 15; Jas. i. 12. ἀδοκ., ix. 27. c See iii. 13. d xiv. 23; with εμε, vii. 5. e Rev. i. 10. See note below. f Jo. xiii. 2, 4; Rev. xix. 9, 17; Lk. xiv. 12 ff.

<sup>1</sup> κρείσσον . . . ἥσσον: all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>2</sup> Om. τη all uncc. and many minn.

<sup>3</sup> ἵνα καὶ (?): BD\*, 37, 71, vg. sah., Ambrst. So Treg., Lachm.; W. H., Nestle bracket καὶ.

the founding of the Lord's Supper, and the "charge" is held in suspense; its gist becomes evident in vv. 20 f. Neither the *feminine indecorum* censured in the last § (to which τοῦτο is referred by Mr., Bt., Gd., El., etc.), nor the *contentiousness* glanced at in ver. 16 (by which Ev. and Ed. explain it), has been, strictly speaking, matter of a *charge*; moreover, the backward ref. of τοῦτο involves the awkwardness of associating ἐπαίνῳ and its introductory ptp. with disconnected objects; these interpretations better fit the other reading, παραγγέλλω . . . ἐπαίνῳ. With certain specific and solemn injunctions respecting the Eucharist in view, P. says, "I do not praise (you), in that not for the better but for the worse you come together".—ῥτι, with the like broad sense as in i. 5, ix. 10, gives at once the *content* and *ground* of dispraise. The general profitlessness of the Church assemblies reached its climax in the desecration of the Lord's Supper, their hallowing bond (x. 16 f.).

Ver. 18. The severe reproach, εἰς τὸ ἥσσον συνέρχεσθε, is justified by vv. 18-22, which lead round to the intended παραγγελία.—πρῶτον μὲν requires an ἔπειτα δέ, that is not forthcoming (cf. Rom. i. 8): the complement appears to lie in xii.-xiv.—*vis.*, the *abuse of spiritual gifts*, a further and prominent ground of disapproval (Mr., Hn., El.). Bt. and Ed. find the antithesis in τὰ λοιπὰ, ver. 34b. Hf. renders πρῶτον "chiefly," dispensing with any complement, but μὲν supposes a mental δέ. Ver. 20 gives no *contrasted* ground of censure, it stands upon the *same ground*.—συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ (not τῇ ἐκκλ., in the Church): "as often as you come together

in assembly"—ptp. pr. of *repeated* occurrence; the σχίσματα in Church meetings were chronic. For ἀκούω σχίσματα, see i. 10 f.; the pr. "I am hearing" suggests (in contrast with ἐδηλώθη above) *continued* information from various quarters (cf. v. 1, ἀκούεται): hence the qualifying μέρος τι (acc. of *definition*) πιστεύω, wanting in ch. i.; P. does not "believe" everything reported to him, but so much as is stated he does credit.—ὑπάρχειν (see parls.) implies not the bare fact, but a *characteristic fact*, a *proprium* of this Church—"have their place (are there) amongst you": cf. Acts xxviii. 18.

Ver. 19. Paul is prepared to believe what he thus hears; these divisions were inevitable: "For indeed parties must needs exist among you".—δεῖ affirms a necessity lying in the moral conditions of the case (see note on δφείλω, 7).—αἵρεσις (see parls., and note on i. 11; from αἰρέομαι, to choose) is more specific than σχίσμα, implying *mental tendency*—in philosophy a *school*, *Richtung*, then a *sect* or *party formed on a basis of opinion*: see Cr., s.v.; also Trench, Syn. § 4; "Heresy is theoretical schism, schism practical heresy". These words designate, as yet, parties within the Church; in Tit. iii. 10, 2 Peter ii. 1, they verge toward their ecclesiastical use.—Now there is a true purpose of God fulfilled in these unhappy divisions; they serve to sift the loyal from the disloyal. "in order that also the approved may become manifest among you". These αἵρεσις are a magnet attracting unsound and unsettled minds, and leaving genuine believers to stand out "approved" by their constancy; see 2 Thess. ii. 11 f., where the same thought is differently



κ Gal. vi. 1 (in diff. sense); Mk. xiv. 8; Wisd. xvii. 16.  
 12. 1 οὐκ ἔχετε εἰς τὸ ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν; ἢ τῆς ἑκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ  
 2 Cor. ii. 16; Rom. εἶπω<sup>3</sup>; ἑπαινέσω<sup>4</sup> ὑμᾶς; ἐν τούτῳ οὐκ ἑπαινῶ.  
 2, 5; 2 Tim. ii. 20; Jude 22; once in Acts, nine times in Syn. GG. 1 See iv. 11. k 1 Th. v. 7; Acts ii. 15; Mt. xxiv. 49; Jo. ii. 10. 1 See ix. 4. m For η in double interroge., cf. i. 13, ix. 8, 10 x. 19, xiv. 36. n See i. 2. o Rom. ii. 4; 1 Tim. iv. 12, vi. 2; Heb. xii. 2; 2 Pet. ii. 10; thrice in GG. p See i. 27. q Lk. iii. 11, xxii. 36. r See ver. 2.

<sup>1</sup> προσλαμβάνει, A, some 20 minn. προ and προς often confused in comp. vbs.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπι τῷ φαγεῖν: DG, vg. (*ad manducandum*).

<sup>3</sup> εἶπω ὑμῖν (in this order): all uncc. but KL.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπαινῶ, BG, vg., Latt. Ff. For position of the *interrog.*, see note below.

applied; also Rom. v. 4, ἡ ὑπομονὴ κατεργάζεται δοκιμήν, 1 Peter i. 7; also Tert., *De Præscr. Hæret.*, 4, "ut fides habendo tentationem habeat etiam probationem". For δόκιμος, *accepted on proof*, see parls., esp. ix. 27; those approved with God thus "become manifest" to men; "l'effet est de manifester au grand jour les membres de l'église sérieux et de bon aloi" (Gd.). "Dominus talibus experimentis probat constantiam suorum. Pulchra consolatio!" (Cv.).

Vv. 20, 21 resume with emphasis the circumstantial clause of ver. 18 and draw out, by οὖν, the disastrous issue of the σχίσματα: they produce a *visible separation at the common meal of the Church, destroying the reality of the Lord's Supper*. Ch. i. 12, iii. 3 f., iv. 6, showed that the Cor. divisions were of a *partisan* character, and i. 19 that *intellectual* differences entered into them (cf. viii. 1-7); but *distinctions of wealth* contributed to the same effect. The two latter influences conspired, the richer and more cultivated Cor. Christians leaning to a self-indulgence which they justified on the ground of enlightenment; the αἰρέσεις sloped down toward κραυγὰ καὶ μέθη.—ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό, "to the same (spot)".—οὐκ ἔστιν κ.τ.λ. can hardly mean, "it is not to eat the Lord's Supper" (so Al. and others)—for the Cor. intended this, but by unworthy behaviour (26 f.) neutralised their purpose: P. says either "it (sc. your feast) is not an eating of the Lord's Supper" (A.V., Bz., Est., D.W., Bt., Hn., El., Gd.: "ce n'est pas là manger, etc."); or, "it is not (possible) to eat the Lord's Supper" (R.V., Bg., Mr., Hf., Ed., Ev.)—such eating is *out of the question*. Ver. 21 bears out the last interpretation, since it describes a

state of things not merely nullifying but *repugnant* to any true κυριακὸν δεῖπνον; οὐκ ἔστιν carries this strong sense, negating the *idea* as well as fact, in Heb. ix. 5, and often in cl. Gr.—The adj. κυριακὸν (= τοῦ Κυρίου) stands in emphatic contrast with ἴδιον, the termination -κός signifying *kind or nature*: "It is impossible to eat a supper of the Lord, for each man is in haste to get (προλαμβάνει—*præoccupat*, Bz.) his own supper when he eats,"—or "during the meal" (Ev.; ἐν τῷ φαγεῖν, *in edendo*, Bz.; not *ad manducandum*, as in Vg.). Instead of waiting for one another (33), the Cor., as they entered the assembly-room bringing their provisions, sat down at once to consume each his own supply, like private diners at a restaurant; προ- suggests, in view of ver. 22, that the rich even *hurried* to do this, so as to avoid sharing with slaves and low people at a common dish (22).—The κυρ. δεῖπνον was a kind of club-supper, with which the evening meeting of the Church commenced (18a, 20a), taking place at least once a week on the Lord's Day (cf. Acts xx. 7 ff.). This Church-supper, afterwards called the Agapé (see *Dict. of Christian Antiq. s.v.*; also Ed. *ad loc.*) was analogous to the συσσίτια and ἑρανοὶ held by the guilds and friendly societies then rife amongst the Greeks. Originating as a kind of enlarged family meal in the Church of Jerus. (Acts ii. 46), the practice of the common supper accorded so well with social custom that it was universal amongst Christians in the first century (see Weizsäcker's *Apost. Age*, vol. ii., pp. 279-286). Gradually the Eucharist was separated from the Agapé for greater decorum, and the latter degenerated and became ex-

23. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠπαρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃ καὶ ἠπαρέδωκα ὑμῖν, <sup>In this sense, xv. 1, 3; seven times besides in P.</sup>  
 ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ ἠπαρεδίδото <sup>1</sup> ἠἔλαβεν ἠἄρτον,  
 24. καὶ ἠεὐχαριστήσας ἠἔκλασε καὶ εἶπε, “Λάβετε, <sup>2</sup> φάγετε <sup>2</sup>.  
 τοῦτο μου ἔστι τὸ σῶμα ἠτὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον <sup>3</sup>. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε <sup>t See ver. 2. u Of persons, v. 5; 12 times besides in P.; in this connexion, Mt. x. 21, xvii. 22, xxvi. 2, 45 ff., etc. v Mt. xiv. 19, xv. 26, 36, xvi. 5, 7, xxvi. 26; Lk. vi. 4; Jo. xxi. 13; Acts xxvii. 35. w See i. 4. x See x. 16. y See x. 4. z The ellipsis (without κλωμ.), h.l.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἠπαρεδιδετο, all uncc. but B<sup>3</sup>LP. See Bm., p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Ὁμ. λαβετε, φαγετε (from Mt. xxvi. 26) all uncc. but C<sup>3</sup>KLP.

<sup>3</sup> Ὁμ. κλωμενον  $\aleph^*ABC^*$  17, 67\*\*, Cyr.

Add κλωμενον  $\aleph^*C^3Db$ , cGKLP, latt. syrr.; ὀρυπτομενον, D\*; διδομενον (Lk.), sah. cop. vg., Cyr. The three ptps. are various attempts to fill up a seeming ellipsis.

tinct; here they are one, as in the Last Supper itself. The table was provisioned at Cor. not from a general fund (as was usual in the *ἐρανοὶ* or *collegia*), but by each guest bringing his contribution in kind, a practice not uncommon in private parties, which had the disadvantage of accentuating social differences. While the poor brought little or nothing to the feast and might be ashamed to show his fare, the rich man exhibited a loaded basket out of which he could feed to repletion. All *κοινωνία* was destroyed; such vulgarity would have disgraced a heathen guild-feast. The Lord, the common Host, was forgotten at His table. *ὁς μὲν πεινᾷ*—sc. the poor man, whose small store was insufficient, or who arriving late (for his time was not his own) found the table cleared (*cf. προλαμβάνει*). *ὁς δὲ μεθύει*, “but another is drunk!” or in the lighter sense suggested by *πεινᾷ*, *plus satis bibit* (Gr., Hn.), “drinks to the full” (*cf. John ii. 10*); the scene of sensual greed and pride might well culminate in drunkenness. Of all imaginable schisms the most shocking: hunger and intoxication side by side, at what is supposed to be the Table of the Lord! This is indeed “meeting for the worse.”—For the demonstr. use of the rel. pron. with *μὲν* and *δέ*, see Wr., p. 130.

Ver. 22. *μὴ γὰρ οἰκίας οὐκ ἔχετε κ.τ.λ.*; “For is it that you have not houses to eat and drink in?” See ver. 34, and note. The *γὰρ* brings in an ironical excuse: “For I suppose you act thus because you are houseless, and must satisfy your appetite at church!” *cf. πῶς γὰρ*; Acts viii. 31.—If this voracity cannot be excused by a physical need which the offenders had no other means of supplying—if, that is to say, their

action is *deliberate*—they must intend to pour scorn on the Church and to insult their humbler brethren: “Or do you despise the church of God, and cast shame on those that are without means?” For *ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ*, an expression of awful dignity, see i. 2, x. 32. *τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας*, “the have-nots” (*cf. 2 Cor. viii. 12*)—*οἱ ἔχοντες* in cl. Gr. signifies “the men of property”; *μὴ* (of the *point of view*) rather than *οὐ* (of the *fact*), for the poor with their beggarly rations are shamed by the full-fed on this very account. What could show coarser contempt for the Church assembly?—P. shows a fine self-restraint in the *λιτότες* of the last sentence: *τί εἶπω ὑμῖν*; κ.τ.λ.: “What am I to say to you? Should I praise (you)? In this matter I praise you not”. *ἐπαίνεσω*, deliberative aor. sbj., like *εἶπω*, for the question refers not to the future, but to the situation depicted (see Wr., p. 356). *ἐν τούτῳ* has great point and emphasis when attached to the following *οὐκ ἐπαίνῳ* (so R.V. marg., after early Verss., Bz., Est., Mr., Hn., Gd., Bt., El., Ed.); thus also *ἐπαίνεσω* better matches *εἶπω*, and the last clause prepares for the important *ἐγὼ δὲ παρέλαβον* of the ensuing ver.

§ 38. UNWORTHY PARTICIPANTS OF THE LORD'S BREAD AND CUP, xi. 23-34. The behaviour of the wealthier Cor. at the Church Supper is scandalous in itself; viewed in the light of the institution and meaning of the Eucharistic ordinance, their culpability is extreme (23-27). The sense of this should set the readers on self-examination (28 f.). The sickness and mortality rife amongst them are a sign of the Lord's displeasure in this very matter, and a loud call to amendment (30-32). Two practical directions are finally given: that the members of the



<sup>a</sup> For εἰς with vbl. noun, cf. Mk. i. 4. xiv. 9. <sup>1</sup> ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ <sup>1</sup> αἵματι <sup>1</sup>. τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, <sup>b</sup> ὁσάκις ἂν <sup>2</sup> πίνετε, viii. 34 are Hebraistic. b Lk. xxii. 19; Heb. x. 3; Lev. xxiv. 7. c Lk. xxii. 20; Rom. viii. 26; Mt. xxi. 30; Lk. xx. 31; Prov. xxvii. 15. d See x. 16. e Lk. xxii. 20, xvii. 8; Rev. iii. 20; Prov. xxiii. 1; Tob. viii. 1. f 2 Cor. iii. 6; Heb. viii. 8 (Jer. xxxviii. 31), ix. 15. g Heb. ix. 22, 25; x. 19; 1 Jo. v. 6; Zech. ix. 11. h Rev. xi. 6.

<sup>1</sup> αἵματι μου (Lk.): ACP, 17, 37, 46.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς, B<sup>2</sup>BC, 17. See Wr., p. 390.

Church should wait until all are gathered before commencing supper; and that where hunger forbids delay, food should first be taken at home (33 ff.).

Vv. 23, 24. Amongst the things the Ap. had "delivered" to his readers, that they professed to be "holding fast" (2), was the story of the Last Supper of the Lord Jesus, which the Church perpetuates in its communion-feast.—ἐγώ, antithetical to ὑμῖν: I the imparter, you the receivers, of these solemn facts.—ἀπὸ neither excludes, nor suggests (cf. i. 30, xiv. 36, etc.) as παρὰ might have done (Gal. i. 12, 1 Thess. ii. 13), independent impartation to P.; "it marks the *whence* of the communication, in a wide and general sense" (El.); the Ap. vouches for it that what he related came authentically from the Lord. Παραλαμβάνω denotes "receiving a deposit or trust" (Ed.). "The Lord Jesus," see i. 8.—The allusion to "the night in which He was betrayed" (graphic impf., "while the betrayal went on"), is no mere note of time; it throws into relief the fidelity of Jesus in the covenant (25) thus made with His people, and enhances the holy pathos of the recollection; behind the Saviour lurks the Traitor. Incidentally, it shows how detailed and matter-of-fact was the account of the Passion given to Paul's converts. For the irreg. impf., παρεδίδοτο, see Wr., p. 95, note 3.—ἔλαβεν ἄρτον, "took a loaf" (ein Brod: cf. the εἰς ἄρτος of x. 17)—one of the flat and brittle unleavened cakes of the Passover Table.—καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν κ.τ.λ., "and after pronouncing the blessing, broke it and said, etc." This εὐχαριστία was apparently the blessing inaugurating the meal, which was followed by the symbolic bread-breaking, whereas "the cup" was administered μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι (25); cf. Luke xxii. 17 ff. (see notes *ad loc.* in vol. i.), whose account is nearly the same as Paul's, differing in some important particulars from that of Matt. and Mark. Luke, however, introduces a *preparatory* cup of renuncia-

tion on the part of Jesus, "prolusio cœnæ" (Bg.). The *fractio panis*, the sign of the commencement of a household or social meal (Luke xxiv. 30; Acts ii. 42), is prominent in each narrative; this act supplied another name for the Sacrament.—Regarding the words pronounced over the broken loaf, we bear in mind (1) that Jesus said of the bread "This is my body," Himself sitting there in His visible person, when the identification of substance could not occur to any one; (2) that the parl. saying concerning "the cup" expounds by the word "covenant" (*covenant in my blood*, in Luke and P.; *my blood of the covenant*, in Matt. and Mark) the connexion of symbol and thing symbolised, linking the cup and blood, and by analogy the loaf and body, as one not by confusion of substance but by correspondence of relation: what the blood effects, the cup sets forth and seals. The bread, *standing* for the body, "is the body" representatively; broken for Christ's disciples, it serves materially in the Supper the part which His slain body is about to serve spiritually "for the life of the world". Our Lord thus puts into an acted parable the doctrine taught by figurative speech in John vi. 48 ff. "ἐστὶν is here the copula of *symbolic being*; otherwise the identity of subject and predicate would form a conception equally impossible to Speaker and hearers" (Mr.).—τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (κλώμενον an early gloss), "that is *for you*"—in all its relations subsisting for men; for our advantage He wore the σῶμα σαρκὸς (2 Cor. viii. 9, Phil. ii. 7, Heb. ii. 14 ff., etc.).—The τοῦτο ποιεῖτε clause is peculiar to Luke and Paul: their witness is good evidence that the words are ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου (23). The sacrificial sense put on ποιεῖτε by many "Catholic" exegetes (as though syn. with the Homeric βέβην, and *ʿasah* of Exod. xxix. 39, etc.) is without lexical warrant, and "plane præter mentem Scripturæ" as the R.C. Estius honestly says; see also El. *ad loc.*—εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν (cf. ὑμετέραν,

εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἁνάμνησιν". 26. ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν<sup>1</sup> ἐσθίητε τὸν<sup>1</sup> ἄρτον τούτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> πίνητε, τὸν ἥθνατον τοῦ Κυρίου<sup>3</sup> καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν<sup>3</sup> ἔλθῃ. 27. ὥστε ὅς ἂν ἐσθίῃ τὸν ἄρτον τούτον<sup>2</sup> ἢ πίνῃ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ Κυρίου<sup>4</sup> ἀναξίως,<sup>4</sup> ἔνοχος

k See ii. 1. l xv. 25; Rom. xi. 25; Gal. iii. 19, etc. m x. 21. n N.T. h.l.; 2 Macc. xiv. 22. <sup>1</sup>ος, see vi. 2. o Heb. ii. 15; Jas. ii. 10 (same constr.; also in Isa. liv. 17); Mk. iii. 29, xiv. 64. With dat., Mt. v. 21 f.; Deut. xix. 10.

<sup>1</sup> εαν, NBC, 17. See Wr., p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Om. τουτο and τουτον all pre-Syrian codd.

<sup>3</sup> Om. αν all pre-Syrian uncc., and many minn.

<sup>4</sup> ἀναξίως του Κυριου, NDeL, above 20 minn., and seemingly Or. in one place.

xv. 31) ἀνάμνησιν, *in mei memoriam* (Cv.); Ed. reads it "My commemoration" in contrast to that of Moses (x. 2), making τ. ἐμὴν correspond to καινήν of ver. 25.

Ver. 25. ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον: "In the same fashion also (He gave) the cup". The two ritual actions correspond, and form one covenant.—μετὰ τὸ δεῖνῃσαι (as in Luke)—"postquam cœnaverunt" (Cv.), or better "cœnatum est" (Rom. Liturgy)—is studiously added to "emphasise the distinction between the Lord's Supper and an ordinary evening meal; cf. vv. 20 f.—The eating of the bread originally formed part of the common meal (consider Matt. xxvi. 26, Mark xiv. 22, ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν), and may still have so continued, but the cup was certainly afterwards" (El.)—a solemn close to the κυριακὸν δεῖπνον.—"This cup is (see note 24: ἐστὶν wanting in Luke) the new covenant, in my blood"; cf. notes on x. 16 f. for τὸ ποτ., and the relation of διαθήκη to κοινωνία. The cup, given by the Lord's hand and tasted by each disciple in turn, is a virtual covenant for all concerned; *in His blood* it becomes so (ἐν τ. αἵμ. is made by its position a further predicate, not a mere adjunct of διαθ.: cf. Rom. iii. 25), since that is the *ground* on which God grants and man accepts the covenant. For διαθήκη, see Cr., s.v.; this term, in distinction from συνθήκη, indicates the initiative of God as *Disposer* in the great agreement. For P.'s interpretation of ἐν τ. αἵματι, see Rom. iii. 23 ff., Eph. i. 7, ii. 13 ff., Col. i. 20; also parls. in Ep. to Heb., Rev. i. 5, 1 John i. 7, 1 Pet. i. 18 f. For "new covenant," see parls.: καινός, *new in nature, contents*, as securing complete forgiveness and spiritual renovation (Jer. xxxi. 31 ff., etc.).—"This do . . . for the commemoration of Me": see ver. 24b; τοῦτο includes, beside the

act, the accompanying words, without which the ἀνάμνησις is imperfect. ὁσάκις ἂν (late Gr. for ἂν) πίνητε: "so many times as (*quotiescunque*) you drink (it)"—the cup of the context; not "so often as you drink" (Hf.), sc. at any table where Christians meet. Our Lord prescribed no set times; P. assumes that celebration will be frequent, for he directs that, *however frequent*, it must be guided by the Lord's instructions, so as to keep the remembrance of Him unimpaired.

Ver. 26. Familiarity helped to blunt in the Cor. their reverence for the Eucharist; hence the repeated ὁσάκις ἂν: "for so many times as you eat this bread and drink the cup, you are proclaiming the Lord's death, until He come". γὰρ has its proper explicative force: Christ bade His disciples thus perpetually commemorate Him (24 f.: ποιεῖτε, "go on to do"—sustained action), "for it is thus that you publish His death, and in this form the testimony will continue till He comes again." καταγγέλλετε (see parls.), on this view ind., is the active expression of ἀνάμνησις: "Christus de beneficio mortis suae nos admonet, et nos coram hominibus id recognovimus" (Cv.). The ordinance is a *verbum visibile*, a "preaching" of the entire Church in silent ministry: "Christi sanguis scripturarum omnium sacramento ac testimonio effusus *prædicatur*" (Cyprian, quoted by Ed.). ἄχρι οὗ ἔλθῃ states the *terminus ad quem* given in the words of Jesus at the Table, Luke xxii. 18, Matt. xxvi. 29. The rite looks forward as well as backward; a rehearsal of the Passion Supper, a foretaste of the Marriage Supper of the Lamb. Paul thus "associates with the καταγγέλλειν of the celebrants the fear and trembling that belong to the *Maranatha* of xvi. 22" (Mr.). The pathos and the glory of the Table of the Lord were alike lost on the Corinthians.



p See x. 16. ἔσται τοῦ ὁ σώματος καὶ ἡ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου. 28. δοκιμάζω  
 q See iii. 13.  
 r See iv. 1. δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἔαυτον, καὶ οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθιέτω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ  
 s In this  
 sense, xiv.  
 25; Rom.  
 v. 12, xi.  
 26; Acts  
 vii. 8, xvii.  
 33, xxviii. 14. 18 times besides in P.; 1 Pet. iv. 17; 2 Pet. ii. 3; Jude 4; Acts xxiv. 25; thrice  
 in Rev., six times in GG. u Acts xv. 9; Jas. ii. 4; Job. xii. 11. Cf. iv. 7.

<sup>1</sup> τὸν αἵματος: all uncc., above 40 minn., and many Ff.

<sup>2</sup> ἑαυτον ανθρωπος (in this order): CDGP.

<sup>3</sup> Om. αναξίως N\*ABC\*, 17, sah.,—a Western popular gloss; current in Ff.

<sup>4</sup> Om. του Κυριου N\*ABC\*, 17, 67\*\*, am.\* fu\*.

Ver. 27 draws the practical consequence of vv. 20-26, stating the judgement upon Cor. behaviour at the Supper that a right estimate of the covenant-cup and bread demands: "So then, whoever eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily, will be held guilty (ἐνοχος ἔσται; *reus tenetur*, Bz.; rather, *tenebitur*) of the body and blood of the Lord"; it is *this* that he ignores or insults; cf. ver. 29. On ὥστε with ind., see note to iii. 7. What "unworthily" means is patent from vv. 20 ff.—The *or*, for *and*, between ἐσθίη and πίνῃ supplies the single text adducible for the R.C. practice of *lay communion in one kind*: "non leve argumentum," says Est., "non enim sic loqueretur Ap., si non sentiret unam speciem sine altera sumi posse". But *and* appeared in just the same connexion in ver. 26, and reappears in vv. 28 f.; "or" replaces "and" when one is thinking of the parl. acts distinctly, and the same communicant might behave unworthily in *either* act, esp. as the breaking of the bread and taking of the cup at this time came in probably at the beginning and end respectively of the Church Supper, and were separated by an interval of time; see notes on εὐχαριστίας and μετὰ τ. δειπν. (24f.). ἐνοχος (from ἐν-έχω, *to hold in some liability*) acquires in late Gr., like αἷτιος, a gen. of *person against whom offence is committed*; see Ed. *in loc.* To outrage the emblem is to outrage its original—as if one should mock at the Queen's picture or at his country's flag. Except ἐλθῇ, the vbs. throughout this passage are pr. in tense, relating to habit.

Ver. 28. "But (in contrast with the guilt described, and in order to escape it) let a man put himself to proof, and so from the bread let him eat and from the cup let him drink." ἄνθρωπος, replacing δεῖν (27), is *qualitative*, "containing the

ideas of infirmity and responsibility" (Gd.); cf. iii. 4, x. 13. On δοκιμάζω, see iii. 13, and parl.; it signifies not *judicial examination* (ἀνακρίνω, iv. 3, etc.), nor *discriminative estimate* (διακρίνω, 31), but *self-probing* (*probet se ipsum*, Vg.; not *exploret se*, Bz.) with a view to fit partaking; any serious attempt at this would make the scene of vv. 20 ff. impossible: the impv. is *pr.*, enjoining a practice; the communicant must test himself habitually by the great realities with which he is confronted, asking himself, *e.g.*, whether he "discerns the Lord's body" (29).—καὶ οὕτως: scarcely *sic demum* (Bg.), but *hoc cum animo*; cf. Phil. iv. 1. ἐκ . . . ἐσθιέτω, ἐκ . . . πινέτω—a solemn fullness of expression, in keeping with the temper of mind required; the prp. implies participation with others (cf. ix. 7, 13, x. 17).

Ver. 29. Participation in the bread and cup is itself a δοκιμασία: "For he that eats and drinks, a judgment for himself (sentence on himself) he eats and drinks". The single art. of ὁ ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων, combining the acts, negatives the R.C. inference from the ἡ of ver. 27 (see note). Contact with Christ in this ordinance probes each man to the depths (cf. John iii. 18 f., ix. 39); it is true of the Lord's *verbum visibile*, as of His *verbum audibile*, that he who receives it ἔχει τὸν κρίνοντα αὐτόν (John xii. 48). His attitude toward the Lord at His table revealed with shocking evidence the spiritual condition of many a Cor. Christian—his carnality and blindness as one "not distinguishing the body".—The two senses given by interpreters to διακρίνω are, as Hn. says, somewhat blended here ("Beruht jedes Urtheilen auf Entscheiden und Unterscheiden"), as in *dijudicans* (Vg.): one "discerns (judges clearly and rightly of) the (Lord's) body" in the sacrament. and therein "discriminates"

30. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑμῖν πολλοὶ ἄσθενεῖς καὶ ἄρρωστοι, καὶ κοιμῶν-<sup>2</sup> ται ἱκανοί· 31. εἰ γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ἐαυτοὺς<sup>1</sup> διακρίνομεν, οὐκ ἂν ἐκρινόμεθα·<sup>2</sup> 32. κρινόμενοι δέ, ὑπὸ Κυρίου<sup>2</sup> παιδεύομεθα, ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ<sup>2</sup> κατακριθῶμεν. 33. ὥστε, ἀδελφοί μου, συνερχόμενοι εἰς τὸ<sup>2</sup>

xvi. 18; Mal. i. 8; Sir. vii. 35. <sup>1</sup>τρεῖς, 2 Kings xii. 15; <sup>2</sup>τρεῖς, Sir. x. 10; <sup>3</sup>τρεῖς, Ps. xl. 3. <sup>4</sup>τρεῖς, Acts xii. 12, xiv. 21, xix. 19; Lk. vii. 11, viii. 32. <sup>5</sup>2 Cor. vi. 9; Tit. ii. 12; Heb. xii. 6; Rev. iii. 19; Prov. iii. 11. <sup>6</sup>a Rom. ii. 1 (cf. xiv. 23); also 2 Pet. ii. 6; Rom. iii. 6; Acts xvii. 31; Jo. iii. 17. <sup>7</sup>b See ver. 18.

<sup>1</sup>δε, <sup>2</sup>ABDG, 17, 46, latt. vg.

γάρ, <sup>3</sup>C<sup>2</sup>CKLP, sah. cop., Bas., Cyr.; Alexandrian and Syrian.

<sup>4</sup>του Κυρίου: <sup>5</sup>BC, 17, 37. Om. του ADGKLP, etc. (Western and Syrian).

the rite from all other eating and drinking—precisely what the Cor. failed to do (20 ff.). They did not desecrate the signified in the sign, the Incarnate and Crucified in His memorial loaf and cup, and their Supper became a mere vulgar matter of meat and drink. This ordinance exposed them for what they were—*σαρκικοί* (iii. 3).—τὸ σῶμα (cf. 24 ff.).—a reverent *apostrophe*, resembling ἡ ἡμέρα in iii. 13 (see note); the explanation of some Lutherans, that τὸ σῶμα means “the substance” underlying the material element, is foreign to the context and to Apostolic times. On “the serious doctrinal question” as to what the unfaithful receive in the sacrament, see El. *ad loc.* Distinguish κρῖμα (unhappily rendered “damnation” in A.V.), a *judicial sentence* of any kind, from κατάκριμα, the final *condemnation* of the sinner (32; Rom. v. 16).

Ver. 30. In evidence of the “judgment” which profanation of the Lord’s Table entails, the Ap. points to the sad fact that “amongst you many are sick and weakly, and not a few are sleeping”. ἄσθενεῖς applies to maladies of any kind, ἄρρωστοι to cases of debility and continued ill-health—*ægroti et valetudinarii* (Bz.). The added κοιμῶνται (the Christian syn. for ἀποθνήσκουσιν) shows that P. is speaking not figuratively of low spiritual conditions, but literally of *physical infirmities* which he knows to be their consequence (διὰ τοῦτο). We must be careful not to generalise from this single instance (see John ix. 3). The mere coincidence of such afflictions with the desecration of the Eucharist could not have justified P. in making this statement; he must have been conscious of some specific revelation to this effect. For ἱκανοί (a *sufficient* number—something like our “plenty of you”), see parls.; “something less than πολλοί,

though sufficiently numerous to arouse serious attention” (El.). The “sleepers” had died in the Lord, or this term would not have been used of them; it does not appear that this visitation had singled out the profaners of the Sacrament; the *community* is suffering, for widely-spread offence. Both in the removal and infliction of physical evil, the inauguration of the New Covenant, as of the Old, was marked by displays of supernatural power.

Vv. 31, 32. Such chastisements may be averted; when they come, it is for our salvation: “If however we discerned (or discriminated: *dijudicaremus*, Vg.) ourselves, we should not be judged”.—διακρίνω is taken up from ver. 29 (see note); it is distinguished from κρῖνω, which in turn is contrasted with κατακρίνω (32).—τῷ κόσμῳ in the sequel explains the bearing of διακρίνω here: it expresses a *discriminating* judgment, by which the Christian rightly appreciates his own status and calling, and realises his distinctive character, even as the διακρίνων of ver. 29 realises the diff. between the κυριακὸν δεῖπνον and a common δεῖπνον. The alliterative play on κρῖνω and its compounds is untranslatable; cf. ii. 13 ff., iv. 3 ff. For the form of hypothesis, see ii. 8; for the *pers.* of ἐαυτοὺς, vi. 7.—κρινόμενοι δέ assumes, from ver. 30, as a *fact* the consequence hypothetically denied in the last sentence: “But under judgment as we are, we are being chastised by the Lord, in order that we may not with the world be *condemned*” (κατακριθῶμεν, *judged against*, to our ruin). Thus hope is extracted from a sorrowful situation; cf. Heb. xii. 6 f., Rev. iii. 19; *νουθεσίας μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἢ καταδίκης τὸ γινόμενον* (Cm.). On παιδεύω, *to treat as a boy*, see Trench, *Syn.*, § 32. Plato describes παιδεία as δυνάμεις θεραπευτικὴ τῇ ψυχῇ; cf. the proverb, παθήματα μαθήματα. Ch. v. 5 is the



c xvi. 11; φάγειν, ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε. 34. εἰ δέ<sup>1</sup> τις <sup>4</sup>πειρᾷ, <sup>ο</sup>ἐν <sup>ο</sup>οἴκῳ  
 Acts xvii. 16; Jas. v. ἑσθιέτω· ἵνα μὴ εἰς <sup>1</sup>κρίμα <sup>2</sup>συνέρχῃσθε. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ, ὡς ἂν  
 7; Heb. x. 13, xi. 10. ἔλθω, <sup>3</sup>διατάξομαι.<sup>3</sup>  
 d See iv. 11.  
 e xiv. 35;  
 Mk. ii. 1; Deut. xi. 19 f. f Rom. xv. 24; Phil. ii. 23; cf. xii. 2 below. g See vii. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Om. δε pre-Syrian uncc., latt. vg. cop.

<sup>2</sup> διατάξομαι, ADG, 37.

extreme case of such "chastening" unto salvation; cf. Ps. cxix. 67, etc.—κρινόμενα (pr.), a disciplinary *proceeding*; κατακριθῶμεν (aor.), a definitive *pronouncement*; cf. Acts xvii. 31, etc. P. associates himself, by 1st pers. pl., with the readers, sharing his Churches' troubles (2 Cor. xi. 28 f.).

Vv. 33, 34a. The "charge" (17) proceeds from inward to outward, from *self-examination* (28) to *mutual accommodation* respecting the Lord's Supper. Religious decorum depends on two conditions,—a *becoming spirit* associated with *fitting external arrangements*, such as good sense and reverence dictate: "And so, my brothers, when you meet for the meal, *wait for one another*".—ἀδελφοί μου adds a touch of affection to what has been severely said.—συνερχόμενοι carries us back to vv. 17, 20; the same train of admonition throughout.—τὸ φάγειν embraces the entire Church Supper; see notes on vv. 20 f.; the order ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχεσθε (*invicem expectate*, Vg.) forbids the hasty and schismatic τὸ ἴδιον δείπνον προλαβεῖν (21); no one must begin supper till the Church is gathered, so that all may commence together and share alike. To wait for others presumes *waiting to feast with them*.—ἐκδέχομαι never means *excipio* (*receive*: so Hf., and a few others), but always *expecto* in the N.T.; with the former sense in cl. Gr., it signifies *to receive* (a person) *from* some particular quarter.—Some might object that hunger is pressing, and they cannot wait; to these Paul says, "If any one is hungry, let him eat at home"—staying his appetite before he comes to the meeting; cf. vv. 21, 22a. The Church Supper is for good-fellowship, not for bodily need; to eat there like a famished man, absorbed in one's food—if nothing worse happen—is to exclude Christian and religious thoughts.—ἐν οἴκῳ, not ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ (18: note the absence of the art.).—"Coming together εἰς κρίμα" (for a judgment) defines the "coming together εἰς ἡσσαν" of ver. 17 in terms of vv. 29-32. συνέρχῃσθε, pr. subj., of the

stated meetings, as in ver. 18, etc. This warning (ἵνα μὴ) closes the παραγγελία introduced in ver. 17. For a clear and impartial account of the various doctrines of the Lord's Supper connected with this passage, see Bt., pp. 206 ff.

Ver. 34b. τὰ λοιπὰ, an *etcetera* appended to the charge—"other matters," probably of detail connected with the Church Supper and the κοινωνία. Ed. takes this as the antithesis to the πρῶτον μὲν of ver. 18 (see note), and supposes λοιπὰ to refer to other *different* matters, of which P. would postpone discussion till his arrival—addressing himself notwithstanding to one of the principal of these λοιπὰ in xii. 1 ff.—ὡς ἂν ἔλθω, "according as I may come": the Ap. is uncertain *when and under what circumstances* he may next visit Cor. (cf. xvi. 5-9); his intention to set matters in order is subject to this contingency.—διατάξομαι (see parls.) refers, presumably, to points of *external* order, such as those just dealt with. Romanists (see Est.) justify by this text their alleged unwritten apostolic traditions respecting the Eucharist: *fasting communion*, e.g., is placed amongst the unspecified λοιπὰ.

§ 39. THE VARIOUS CHARISMS OF THE ONE SPIRIT, xii. 1-11. In treating of the questions of Church order discussed in this Div. of the Ep., the Ap. penetrates from the outward and visible to that which is innermost and divinest in the Christian Society: (1) the question of *the woman's veil*, a matter of social decorum; (2) the observance of *the Lord's Supper*, a matter of Church communion; and now (3) the operation of *the Spirit of God* in the Church, wherein lies the very mystery of its life. The words διαιρέσεις in ver. 4 and πάντα ταῦτα in ver. 11 give the clue to Paul's intent in this §. Many Cor. took a low and half superstitious view of the Holy Spirit's influence, seeing in such charisms as the "tongues"—phenomena analogous to, though far surpassing, pagan manifestations (2)—the proper evidence of His working, while they underrated endowments of a less striking but more vital and serviceable

XII. 1. Περὶ δὲ τῶν <sup>a</sup>πνευματικῶν, ἀδελφοί, <sup>b</sup>οὐ <sup>c</sup>θέλω ὑμᾶς <sup>d</sup>ἀγνοεῖν. 2. οἴδατε ὅτι <sup>e</sup>ἔθνη ἦτε, πρὸς τὰ <sup>f</sup>εἰδωλὰ τὰ <sup>g</sup>ἄφωνα, ὡς <sup>h</sup>ἂν ἤγεσθε, <sup>i</sup>ἀπαγόμενοι. 3. διὸ <sup>j</sup>γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐδεὶς <sup>k</sup>ἐν <sup>l</sup>πνεύματι Θεοῦ λαλῶν λέγει <sup>m</sup>ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦν, <sup>n</sup>καὶ οὐδεὶς δύναται

impf. in rel. clause, Mk. vi. 56; Acts ii. 45, iv. 35; Gen. ii. 19. f In trans. use, Mt. xxvi. 57, etc.; Lk. xxi. 12; Acts xii. 19, xxiii. 17, xxiv. 7. g xv. 1; 2 Cor. viii. 1; Rom. ix. 22 f., xvi. 26; Gal. i. 11; 11 times in Eph., Col., Phil.; 2 Pet. i. 16; 4 times in Lk. and Acts; Jo. xv. 15, xvii. 26. h Eph. vi. 18; Rev. i. 10; Jude 20; Mt. xxii. 43; Lk. ii. 27, iv. 1; Mic. iii. 8. i xvi. 22; Rom. ix. 1; Gal. i. f.; Acts xxiii. 14.

<sup>1</sup> ὅτι ὅτε (?) : all uncc. but G<sup>er</sup>. K<sup>mg</sup>.; K\*, a few minn., and Ff., read ὅτε alone. W.H. conjecture ὅτι ὅτε to be a primitive error for ὅτι ποτε (?); cf. Eph. ii. 11, and the use of ποτε in Rom. xi. 30; Col. i. 21; 1 Pet. ii. 10. The confusion of π with τ is a common scribe's error; and in the old continuous writing (οτιποτε), it is likely enough that the copyist's eye, in some primitive MS., *skipped* the π, esp. as no immediate countersense resulted to warn him of the oversight.

<sup>2</sup> Ἰησοῦς,  $\aleph$ ABC, 17\*, 46\*, cop. syrr. (seemingly), Euthal. Ἰησον, F, 17\*\*, vg. (*anathema Jesu*), Ath., Hil. Ἰησουν, DGKLP, sah.,—Western and Syrian. See note below.

nature (31, xiii. 8, 13, xiv. 12). For the moment, Paul's object is twofold: first, to lay down a *general criterion* of the presence of Christ's Spirit (3), and then to show the *wide manifoldness* of His working in the community of believers (4-11).

Ver. 1. For the heading of the new topic, which runs on to the end of ch. xiv., see note on vii. 1. τῶν πνευματικῶν is *neut.*—"concerning spiritual things (gifts, powers)," as in xiv. 1 (cf. πνευμάτων, 12) and viii. 1; not "spiritual persons" (xiv. 37, ii. 15), as Hf. and some others would have it: not *the status of the persons* spiritually endowed, but *the operations of the Spirit* who endows them are in question. "δὲ is transitional, with a shade of antithesis to τὰ λοιπὰ . . . διατάξομαι: 'Whatever subject I postpone, I must not delay to explain the nature of spiritual gifts'" (Ed.). On οὐ θέλω ἀγνοεῖν, cf. note to x. 1: the Ap. has something to explain not quite obvious and highly important.

Ver. 2. On the critical reading, οἴδατε ὅτι ὅτε ἔθνη ἦτε . . . ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε ἀπαγόμενοι, there are two plausible constructions: (a) that of Bg., Bm. (pp. 383 f.), Ed., who regard ὡς as a resumption of the ὅτι, after the parenthetical ὅτε clause, and thus translate: "You know that, when you were Gentiles,—how you were always led to those voiceless idols, being carried away". There are two reasons against this construction—(1) the improbability of ὅτι being forgotten after so short an interruption; (2) the inversion of the proper relation between ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε and ἀπαγόμενοι, the

former of which is naturally construed as subordinate and adverbial to the latter, the "leading to idols" supplying the condition under which the "carrying off" took place. (b) We are driven back upon the alternative construction, adopted by Est., Mr., Hn., Ev., Bt., Gd., El. (see his note, and Krüger's *Sprachl.*, § 354 b, *Anm.* 1 f., for similar instances), who regard ἀπαγόμενοι as chief predicate after ὅτι, and complete the ptp. by ἦτε, which is mentally taken up from the interposed temporal clause: "You know that, when you were Gentiles, to those voiceless idols, however you might be led, (you were) carried away". Since οἶδα with *ptpl.* complement occurs but once besides in N.T. (2 Cor. xii. 2, and there with *acc.* ptp., not *nom.* as here), the confusion between the ptp. construction and the ὅτι construction after οἶδα, by which Mr. accounts for the grammatical irregularity, is not very probable. The emendation of W.H. (see txtl. note) is most tempting, in view of Eph. ii. 11; it wholly obviates the difficulty of grammar: "You know that *once* (ὅτι ποτε) you were Gentiles, carried off to those dumb idols, howsoever you might be led".—The Cor., now belonging to the λαὸς Θεοῦ, distinguish themselves from the ἔθνη (see v. 1, x. 20); to be "led away to the (worship of the) idols" is the characteristic of Gentiles (viii. 7). ἀπάγω implies *force* rather than charm in the ἀπάγων; P. is not thinking of any earlier truth from which the heathen were enticed, but of the overwhelming current by which they were "carried off" (*abreptos*, Bz.), cf. 2 Cor. iv. 4, 2



k N.T. *h.l.*; εἰπεῖν Κύριον <sup>1</sup> Ἰησοῦν <sup>1</sup> εἰ μὴ <sup>h</sup> ἐν <sup>h</sup> Πνεύματι Ἀγίῳ. 4. <sup>k</sup> διαίρεσεις <sup>1</sup> Chron. xxvi. 1; 2 δὲ <sup>1</sup> χαρισμάτων εἰσί, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα. 5. καὶ <sup>k</sup> διαίρεσεις <sup>m</sup> δια- Chron. viii. 14; κονίων εἰσί, καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς Κύριος. 6. καὶ <sup>k</sup> διαίρεσεις <sup>n</sup> ἐνεργημάτων Ezra vi. 18; -πειν, εἰσίν, ὁ δὲ <sup>2</sup> αὐτός <sup>2</sup> ἐστὶ <sup>3</sup> Θεὸς ὁ <sup>o</sup> ἐνεργῶν <sup>p</sup> τὰ <sup>q</sup> πάντα <sup>q</sup> ἐν <sup>q</sup> πᾶσιν. ver. 11.

l See i. 7.

Pl. only in this ch., Rom. xi. 29, xii. 6. m Pl. *h.l.*; xvi. 15, 2 Cor. *passim*, eight times more in P.; Heb. i. 14; Rev. ii. 19; 8 times in Acts; also Lk. x. 40. n *H.l.* o 2 Cor. i. 6, iv. 12; Rom. vii. 5; Gal. ii. 8, iii. 5, v. 6; 8 times more in P.; also Jas. v. 16; Mt. xiv. 2; Mk. vi. 14. p See viii. 6. q xv. 28; Eph. i. 23; Col. iii. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Κύριος Ἰησοῦς: NABC, 17, 46, 67\*\*, 73, vg. syrch.

Κυριον Ἰησουν: DGKLP, etc. See note below.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ὁ αὐτός (?): BC, 37, 46; W.H. *txt.* ο δε αὐτος: NAKLP, vg. syrr. o αὐτος δε: DG.

<sup>3</sup> Om. ἐστι N\*ACDGP, vg. Add after αὐτος N<sup>c</sup>KL, etc.; after ἐνεργῶν, B.

Tim. ii. 26, Matt. xii. 29. With this agrees the qualifying ὡς ἂν ἤγεσθε (not ἀνῆγεσθε, as Hf. and Hn. read; this gives an irrelevant sense—"led up," "led in sacrifice"), indicating the uncertainty and caprice of the directing powers—"pro nutu ducentium" (Est.). For the right sort of ἄγεσθαι, see Rom. viii. 14, Gal. v. 18.—On the εἰδῶλα, cf. viii. 4; the voicelessness of the idol is part of its nothingness (cf. Ps. cxv. 4-7, etc.); the Pagans were led by no intelligent, conscious guidance, but by an occult power behind the idol (x. 19 ff.).

Ver. 3. Their old experience of the spells of heathenism had not prepared the Cor. to understand the workings of God's Spirit and the notes of His presence. On this subject they had asked (1), and P. now gives instruction: "Wherefore I inform you". They knew how men could be "carried away" by supernatural influences; they wanted a criterion for distinguishing those truly Divine. The test P. supplies is that of *loyalty to Jesus Christ*. "No one speaking in the Spirit of God says ANATHĒMA IHΣΟΥΣ, and no one can say ΚΥΡΙΟΣ IHΣΟΥΣ except in the Holy Spirit." *Jesus is anathema, Jesus is Lord*, are the battle-cries of the spirits of error and of truth contending at Cor. The second watchword is obvious, its *inclusiveness* is the point of interest; it certifies all true Christians, with whatever διαίρεσεις χαρισμάτων (4 ff.), as possessors of the Holy Spirit, since He inspires the confession of their Master's name which makes them such (see i. 2, Rom. x. 9, Phil. ii. 11, etc.). Not a mystical "tongue," but the clear intelligent confession "Jesus is Lord" marks out the genuine πνευματικός; cf. the parl. cry Ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ, of Gal. iv. 6. "He shall glorify *Me*," said

Jesus (John xvi. 14) of the coming Spirit: this is the infallible proof of His indwelling.—But who were those who might say at Cor., "Jesus is *anathema*"? *Faciebant gentes*, says Bg., *sed magis Judæi*. Ἀνάθεμα (see parl.) is Hebraistic in Biblical use, denoting that which is *cherem*, *vowed to God for destruction as under His curse*, like Achan in Joshua's camp. So the High Priest and the Jewish people treated Jesus (John xi. 49 f., Gal. iii. 13), using perhaps these very words of execration (cf. Heb. vi. 6), which Saul of Tarsus himself had doubtless uttered in blaspheming the Nazarene (1 Tim. i. 13); this cry, so apt to Jewish lips, resounded in the Synagogue in response to apostolic preaching. Christian assemblies, in the midst of their praises of the Lord Jesus, would sometimes be startled by a fierce Jew screaming out like a man possessed, "Jesus is anathema!"—for unbelievers on some occasions had access to Christian meetings (xiv. 24). Such frenzied shouts, heard in moments of devotion, affected susceptible natures as with the presence of an unearthly power; hence the contrast which Paul draws. This watchword of hostile Jews would be taken up by the Gentile mobs which they roused against the Nazarenes; see Acts xiii. 45, xviii. 6, where βλασφημοῦντες may well include λέγοντες Ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς. Gd., *ad loc.*, and W. F. Slater (*Faith and Life of the Early Church*, pp. 348 f.) suppose both cries to originate in the Church; they ascribe the anathema to *heretics* resembling Cerinthus and the Ophites, who separated *Jesus from Christ* (cf. 1 John ii. 18 ff., iv. 1-6); but this identification is foreign to the situation and context, and is surely an anachronism.—The distinction between λαλέω and λέγω well

7. ἐκάστῳ δὲ δίδεται ἡ ἑξωτερικὴ τοῦ Πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον · 2 Cor. iv. 2; -ου, sec.  
 8. ὃ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος δίδεται ὁ λόγος ὡς σοφίας, ἄλλῳ δὲ ὡς ἰσχύος, 2  
 ὡς ἰσχύος, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα · 9. ἑτέρῳ δὲ ἡ πίστις ἐν Cor. xii. 1; Heb. xii. 10;  
 Acts xx. 20; see also vi. 12 and vii. 35. t For normal use of ὡς μὲν, see xi. 21. ὡς μὲν . . . ἄλλος  
 δε, Mt. xiii. 4 f.; Mk. iv. 4. ἄλλος . . . ἑτερος, Mt. xvi. 14; Heb. xi. 35 f.; cf. Gal. i. 6. ἑτερος, see  
 iii. 4. ἄλλος . . . ἄλλος, xv. 39, 41; Jo. iv. 37. u See i. 5; λογ. σοφ., ii. 13. v Rom. xi. 33;  
 Col. ii. 3; Eccl. i. 16, 18, ii. 26. σοφία, i. 17; γνώσις, i. 5. w ver. 11, 2 Cor. iv. 13, xii. 18. ἐν. πν.,  
 vv. 13 f.; Eph. ii. 18, iv. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Om. 8 ε Ν\*BDG, 67\*\*, vg. syrach. A, with the Syrian codd., inserts.

exemplified here: λαλεῖν ἐν is "to speak in the element and sphere of, under the influence of" the Holy Spirit.

Vv. 4-6. "But," while the Spirit prompts in all Christians the simultaneous confession *Jesus is Lord*, this unity of faith bears multiform fruit in "distributions of grace-gifts, services, workings". These are not separate classes of πνευματικά, but varied designations of the πνευματικά collectively—a *trinity* of blessing associating its possessors in turn with *the Spirit, the Lord, and God* the fountain of all. What is a χάρισμα (see i. 7) in respect of its quality and ground, is a διακονία in view of its usefulness (see 21-25), and an ἐνέργημα in virtue of the power operative therein. The identity of the first and second of the syns. rests on that of "the Lord" and "the Spirit" (cf. 2 Cor. iii. 17 f.), and that of the second and third upon the relation of Christ to the Father (see John v. 17 ff., xiv. 8-14). For the Trinitarian structure of the passage, cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 13, Eph. iv. 4 ff.—Κύριος and διακονία are correlative; all Church-ministry is directed by "the Lord" and rendered primarily to Him (iv. 1, vii. 12, viii. 6, Rom. xii. 11, xiv. 4-9, Matt. xxv. 40, etc.). Διακονία embraces every "work of ministration" (Eph. iv. 12): gradually the term narrowed to official and esp. bodily ministrations, to the duties of the διάκονος (Phil. i. 1, etc.); see xvi. 15, and cf. Rom. xv. 31 with xi. 13 for the twofold use.—ἐνέργημα (*effectus*, rather than *operatio*, Vg.)—the result of ἐνεργεῖν; this favourite Pauline vb. signifies an *effective*, and with ἐν an *immanent* activity.—τὰ πάντα covers the whole sphere in which spiritual charisms operate: cf. Eph. iv. 6. Ver. 11 refers the same πάντα ἐνεργεῖν to "the Spirit," who is God indwelling; Power, in its largest, ultimate sense, "belongeth unto God" (cf. Eph. i. 11, etc., Phil. ii. 13)—"the same God, who works . . . in all" (Rom. iii. 29 f.), knowing no respect of persons

and operative in the doings of every Christian man; cf. i. 30a, and note.—διαίρεσις appears to be act., *dividings, distributings*, rather than pass., *differences, varieties*; see ver. 11. The pl. points to the constantly repeated *dealings out* of the Spirit's store of gifts to the members of Christ's body.

Ver. 7. ἐκάστῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.—distributive in contrast with the collective τ. πᾶσιν of ver. 6; cf. Eph. iv. 6 f., and the emphatic ἑκάστος of iii. 5-13: "But to *each* there is being given the manifestation of the Spirit with a view to profiting"; cf. Eph. iv. 7-16, where the δωρεὰ τ. Χριστοῦ is similarly portioned out amongst the members of Christ, for manifold and reciprocal service to His body. The thought of mutual benefit, there amply expressed, is here slightly indicated by πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον (*ad utilitatem*, Vg.): see vi. 12, x. 23, 33, on this word.—δίδεται, *datur* (not *datum est*), indicates continuous bestowment; so in vv. 8 ff.: these charisms, blossoming out in rich, changeable variety, disclose the potencies of the Spirit ever dwelling in the Church.—φανέρωσις (opp. of κρύψις) governs τ. Πνεύματος in obj. gen.: to each is granted some personal gift in which he *shows forth* the Spirit by whose inspiration he calls Jesus Lord (3); for the constr., cf. 2 Cor., iv. 2. For the general idea, Matt. v. 14 ff., Luke xii. 1 f., 1 Peter ii. 9.

Vv. 8-10 exhibit by way of example (γάρ) *nine* chief manifestations in which the Holy Spirit was displayed: *word of wisdom, word of knowledge, faith, healings, powers, prophecy, discernings of spirits, kinds of tongues, interpreting of tongues*. The *fourth* and *fifth* are specially marked as χαρίσματα and ἐνέργηματα respectively; the *first* is said to be given "through," the *second* "according to," the *third* and *fourth* "in the same" (or "the one") Spirit," whose operation in the whole is collectively reaffirmed in ver. 12. In distinguishing the recipients, P. begins with



x vv. 28, 30; τῷ ᾧ αὐτῷ πνεύματι, ἄλλω δὲ ἡ χάρισμα ἰαμάτων ἐν τῷ ᾧ αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup>  
 Jer. xl. 6.  
 -σις, Acts πνεύματι, 10. ἄλλω δὲ ἡ ἐνέργημα ἡ δυνάμει, ἄλλω δὲ ἡ προ-  
 iv. 22;  
 -σμοι, φητεία, ἄλλω δὲ ἡ διακρίσεις πνευμάτων. ἑτέρω<sup>3</sup> δὲ ἡ γένη  
 freq. in GG. and  
 Acts. y Pl. in this sense, vv. 28 f.; 2 Cor. xii. 12; Gal. iii. 5 (virtually); 1 Th. ii. 9; Heb. ii. 4;  
 vi. 5; Acts ii. 22, viii. 13, xix. 11; GG. *passim*. z xiii. 2, 8, xiv. 6, 22; Rom. xii. 6; 1 Th. v. 20; 1  
 Tim. i. 18, iv. 14; Rev. i. 3, etc.; Mt. xiii. 14. -ενω, see xi. 4; -της, ver. 28. a Rom. xiv. 1;  
 Heb. v. 14; Job. xxxvii. 16. -νεν, see vi. 5. b γεν. γλ., ver. 28; xiv. 10; Mt. xiii. 47, xvii. 21;  
 Gen. i. 11, etc.

<sup>1</sup> ἐνι, AB, 17, 67\*\*, latt. vg. So crit. edd.

αὐτῷ, B<sup>2</sup> DGKLP (Western and Syrian): harmonistic correction.

<sup>2</sup> BDG om. δε twice, after ἄλλω.

<sup>3</sup> Om. δε (after ἐτερω) B<sup>2</sup> BDGP, latt. vg.

Add δε ACKL, syrr. cop.—Alexandrian and Syrian; cf. ver. 9.

the colourless  $\phi$  μέν (for the rel. pr. in this use, cf. xi. 21); but in continuation ἄλλω δέ (to another) is varied with ἐτέρω (to some one else); the latter seems to mark a more specific, qualitative difference: cf. the interchange in xv. 39 ff., also in 2 Cor. xi. 4, and ἑτερος in xiv. 21, Rom. vii. 23; ἑτερος moreover dispenses with the contrastive δέ, as conveying its own antithesis (Hn. however, against Mr., takes the prons. to be used indifferently). Accordingly, the third (faith) and eighth (tongues) in the chain of gifts indicate points of transition, in the writer's thought, from one sort of endowment to another; and the nine thus fall into three divisions, of two, five, and two members respectively, with λόγος, πίστις, γλώσσαι for their titles, the first of which exhibits the Πνεῦμα working through the νοῦς, the second in distinction from the νοῦς, and the third in supersession of the νοῦς: for this basis of discrimination, cf. xiv. 14-20; also xiii. 8, where the like threefold distinction appears in another order. The above arrangement is that of Mr.; Ed. gives a more elaborate and somewhat diff. analysis.—(a) λόγος σοφίας and γνῶσεως were the charisms most abundant at Cor.: see i. 5, and the relevant notes on i. 17, 30, ii. 1. “Wisdom” is the larger acquisition,—the truth of God wrought into the man; “knowledge” is that truth intellectually apprehended and objectified: see Ed. *ad loc.*, who says, “The παρέκβασις of σοφία is mysticism, of γνῶσεως is rationalism”. Expressed in λόγος, both gifts serve the Church πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον (7); they are the qualifications of pastor and teacher respectively. “The Spirit” is the channel (διὰ) conveying Wisdom; “the same Spirit” is the standard (κατά) regulating Knowledge.—(b) πίστις impresses its character on the whole second series:

standing alone, with emphasis, it implies an energy and demonstrativeness of faith (cf. πᾶσα πίστις, xiii. 2), *ein Glaubensheroismus* (Mr.): *λάματα* and *δυνάμεις* are operations of such faith in the material sphere, by way of miracle; *προφητεία* and *διάκρισις πνευμάτων*, in the purely spiritual sphere, by way of revelation. Faith however may be exhibited in conspicuous degree apart from these particular demonstrations (cf. Matt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21, Mark xvi. 17 f.). The first two of the five are imparted “in (*i.e.*, grounded upon, exercised in the sphere of) the same (the one) Spirit”; what is said of these is understood of the other three (cf. ἐν in ver. 3): “in the same Spirit” dwell the endowments of a fruitful understanding and of a potent faith; “in the one Spirit”—in His power and bestowment alone—all “gifts of healings” lie (cf. Mark iii. 28 ff.). The *λάματα* (acts of healing; see parls.) are *χαρίσματα* by eminence—gracious acts (cf. Luke vii. 21, *ἐχαρίσατο*): the *δυνάμεις* (powers; see parls.) display strength rather than grace, *e.g.*, in the sentence of v. 5 above, or that contemplated in 2 Cor. xiii. 2 ff., 10; they are “acts of energy”.—*Προφητεία*, as an edifying gift of speech, is akin to the *λόγος* graces of (a); it is contrasted with *γλώσσαι* (c) in xiv., as being an intelligent exercise. But prophecy, while employing the νοῦς, has a deeper seat; it is no branch of σοφία or γνῶσις as though coming by rational insight, but an ἀποκάλυψις of hidden things of God realised through a peculiar clearness and intensity of faith (2 Cor. iv. 13 f.; Heb. xi. 1, 13; Luke x. 21 f., etc.), and is in line therefore with the miraculous powers preceding; hence “the prophet” is regularly distinguished from “the teacher”.—“Discernment of spirits” is the counterpart and safeguard of “prophecy,”

<sup>b</sup> γλωσσῶν, <sup>c</sup> ἄλλῃ δὲ <sup>d</sup> ἑρμηνείᾳ γλωσσῶν. II. πάντα δὲ ταῦτα <sup>e</sup> ἐνεργεῖ τὸ <sup>f</sup> ἐν καὶ τὸ <sup>g</sup> αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα, <sup>h</sup> διαίρουν <sup>i</sup> ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστῳ καθὼς <sup>j</sup> βούλεται.

12. <sup>k</sup> Καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἐν ἔστι καὶ <sup>l</sup> μέλη <sup>m</sup> ἔχει <sup>n</sup> πολλὰ,<sup>1</sup>

xvi. 17. d xiv. 26; Sir. prologue, xlvii. 17. -ευτης, xiv. 28; -ευω, Heb. vii. 2. e See xi. 5. ἐν πν., and αυτ., see ver. 9. f Lk. xv. 12; Josh. xviii. 5. -σις, ver. 4 above. g N.T. h.t.; 2 Macc. iv. 34. h Of God, Heb. vi. 17; Jas. i. 18; 2 Pet. iii. 9; 1 Kings ii. 25. -ημα, Rom. ix. 19. i See x. 10. k See vi. 15.

<sup>1</sup> πολλὰ ἐχει (in this order): non-Western and pre-Syrian uncc.

demanding the like super-rational penetration; the true critic may not have originitive faculty, but his mind moves in the same region with that of the originator and tracks his steps. διακρίσεις, pl., for this gift had many and various occasions of exercise: see parls., also for διακρίνω, vi. 5, etc.; as to the power itself and the need for its exercise, cf. 1 Thess. v. 20 ff., 2 Thess. ii. 2, 9 ff., 1 John ii. 18 ff., iv. 1-6, Matt. xxiv. 11 f. P. exhibits this διάκρισις admirably in ver. 3 above; it displays itself in Acts xiii. 8 ff., along with the ἐνέργημα δυνάμεως; cf. Acts v. 1-11.—(c) The “kinds of tongues,” with their attendant “interpretation,” constitute the third order of specific charisms; in this exercise the intelligence of the speaker is suspended. The γλώσσαι, ranked first by the Cor. because of their sensational character, P. enumerates last in regard of “profiting” (7); ch. xiv. will justify this relative deprecation. The “tongues” of this Ep. cannot have signified the power to speak strange languages in missionary preaching, as many have inferred from the terms used in the account of the manifestation of the Day of Pentecost; see notes on Acts ii. 4-11. γνῆ implies that this ecstatic phenomenon was far from uniform; the “new tongues” of Mark xvi. 17, together with the indications of ch. xiii. 1 and xiv. of this Ep., point to the breaking out of an exalted and mystical utterance differing from all recognised human speech; this utterance varied at diff. times and places in its mode and attendant conditions; and in the impression it produced on the hearers; it is regularly spoken of in the pl. The necessity of ἑρμηνεία for the extraction of any benefit to the Church from the Tongues will be shown in ch. xiv.; sometimes the possessor of the Tongue became interpreter also (xiv. 13): On the γλώσσαι generally, see Ed., *ad loc.*; also Hn.

Ver. 11 sums up the last par. (4-10), impressing on the Cor. with redoubled

emphasis the *variety in unity* of the “gifts,” and vindicating the sanctity of each: “But all these things worketh the one and the same Spirit” (cf. 9). In the qualifying clause, “dividing separately (*seorsim*) as He wills,” διαίρουν takes up the διαίρεσις of vv. 4-6; ἐκάστῳ is resumed from ver. 7; ἰδίᾳ adds the thought that the Spirit deals with each recipient by himself, *individually and appropriately* (cf. vii. 7, iii. 8, xv. 23); while καθὼς βούλεται signifies that He acts in the distribution upon His *choice and judgment*, where lies the hidden reason for the giving or withholding of each particular gift.—For βούλομαι, see parls.; and for its difference from ἐθέλω, cf. ver. 18; also iv. 19, 21, and parls. Eurip., *Hippol.*, 1329 f., supplies a good example of the distinction, οὐδεὶς ἀπαντᾶν βούλεται προθυμίᾳ τῇ τοῦ θελοντος, ἀλλ’ ἀφιστάμεθ’ αἶψ: “None of us *likes* to cross the purpose of one that is bent on anything, but we always stand aside”. No predicate could more strongly imply *personality* than does βούλεται.

§ 40. THE ONE BODY, OF MANY MEMBERS, xii. 12-20. The manifold graces, ministries, workings (4 ff.), that proceed from the action of the Holy Spirit in the Christian community, stand not only in common dependence upon Him (§ 39), but are mutually bound to each other. The Church of Christ is “the body” for the Spirit of God; and these operations are its correlated functional activities (12 f.). Differentiation is of the essence of bodily life. The unity of the Church is not that of inorganic nature,—a monotonous aggregation of similars, as in a pool of water or a heap of stones; it is the oneness of a living organism, no member of which exercises the same faculty as another. Without “many members,” contrasted as foot with hand or sight with smell (14-17), there would be no body at all, but only a single monstrous limb (19). In God’s creative plan, it is the integration and



1 Mt. iii. 11; Acts i. 5, xi. 16. σῶμα, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστός· 13. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ Πνεύματι  
 m Sec vv. 9, 11; ἐν ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἐν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν, εἴτε ὁ Ἰουδαῖοι  
 σῶμα, ἐν  
 Eph. iv. 4. εἴτε ὁ Ἕλληνες, εἴτε ὁ δοῦλοι εἴτε ὁ ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ πάντες εἰς ἐν  
 n Sec x. 2. Πνεῦμα εἰς ἐποτίσθημεν.<sup>4</sup> 14. καὶ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐν μέλος  
 o Sec x. 32.  
 p Eph. vi. 18  
 (with εἴτε); Gal. iii. 28; Col. iii. 11; Rev. vi. 15, xiii. 16, xix. 18. εἴτε ... εἴτε, see iii. 22. q Sec  
 iii. 2. For acc. with pass. (without εἴς), 2 Th. ii. 15; Heb. vi. 9; Rev. xvi. 9; Mk. x. 38; Lk. xii. 47.

<sup>1</sup> *Om. του ενος* all uncc. but  $\delta^c$ D, Hil., Ambrst. (*ex uno corpore*).

<sup>2</sup> *Om. εις* all uncc. but DcKL.

<sup>3</sup> *εις εν πομα*: a number of minn., with Macarius and (virtually) Clem. Al.

<sup>4</sup> *εφωτισθημεν*, L, and several minn.; A, *σμεν*.

reciprocity of a multitude of distinct organs that makes up the physical and the social frame (18 ff.).

Ver. 12. "The one Spirit," the leading thought of § 39, suggests the similitude of "the body" for the Church (called in ch. iii. the *tillage, building, temple* of God), since this is the seat of His multifarious energies. In the Eph. and Col. Epp. τὸ σῶμα becomes a fixed title for the Christian community, setting forth its relation both to the inhabiting Spirit and to the sovereign Head; as yet it remains a plastic figure. Aristotle had applied this image to the State, the *body politic*; and the idea was a Gr. commonplace. The Ap. is still insisting on the breadth of the Holy Spirit's working, as against Cor. partisanship and predilection for miraculous endowments; hence the reiterated ἐν and πολλά, also the emphatic πάντα of the second clause: "but all the members of the body, many as they are (πολλά ὄντα), are one body". In applying the comparison, Paul writes not as one expects, οὕτως ἡ ἐκκλησία or οὕτως ἡμεῖς, but with heightened solemnity οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστός, "so also is the Christ!" "Christ stands by metonymy for the community united through Him and grounded in Him" (Hn.). This substitution shows how realistic was P.'s conception of believers as subsisting "in Christ," and raises the idea of Church-unity to its highest point; "all the members are instinct with one personality" (Ed.): cf. Gal. ii. 20, 2 Cor. xiii. 3, 5, for this identification in the case of the individual Christian. The later representation of Christ and the Church as Head and Body is implicit in this phrase. For Χριστός with art., cf. i. 12, x. 4, etc.; also Eph. v. 23 ff.

Ver. 13. καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ Πνεύματι κ.τ.λ.: "For indeed in one Spirit we all

into one body were baptized—whether Jews or Greeks, whether bondmen or freemen—and we all of one Spirit were made to drink,"—*were drenched* (Ev.). An appeal to experience (cf. Gal. iii. 2 ff., iv. 6; also Acts xix. 2-6): at their baptism the Cor. believers, differing in race and rank, were consciously made one; one Spirit flooded their souls with the love and joy of a common faith in Christ.—For βαπτίζω ἐν and εἰς, see parls.: ἐν defines the *element* and *ruling influence* of the baptism, εἰς the *relationship* to which it introduces. P. refers to actual Christian baptism, the essence of which lay in the regenerating influence of the Holy Spirit (John iii. 5 ff., Tit. iii. 5 f.); baptism represents the entire process of personal salvation which it seals and attests (Eph. i. 13, Gal. iii. 26 ff., Rom. vi. 2 ff.), as the Queen's coronation imports her whole investiture with royalty. That Jews and Greeks, slaves and freemen, had received at the outset an identical Spirit, shows that they were intended to form a single body, and that this body was designed to have a wide variety of members (11 f.).—ἐποτίσθημεν (see parls.) has been referred by Cm., Aug., Cv., Est., and latterly by Hn., to the ποτήριον of the Lord's Supper (x. 16, xi. 25), as though καὶ coupled the two consecutive Sacraments (cf. x. 2 f., and notes); but the tense, parl. to ἐβαπτίσθημεν (otherwise in x. 16, etc.), points to a *past event*, not a repeated act; and it is "the blood of Christ," not the Holy Spirit, that fills (symbolically) the Eucharistic cup. The two aors. describe the same primary experience under opposite figures (the former of which is *acted* in baptism), as an outward affusion and an inward absorption; the Cor. were at once *immersed in* (cf. συνετάφημεν, Rom. vi. 4) and *saturated with* the Spirit; the

ἀλλὰ πολλά· 15. ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ ποῦς, “Ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ χεῖρ, οὐκ ἔειμὶ ἔκ τοῦ σώματος,” οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἔκ τοῦ σώματος<sup>1</sup>. 16. καὶ ἐὰν εἴπῃ τὸ οὖς, “Ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ ὀφθαλμός, οὐκ εἰμὶ ἔκ τοῦ σώματος,” οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἔστιν ἔκ τοῦ σώματος<sup>1</sup>. 17. ἐεὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα ὀφθαλμός, ἢ ποῦ ἢ ἀκοή; ἐεὶ ὅλον ἀκοή, ἢ ποῦ ἢ ὄσφρησις; 18. νυνὶ<sup>2</sup> δὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἔθετο τὰ μέλη, ἕν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ἐν τῷ σώματι καθὼς ἠθέλησεν.

*Of things h.l. in N.T. Of persons, see i. 30; partitive as here, Mt. xxvi. 73; Acts xxi. 8, etc.; Obad. 11. N.T. h.l., in this sense; cl.*

Gr., Lidd. s.v. I. 6; syn. with δια, Philo, I. 263. t ποῦ, see i. 20. Interrog. after εἰ, iv. 7, x. 30, xv. 12, 32; 8 times more in P.; etc. u 2 Pet. ii. 8. For other uses, see Rom. x. 16 f.; Gal. iii. 2, etc. *H.l.* w Logical, vii. 14, xiii. 13, xiv. 6, xv. 20, etc. x ver. 28; Rom. iv. 17; 1 Th. v. 9; 1 Tim. i. 12, ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11; Heb. i. 2; Acts xx. 28; Gen. xvii. 5. y Six times more in P.; freq. in Lk. and Acts; Rev. xxi. 21. z Of God, xv. 38; without καθως, iv. 19; Rom. ix. 18, 22; Col. i. 27; 1 Tim. ii. 4; 1 Pet. iii. 10; Jas. iv. 15; Mt. xxvi. 39. Cf. θελημα Θε., i. 1 and parls.

<sup>1</sup> Pointed interrog. by Tr., as in T.R.; affirm. by other crit. edd. See note below.

<sup>2</sup> νυν (?) ABDG. So Tr., W.H. *txt.*, R.V., El., Nestle.

νυνι, NCD<sup>b</sup>cKLP. So Tisch., W.H. *marg.*

second figure supplements the first: cf. Rom. v. 5, Tit. iii. 5, 6.—ποτιζω, which takes double acc. (iii. 2), retains that of the thing in the passive.

Ver. 14 recalls, under the analogy of the σῶμα, the reason given in ver. 12 for the diversity of spiritual powers displayed in the Church: it is not “one member,” but “many” that constitute the “body.” This thesis the rest of the § illustrates.

Vv. 15, 16 represent with lively fancy the foot and ear in turn—organs of activity and intelligence—as disclaiming their part in the body, because they have not the powers of the hand and eye: an image of jealous or discouraged Cor. Christians, emulous of the shining gifts of their fellows. In each case it is the lowlier but kindred organ that desponds, *pars de parte quam simillima loquens* (Bg.): cf. ver. 21.—οὐκ εἰμὶ ἔκ τοῦ σώματος, “I am not of the body”—not a mere partitive expression; it signifies dependence (*pendens ab*: cf. Gal. iii. 10, Tit. i. 10, etc.; Wr., p. 461), hence derived status or character.—Paul contradicts, in identical terms, the self-disparagement of the two chagrined members: οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο κ.τ.λ. must be read as a statement—“it is not therefore not of the body” (R.V., Bg., Mr., Hn., Hf., Ed., El., Bt., Sm.); not a question (A.V., Cv., Bz., Est., D.W., Al., Gd.), which would require μὴ instead of οὐ—“Is it for this reason not of the body?” For παρὰ with acc. of reason (*along of this*), see parls.: “in accordance with this,” viz., the disclaimer just made (so Mr., Hn., Hf., Ev., El., Er.—*deplorans sortem suam*). The foot or ear does not sever itself from the body by distinguish-

ing itself from hand or eye; its pettish argument (ἐὰν εἴπῃ κ.τ.λ.) leaves it where it was. Gd., Ed., and others, less aptly refer τοῦτο not to the saying of the foot, etc., but to the fact that it is not hand, etc. For double οὐ, cf. 2 Thess. iii. 9.

Ver. 17 expostulates in the vein of vv. 15 f. with those who exalt one order of gifts (either as possessing it themselves or envying it in their neighbours) to the contempt of others; the despised function is as needful as the admired to make up the body: “If all the body (were) eye, where the hearing? if all (were) hearing, where the smelling?” The senses are set in order of dignity; the ear wishes to be the eye (16), but then its indispensable service of hearing would be undischarged; so the nose might desire promotion to the rank of an ear, leaving the body impotent to smell. The discontent of the lower members and the scornfulness of the higher are alike signs of a selfish individualism, indifferent to the welfare of the body ecclesiastic.—ἦν (cf. ver. 9) is understood here.—Ἡ ὄσφρησις is “the sense of smell”—not odor, but odoratus (Vg.).

Ver. 18. “But now (argumentative νυν, ‘as things are’: see v. 11) God has appointed the members, each single one of them, in the body as He willed.” It is God’s will that has ranged the physical organs—and by analogy the members of the Church—in their several places and offices (cf. i. 1, iii. 5). Dissatisfaction with one’s particular charism, or contempt for that of another, is disloyalty towards Him and distrust of His wisdom. This is Paul’s *ultima ratio*: ὁ ἄνθρωπε, σὺ τίς εἶ κ.τ.λ.; Rom. ix. 20.—



<sup>a</sup> Eph. iv. 28; 1 Th. i. 8, iv. 9, 12, v. 1; Heb. v. 12, x. 36; thrice in <sup>a</sup> ἔχω. <sup>21</sup> Οὐ δύναται δὲ <sup>4</sup> ὀφθαλμὸς <sup>4</sup> εἰπεῖν τῇ χειρί, “Ἀρτίαν σου οὐκ ἔχω.” <sup>22</sup> ἀλλὰ <sup>b</sup> πολλῶ <sup>b</sup> μᾶλλον τὰ <sup>c</sup> ὁδοῦντα <sup>d</sup> μέλη τοῦ <sup>d</sup> σώματος  
 GG. <sup>b</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 9, 11; Rom. v. 9 ff.; Phil. i. 23, li. 12; Mt. vi. 30; Mk. x. 48; Lk. xviii. 39.  
 c In first sense, 2 Cor. x. 9; Gal. ii. 2, 6, 9; Mt. xvii. 25, etc. For second, see iii. 18. <sup>d</sup> See vv. 12 ff., vi. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Om. τα (?) BG, 17; Lach., Tr., W.H. *bracket*.

<sup>2</sup> νυνι, GP; see ver. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Om. μεν (?) BD, 73, Aug. So W.H. *txt.*; Lachm., Tr. *brackets*.

<sup>4</sup> ο οφθαλμος: all uncc. but K, and many minuscc.

Om. δε ACGP, 17, 37, syr<sup>sch</sup>. cop. (Alex. and late Western); <sup>h</sup> BDKL, vg. retain.

For τίθῃμι in mid. voice, *cf.* ver. 28 and other parls.; the *tense* refers the Divine appointment constituting the body to past time generally—“has set” rather than “set”. The prefixed *ἐν* singles out the individual for the Divine regard, distributed by *ἐκαστον*; each limb by itself has its part assigned by God.—*ἡθέλησεν* signifies determining *will*, as *βούλεται* (11, note) discriminating *choice*.

Vv. 19, 20 rehearse the doctrine of vv. 12-14, now vividly illustrated by vv. 15 ff., *viz.*, that a manifold variety of organs is indispensable for the existence of the Church. First the principle is suggested by a rhetorical question, in the strain of ver. 17: “But if all were one member, where (were) the body?” Secondly, it is *affirmed*, with grave conclusiveness: “But as the case stands (νυν δε)—Many members, yet one body”.—Πολλὰ μέλη, ἐν δὲ σῶμα sums up the whole exposition in a concise epigram, which was perhaps already proverbial (*cf.* ix. 24).—*ἔστιν* hardly needs to be supplied. *Cf.*, for the thought, x. 17, and notes on vv. 12, 14 above.

§ 41. THE MUTUAL DEPENDENCE OF THE BODY'S MEMBERS, xii. 21-31a. Multififormity, it has been shown, is of the essence of organic life. But the variously endowed members, being needful to the body, are consequently *necessary to each other*—those that seem “weaker” sometimes the more so (21 f.), while the less honoured have a dignity of their own; thus all the members cherish mutual respect and fellow-feeling (23-26). This holds good of the Church, with its numerous grades of personal calling and endowment (27 f.). No one charism belongs to all Christians (29 f.). There is choice and purpose in God's distributive

appointments, which leave, moreover, room for man's personal effort. We should desire *the best* of His gifts (31).

Ver. 21 personifies again the physical members, in the fashion of vv. 15 f.: there the inferior disparaged itself as though it were no part of the body at all; here the superior disparages its fellow, affecting independence. “The eye (might wish to say but) cannot say to the hand, I have no need of thee! or the head in turn to the feet, I have no need of you!” The eye and head are imagined looking superciliously on their companions; in vv. 15 f. the ear and foot play the part of discontented rivals.—οὐ δύναται—a moral and practical impossibility (*cf.* x. 21): at every turn the eye wants the hand, or the head calls on the foot, in order to reach its ends; the keen eye and scheming head of the *paralytic*—what a picture of impotence! The famous Roman fable of *the Belly and the Members* is recalled by the Apostle's apologue. There is no such thing in the physical, nor in the social, fabric as independence.—*πάλιν* (*cf.* iii. 20, 2 Cor. x. 7, Rom. xv. 10), *vicissim* (Hn.), rather than *iterum* (Vg.) or  *rursum* (Bz.), adduces another instance of the same kind as the former.

Vv. 22-24a. “On the contrary” (ἀλλά), instead of the more powerful and dignified (23) bodily parts dispensing with the humbler (21), it is “much more” the case that these latter—“the weaker” or “less honourable as they may seem to be” (τὰ δοκοῦντα . . . ἀσθενέστερα ὑπάρχειν)—“are necessary” in themselves (22), and treated with “more abundant honour” in our care of the body. By πολλῶ μᾶλλον (*cf.* Plato, *Phædo*, 80 E, ἀλλὰ πολλῶ μᾶλλον), *multo potius*

<sup>a</sup> ἄσθενέστερα <sup>1</sup> ὑπάρχειν <sup>a</sup> ἀναγκαῖά ἐστι· 23. καὶ ἃ <sup>e</sup> δοκοῦμεν <sup>e</sup> See i. 27.  
<sup>b</sup> ἀτιμότερα εἶναι τοῦ σώματος, τούτοις <sup>1</sup> τιμὴν <sup>k</sup> περισσοτέραν <sup>11</sup> περι- <sup>f</sup> See vii. 26.  
 τίθεμεν· καὶ τὰ <sup>m</sup> ἀσχήμονα ἡμῶν <sup>n</sup> εὐσχημοσύνην <sup>k</sup> περισσοτέραν <sup>g</sup> 2 Cor. ix.  
 ἔχει, 24. τὰ δὲ <sup>n</sup> εὐσχήμονα ἡμῶν οὐ <sup>a</sup> χρεῖαν <sup>a</sup> ἔχει· ἀλλ' <sup>3</sup> ὁ Θεὸς <sup>5</sup> Ph. i.  
<sup>o</sup> συνεκέρασεν τὸ σῶμα, τῷ <sup>2</sup> ὑστερουμένῳ <sup>1</sup> <sup>k</sup> περισσοτέραν δούς <sup>24, ii. 25;</sup>  
<sup>1</sup> τιμὴν, 25. ἵνα μὴ ᾗ <sup>a</sup> σχίσμα <sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ <sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ <sup>Tit. iii. 14;</sup>  
 ἀλλήλων <sup>r</sup> μεριμνῶσι τὰ <sup>d</sup> μέλη· 26. καὶ <sup>e</sup> εἴτε <sup>8</sup> πάσχει ἐν μέλος, <sup>Heb. viii.</sup>  
 Th. iv. 4; 1 Tim. v. 17, vi. 1; 2 Tim. ii. 20 f.; 1 Pet. iii. 7. <sup>k</sup> Compar., xv. 10; 2 Cor. ii. 7, x. 8;  
 Heb. vi. 17, vii. 15; 9 times in GG. <sup>1</sup> In this sense, Mt. xxvii. 28, Mk. xv. 17; cf. Mt. xxi. 33,  
 xxvii. 48; Ruth iii. 3. <sup>o</sup> N.T. *h.l.*; in Plato, Xen. <sup>ων</sup>, see vii. 35; <sup>ονως</sup>, xiv. 40. <sup>o</sup> Heb. iv. 2.  
 p See i. 7. <sup>q</sup> See i. 10. <sup>r</sup> See vii. 32. With *υπερ*, N.T. *h.l.*; Ps. xxxvii. 18. <sup>s</sup> See iii. 22.

<sup>1</sup> ὑστερουντι, *h*\*DGKL, etc.—Western and Syrian.

<sup>2</sup> σχίσματα, *h*\*DGL, above 30 minuscc.—Western. So Tisch.<sup>8</sup>, Treg. *margin*.; other edd. σχίσμα: cf. i. 10, xi. 18.

<sup>3</sup> εἴτε (?) BG, some latt. vg. (*et si quid*), Ambrst. (Western). So Lachm., Treg. Favoured by its dissidence from the parl. *εἴτε*. A omits altogether.

(Bz.) or a *fortiori* (Ev.), the position of ver. 21 is more than negative; the inferior members are not merely shielded from contempt, but guarded with exceptional respect. By the "weaker" and "ignobler" parts P. cannot mean the *hands* or *feet* spoken of in ver. 21, for these are strong and usually uncovered (see *περιτίθεμεν*, 23); but members in appearance quite subordinate and actually feeble—*viz.*, the more delicate vital organs. Amongst these the *ἀσχήμονα* signify definitely τὰ αἰδοῖα, *qua inhonesta sunt* (Vg.); cf. Rev. xvi. 15, τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην.—The ἄσθενέστερα and ἀτιμότερα, the "comparatively weak" and "feeble" (*comparativus molliens*, Bg.), are wide categories applicable to the same members from diff. points of view. *Weakness*, in the case, *e.g.*, of the heart, is compensated by needfulness; *ignobility*, as in the viscera, by careful tendance shown in ample clothing—"we put about them (clothe them with) a more abundant honour" (for the use of *τιμὴ*, cf. *ἐξουσία* in xi. 10). The *unseemliness* (indecentcy) attaching to certain organs, always guarded from sight, "brings with it (*ἔχει*, cf. Heb. x. 35) a more abundant seemliness". Against most commentt. (Gd., *e.g.*, thinks only of "les soins de la toilette"), Ed. maintains that εὐσχημοσύνη (23) has a *moral* sense, looking beyond the honour of *apparel*; "the greater comeliness relates rather to function". Is any office more responsible than that of parenthood, anything more sacred than the mother's womb and mother's breast? (cf. Luke xi. 27; also Heb. xiii.

4).—τὰ δὲ εὐσχήμονα κ.τ.λ.: "But our seemly parts"—head and face, *e.g.* (*the human face divine*)—"have no need," their distinction being conspicuous; see xi. 7a, where this visible, but also moral, εὐσχημοσύνη is raised to its highest grade. From this text Bg. inferred the impiety of *patches*!—On ὑπάρχειν, see note to xi. 7; *δοκέω* has in vv. 22 f. its two meanings—non-personal and personal—of *seem* and *suppose*; like *methinks* and *I think*, Germ., *dünken* and *denken*.

Vv. 24b, 25. "But God compounded (*συν-έκραςεν*, *mixed together*; Vg. *contemperavit*) the body." The assertion of God's workmanship in the structure of the physical organs (cf. 18) was necessary, when many thinkers affirmed the evil of matter and regarded physical appetites as degrading (cf. 1 Tim. iv. 3, Col. ii. 23; also vi. 13, 18 ff. above). This accounts for the adversative ἀλλά—"Nay but": P. tacitly contradicts those who saw nothing but ἀτιμία and ἀσχημοσύνη in vital bodily functions. For ὁ Θεὸς συνεκέρασεν, cf. Ps. cxxxix. 13-16 (where the womb is "God's laboratory," Delitzsch), Eccl. xi. 5, Job x. 8-11. Ed. reads the assertion as directed against philosophy; "where Aristotle says 'nature,' P. says 'God'".—τῷ ὑστερουμένῳ περισσοτέραν δούς τιμὴν, "to the part which suffers lack (*opus habenti*, Cv.: cf. note, i. 7) having assigned more abundant honour"; so that the human instinct respecting the ignobler organs of the body (ver. 23) is the reflex of a Divine ordinance: cf. xi. 14 f., to the like effect.—"That there may not be division (*σχίσμα*;



t Rom. viii. <sup>17</sup> συμπασχει πάντα τὰ μέλη · εἴτε <sup>1</sup> δοξάζεται ἐν <sup>1</sup> μέλος, <sup>1</sup> συ-  
 u With <sup>human</sup> χαίρει πάντα τὰ μέλη. 27. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε <sup>1</sup> σῶμα <sup>1</sup> Χριστοῦ, καὶ  
 obj. 2 <sup>d</sup> μέλη <sup>2</sup> ἐκ <sup>2</sup> μέρους <sup>2</sup>. 28. καὶ <sup>1</sup> οὓς μὲν <sup>1</sup> ἔθετο ὁ <sup>1</sup> Θεὸς ἐν τῇ  
 Cor. iii. <sup>d</sup> ἐκκλησίᾳ <sup>b</sup> πρῶτον <sup>a</sup> ἀποστόλους, <sup>b</sup> δεύτερον <sup>d</sup> προφήτας, <sup>b</sup> τρίτον  
 10; Rom. <sup>a</sup> διδασκάλους, <sup>b</sup> ἔπειτα <sup>d</sup> δυνάμεις, <sup>b</sup> εἰτα <sup>3</sup> <sup>a</sup> χαρίσματα <sup>a</sup> ἰαμάτων,  
 viii. 30, xi. <sup>c</sup> Pl., see iv. 9. <sup>d</sup> Pl., thus, xiv. 29, 32; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11; Acts xi. 27, xiii. 1, xv. 32. <sup>c</sup> Pl.,  
 13; Rev. <sup>a</sup> ἐκκλησίᾳ, <sup>b</sup> πρῶτον, <sup>a</sup> ἀποστόλους, <sup>b</sup> προφ.; 2 Tim. iv. 3; Heb. v. 12; Jas. iii. 1; Acts xiii. 1 (with  
 xviii. 7; <sup>f</sup> See ver. 10. <sup>g</sup> See ver. 9.  
 Lk. iv. 15. <sup>v</sup> xiii. 6; Ph. II. 17 f.; Lk. i. 58, xv. 6, 9. <sup>w</sup> Eph. iv. 12, v. 30. <sup>Cf.</sup> vv.  
 Cf. vi. 20; h.l. of body. <sup>v</sup> xiii. 6; Ph. II. 17 f.; Lk. i. 58, xv. 6, 9. <sup>w</sup> Eph. iv. 12, v. 30. <sup>Cf.</sup> vv.  
 12 ff.; Rom. xii. 4 f. <sup>x</sup> xiii. 9 f., 12; 1 Kings xxiii. 26. <sup>απο μερ.</sup> Rom. xi. 25, etc.; μερος τι, xi. 18.  
 y See ver. 8. <sup>z</sup> See ver. 18. <sup>a</sup> See i. 2. Earliest instance of η ἐκκλ. absol., in supra-local sense;  
 cf. Eph. i. 22, etc.; Col. i. 18, etc.; Mt. xvi. 18, xviii. 17. <sup>b</sup> πρ. . . δυντ., Heb. x. 9; Mt. xxi. 28,  
 30, xxii. 25 f. (τρίτος); 38; Lk. xix. 16, 18; Rev. iv. 7 (τρίτ.), etc.; δυντ. . . τριτ., Lk. xii. 38. <sup>πρωτ.</sup>  
 . . . εἴτα οὐ εἰτα (εἴτε), xv. 46; 1 Th. iv. 16 f.; 1 Tim. iii. 10; Heb. vii. 2; Jas. iii. 17; Mk. iv. 28.  
 c Pl., see iv. 9. <sup>d</sup> Pl., thus, xiv. 29, 32; Eph. ii. 20, iii. 5, iv. 11; Acts xi. 27, xiii. 1, xv. 32. <sup>e</sup> Pl.,  
 in this sense, Eph. iv. 11 (with ἀποστ., προφ.); 2 Tim. iv. 3; Heb. v. 12; Jas. iii. 1; Acts xiii. 1 (with  
 προφ.). <sup>f</sup> See ver. 10. <sup>g</sup> See ver. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Om. ἐν Ἡ\*AB, Thdrt. So the crit. edd.

<sup>2</sup> μελous, D\*, latt. vg. (*membra de membro*), syr<sup>p</sup>, and many Ff. (οὐκ εἶπεν μελη ἐκ μελous, ἀλλὰ μελη πολλά ἐκ μελous ενος · μελος γαρ η κεφαλὴ του ολου σωματος: Severian, in *Catena*). A characteristic Western variant.

<sup>3</sup> εἴτα, all uncc. but KL. DG, Hil., Amb. omit.

see parls.) in the body"—the manifestation of the jealousy or scorn depicted in vv. 16 and 21, which have their counterpart at present in the Cor. Church (i. 10 ff., iv. 6, etc.).—The opposite state of things (ἀλλά), so desirable in the spiritual organism, is realised by Divine art in the natural: "God tempered the body together" in this way, "that . . . the members might have the same solicitude for one another". The physical members are obliged, by the structure of the frame, to care for one another; the hand is as anxious to guard the eye or the stomach, to help the mouth or the foot, as to serve itself; the eye is watchman for every other organ; each feels its own usefulness and cherishes its fellows; all "have the same care," since they have the same interest—that of "the one body". This *societas membrorum* makes the physical order both a parable of and a basis for the spiritual. For τὸ αὐτό, cf. i. 10, 2 Cor. xiii. 11, Phil. ii. 2, etc.—μεριμνῶσιν (see esp. vii. 32 ff., for this shade of meaning) is in pr. sbj., of *habitual* feeling; in pl., despite neut. subject, since the μέλη have been individually personified (15 f., 21).

Ver. 26 illustrates the unselfish solicitude of the bodily organs; the nervous connexion makes it a veritable συμπάθεια (συμπάσχει). Plato applies the same analogy to the State in a striking passage in his *Politics*, 462C; see also Cm., *ad loc.*—δοξάζεται (*glorificatur*, Cv.; not *gloriat*, Vg.) goes beyond nervous sympathy; "δόξα is more than εὐεξία" (Ed.): for δοξάζω, applied to the

body, cf. xv. 40 ff., Phil. iii. 21. Cm. says finely, "When the head is crowned, the whole man feels itself glorified; when the mouth speaks, the eyes laugh and are filled with gladness".

Ver. 27. The figure of the body, developed from ver. 14 to 26 with deliberation and completeness, is now applied in detail to the Church, where the same solidarity of manifold parts and powers obtains (4 ff.): "Now you are (ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε) a body of (in relation to) Christ, and members severally"—scarcely "the body of Christ" specifically (El.), as if P. might have written τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ (as in Eph. iv. 12, etc.); this has not yet become the recognised title of the Church (see note on 12 above); nor is the anarthrous σῶμα to be read distributively, as though the Cor. Church were thought of as one amongst many σώματα. P. is interpreting his parable: the Cor. are, in their relation to Christ, what the body is to the man.—Χριστοῦ is anarthrous by correlation (cf. note on Θεοῦ σοφίαν, ii. 7).—ἐκ μέρους signifies the *partial* by contrast, not as in xiii. 9 with the *perfect*, but with the *whole* (body)—*particulatim* (Bz.): ἐκ of the *point of view*—"from (and so according to) the part (allotted to each)"; see ver. 11; cf. also μερίζομαι in vii. 17, etc.; similarly, ἐκ μέτρον in John iii. 34, ἐξ ἰσότητος in 2 Cor. viii. 13.

Ver. 28 expounds the μέλη ἐκ μέρους. —οὓς μὲν (cf. 8 ff.) should be followed by οὓς δέ; but πρῶτον intervening suggests δεύτερον, τρίτον in the sequel—"instead of a mere enumeration P. prefers an ar-

<sup>h</sup> ἀντιλήψεις, <sup>i</sup> κυβερνήσεις, <sup>k</sup> γένη <sup>k</sup> γλωσσῶν· 29. μὴ πάντες <sup>h</sup> N.T. h.l.;  
<sup>o</sup> ἀπόστολοι; μὴ πάντες <sup>a</sup> προφήται; μὴ πάντες <sup>\*</sup> διδάσκαλοι; Ps. xxi.  
μὴ πάντες <sup>i</sup> δυνάμεις; 30. μὴ πάντες <sup>\*</sup> χαρίσματα ἔχουσιν <sup>i</sup> ἱαμά- 20; Sir.xi.  
των; μὴ πάντες <sup>k</sup> γλώσσαις <sup>k</sup> λαλοῦσι; μὴ πάντες <sup>i</sup> διερμηνεύουσι; 12; 2  
31a. <sup>m</sup> ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ <sup>\*</sup> χαρίσματα τὰ <sup>m</sup> κρείττονα.<sup>9</sup> Macc.viii.  
19. -λαμ-  
βανεσθαι,  
Acts xx.  
35.

xi. 14, xxiv. 6. -της, Acts xxvii. 11; Rev. xviii. 17. k See ver. 10; xiii. 1. i N.T. h.l.;  
Acts ix. 36; Lk. xxiv. 27; 2 Macc. i. 36; -της, xiv. 28. m In this sense, xiv. 1, 39; Prov. i. 5;  
-της, see xiv. 12. n μείζονα, xiii. 13, xiv. 5; Jas. iv. 6; Mt. xxiii. 17, 19. i xiv. 5, 13, 27;  
Sir. ii. 18;

<sup>9</sup> μείζονα, NABC, 17, 37, 67\*\*, cod. am. (of vg.), many Gr. Ff.  
κρείττονα (DG, κρείσσονα) is Western and Syrian.

rangement in order of rank" (Wr., pp. 710 f.); and this mode of distinction in turn gives place to *ἔπειτα*, at the point where with *δυνάμεις* abstract categories (as in 8 ff.) are substituted for the concrete—a striking instance of P.'s mobility of style; the last three of the series are appended *asyndetically*.—The nine functions of vv. 8 ff. are replaced by *eight*, which may be thus classified: (1) three *teaching* orders, (2) two kinds of *miraculous*, and (3) two of *administrative* functions, with (4) the one notable *ecstatic* gift. Three are identical in each list—*viz.*, *δυνάμεις*, *χαρίσματα* *ἱαμάτων*, and *γέννη γλωσσῶν*, taking much the same position in both enumerations (see the earlier notes). The *apostles, prophets, teachers* (ranged in order of the *importance*, rather than the affinity of their powers) exercise amongst them the *word of wisdom, prophecy, and word of knowledge*—"the Apostles" possessing a rich measure of many gifts; these three will be expanded into the *five* of Eph. iv. 11. The *ἐρμηνεία γλωσσῶν* (10), omitted at this point, appears in the sequel (30); and the *διάκρισις πνευμάτων* (10) is tacitly understood as the companion of *προφητεία*, while the *πίστις* of ver. 9 pervades other charisms. Nothing is really wanting here that belonged to the *χαρίσματα* of § 39, while *ἀντιλήψεις* and *κυβερνήσεις*—"helpings, governings"—enrich that previous catalogue; "helpings" stands in apt connexion with "healings". The two added offices became the special functions of the *διάκονος* and *ἐπίσκοπος* of a somewhat later time (Phil. i. 1; cf. Rom. xii. 7 f.).—No trace as yet appears of definite Church organisation at Cor.; but the charisms here introduced were necessary to the equipment of the Christian Society, and the appointment of officers charged with their systematic exercise was only a question of time (see *Introd.*, chap. i., p. 732; ii. 2.

4). A sort of unofficial *ἀντιλήψεις* and *κυβερνήσεις* is assigned to Stephanas and his family in xvi. 15 f. These vbl. nouns, from *ἀντιλαμβάνομαι* and *κυβερνάω*, mean by etymology *taking hold of (to help) and steering, piloting*, respectively. The figurative use of the latter is rare outside of poetry; so *κυβερνήσεις πολλῶν* in Pindar, *Pyth.*, x., 112, and in the newly discovered Bacchylides, xiii., 152. "Government" of the Church implies a share of the "word of wisdom" and "knowledge" (8); see 1 Tim. v. 17, 2 Tim. ii. 2, Tit. i. 9.—For *ἔθετο ὁ Θεός*, cf. ver. 18: "God appointed (set for Himself) *in the church*"—meaning *the entire Christian Society*, with all its "apostles" and the rest. The earliest N.T. example of *ἐκκλησία* in its *ecumenical* sense; see however Matt. xvi. 18, and note on i. 2 above.

Vv. 29, 30. In this string of rhetorical questions P. recapitulates once more the charisms, in the terms of ver. 28. He adds now to the *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν* its complementary *διερμηνεύειν* (see 10, and xiv. 13, etc.: *διά* in this vb. imports *translation*); and omits *ἀντιλήψεις* and *κυβερνήσεις*, for these functions had not taken articulate shape at Cor.: the eight are thus reduced to *seven*. The stress of these interrogations rests on the seven times repeated *all*; let prophet, teacher, healer, and the rest, fulfil each contentedly his *μέρος* in the commonwealth of grace, without trenching upon or envying the prerogative of another; "non omnia possumus omnes". Thus by fit division of labour the efficiency of the whole body of Christ will be secured and all Church functions duly discharged.—*δυνάμεις* may be nom. (Bg., Hf., Hn., Al., Bt., Gd., El.), in the vein of the foregoing questions—"are all powers?" (cf. xv. 24, Rom. viii. 38, etc., for the personification—applied elsewhere, however, to *supernatural Powers*); but



o 2 Cor. i. 8, 31b. Καὶ ἔτι \* καθ' \* ὑπερβολὴν ὁδὸν ὑμῖν δείκνυμι. XIII. 1.  
 iv. 17; Rom. vii. ἐὰν ταῖς ὁ γλώσσαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ λαλῶ καὶ τῶν ὁ ἀγγέλων  
 13; Gal. i. ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, ὁ γέγονα ὁ χαλκὸς ἦχων ἢ ὁ κύμβαλον ὁ ἀλαλάζον.  
 p See iv. 17. a See iv. 9.  
 b xii. 30, xiv. *passim*; Mk. xvi. 17; Acts ii. 4 ff., x. 46, xix. 6 (καὶ προφητ.). c Acts vii. 38, viii. 26,  
 xii. 8, xxiii. 9, xxvii. 23 f.; Rev. v. 2, 11, etc.; Mt. i. 20, etc., xxviii. 5 ff., etc.; Lk. i. 13, li. 9 ff.; Zech.  
 i. 13 f., etc. d ver. 11; 2 Cor. xii. 11. e Mk. vi. 8; Rev. xviii. 12; Gen. iv. 22. f N.T. *h.l.*;  
 Jer. xxvii. 42; ἡχος; Acts ii. 2; Lk. xxi. 25. g N.T. *h.l.*; 1 Chron. xiii. 8, etc.; Ps. cl. 5. h Mk.  
 v. 38; Josh. vi. 20.

these "powers" are in vv. 28 and 8 ff. so decidedly separated from the *teaching* and associated with the *healing* gifts, that *δυνάμεις* appears to look forward, and to be obj. (prospectively) to *ἔχουσιν* along with *χαρίσματα λαμπάτων*: "do all possess powers? all grace-gifts of healings?" (so Bz., Mr., Ed.). For *δύναμιν ἔχω*, see Rev. iii. 8; also Luke ix. 1, Acts i. 8, Matt. xiv. 2

Ver. 31a corrects the inference which an indolent nature or weak judgment might draw from vv. 29 f., supposing that God's sovereign ordination supercedes man's effort. Our striving has a part to play, along with God's bestowment, in spiritual acquisitions; hence the contrastive *δέ*. "But (for all that) be zealous after the *greater* gifts." A man must not, *e.g.*, be content to "speak with tongues" when he might "prophesy" (xiv. 1 ff.), nor to work miracles when beside that he might teach in the "word of wisdom".—*ζηλώω* (see parls.) implies in its good sense an *ardent*, in its bad sense (xiii. 4) an *emulous* pursuit. The *greater* (*μεῖζονα*) gifts are those intrinsically greater, or more beneficial (xiv. 5)—conditions usually coincident.

§ 42. THE WAY TO CHRISTIAN EMINENCE, xii. 31b-xiii. 3. Carefully and luminously Paul has set forth the manifoldness of the Holy Spirit's gifts that contribute to common life of the Church. *All* are necessary, *all* honourable in their proper use; *all* are of God's ordination. Some of the charisms are, however, more desirable than others. But if these "greater gifts" be sought in selfish emulation (as the *ζηλοῦτε* of ver. 31a, taken by itself, might suggest), their true purpose and blessing will be missed; gifts of *grace* (*χαρίσματα*) are not for men actuated by the *ζηλος* of party spirit and ambition (*cf.* 4 f., iii. 3; 2 Cor. xii. 20, Gal. v. 20). While encouraging the Cor. to seek larger spiritual powers, the Ap. must "besides point out" the "way" to this end (31b), the way to escape the perils besetting their progress (4 ff.) and to win the goal of the Christian life (8-13). *Love* is the path to power in the

Church; all loveless abilities, endowments, sacrifices are, from the Christian point of view, simply *good for nothing* (1-3).

Ver. 31b. Καὶ ἔτι κ.τ.λ. (*cf.* ἔτι τε καί, Luke xiv. 26)—"And besides"—adds to the exhortation just given (31a) an indication of the *way* to carry it out; the *ζηλος* which aims at the *μεῖζονα* *χαρίσματα* must be that of *ἀγάπη*. This clause introduces and properly belongs to ch. xiii. (W.H.). καθ' ὑπερβολὴν (see parls.) is superlative, not compar.; P. is not pointing out "a more excellent way" than that of seeking and using the charisms of ch. xii. (with such a meaning he should have written "ἔτι δέ: *cf.* Luke xxiv. 41, etc.), but "a *super-excellent* way" (*une voie souverainement excellente*, Gd.) to win them (*cf.* viii. 1 b, 1 Jo. iv. 7). Δείκνυμι is "to point out" as with the finger.

Ver. 1. This way will be described in vv. 4-7, but first its *necessity* must be proved: this is shown by the five parl. hypotheses of vv. 1 ff.,—respecting *tongues, prophecy, knowledge, and devotion of goods or of person*. The first supposition takes up the charism last mentioned (xii. 30) and most valued at Cor.: ἐὰν τ. γλώσσαις . . . λαλῶ, ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω (form of probable hypothesis—too prob. at Cor.), "If with the tongues of men I be speaking, and of angels, but am without love,"—in that case, "I have become a sounding brass or a clanging cymbal"—I have gained by this admired endowment the power of making *so much senseless noise* (*cf.* xiv. 6-11, 23, 27 f.). With love in the speaker, his *γλωσσολαλία* would be kept within the bounds of edification (xiv. 6, 12-19, 27), and would possess a tone and pathos far different from that described.—"Tongues of men" does not signify *foreign languages* (so Or., Hf., Al., Thiersch), such as are supposed to have been spoken on the Day of Pentecost (see note on xii. 10); they are, in this whole context, ecstatic and inarticulate forms of speech, such as "men" do sometimes exercise: "tongues of angels" (καὶ

2. καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν<sup>1</sup> ἔχω<sup>1</sup> ἡ προφητείαν καὶ εἰδῶ τὰ<sup>k</sup> μυστήρια πάντα καὶ<sup>1</sup> See xii. 10.  
 πᾶσαν τὴν<sup>k1</sup> γνῶσιν, καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν<sup>1</sup> ἔχω<sup>1</sup> πᾶσαν τὴν<sup>m</sup> πίστιν ὥστε<sup>k</sup> See iv. 1.  
 ὅρη<sup>no</sup> μεθιστάναι,<sup>2</sup> ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν<sup>8</sup> εἰμι· 3. καὶ<sup>1</sup> μυστ. and  
 ἐὰν<sup>1</sup> ψαμίσω πάντα τὰ<sup>r</sup> ὑπάρχοντά μου, καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν<sup>1</sup> παραδῶ τὸ<sup>γνωστ.</sup>  
 σῶμά μου ἵνα<sup>4</sup> καυθήσωμαι,<sup>4</sup> ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν<sup>8</sup> ὠφελοῦμαι. i. 9, iii. 3  
 f., vi. 19;  
 Col. ii. 2;  
 Mt. xiii.  
 11.

1 See i. 5. m Rom. xiv. 22; 1 Tim. i. 19; Acts xiv. 9; Jas. ii. 1, 18; Mt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21; Mk. iv. 40, xi. 22. n Isa. liv. 10. o Col. i. 13; Lk. xvi. 4; Acts xiii. 22, xix. 26. p See vii. 19. q Rom. xii. 20 (Prov. xxv. 21); Numb. xi. 4, 18, etc.; -ων, Jo. xiii. 26 ff. r Heb. x. 34; Acts iv. 32; thrice in Mt.; 8 times in Lk. s Cf. Acts xv. 26. For like sense, 2 Cor. iv. 11; Rom. iv. 25, and parls.; Dan. iii. 28. t καυχῶσθαι, see i. 29. u Mk. v. 26; Mt. xvi. 26; Prov. x. 2. Cf. xiv. 6, and parls.

<sup>1</sup> Of the 4 instances of καὶ εαν (T.R.), καν is given in (1) by AC, 17; in (2) by AB, 17; in (3) by ABC, 17; in (4) by AC. Al., W.H. read καν (?) throughout; Tisch., El., Nestle adhere to καὶ εαν; Lachm. and Tr. vary. After εαν, καὶ εαν is more likely: see vii. 28, xii. 15 f.; Mk. iii. 24 f.; Lk. xvii. 3 f. Nowhere else is καν well attested in such connexion.

<sup>2</sup> μεθιστάναι (?), ΞBDG, 17. So Lachm., Tr., Tisch., El., Nestle. μεθιστανειν, ACKL, etc. (? Alexandrian and Syrian),—the rarer form; but -ανω forms of ἰσθημι and compounds are not infrequent in P. See Wr., pp. 94, 106.

<sup>3</sup> ουθεν (1): all non-Western uncc., accepted by crit. edd.; so Stephens (1550). ουθεν (2): ΞA, 17. Tisch. adopts this in both. See Wr., p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> καυχῶμα, ΞAB, 17, cop. sah., Hier. (ob similitudinem verbi, qua apud Græcos "ardeam" et "glorier" una littera parte distinguitur, apud nostros error inolevit. Sed et apud Græcos exemplaria sunt diversa). Lachm., R.V. marg., and W.H. adopt this reading, against other edd. See Note of the last-named, vol. ii., pp. 116 f., where Clem. Rom., Clem. Al., Or., are claimed on this side.

καυθήσομαι, DGL (-ωμα, CK), latt. vg. syrutr., and the bulk of Ff.—suspiciously like a Western emendation. See note below.

of the climax: "aye, and of angels!") describes this mystic utterance at its highest (cf. λαλεῖ Θεῷ, xiv. 2)—a mode of expression above this world. Possibly P. associated the supernatural γλώσσαι, by which he was himself distinguished (xiv. 18), with the ἄρρητα ῥήματα heard by him "in paradise" (2 Cor. xii. 4); cf. the "song" (Rev. xiv. 2 f.) which only "those redeemed out of the earth" understand. The Rabbis held Hebrew to be the language of the angels.—χαλκός denotes any instrument of brass; κύμβαλον, the particular loud and shrill instrument which the sound of the "tongues" resembled.

Ver. 2. Prophecy in its widest range, and faith at its utmost stretch—in those lacking love, both amount to "nothing!" (ἐὰν εἰδῶ τὰ μυστήρια πάντα κ.τ.λ., "If I know all the mysteries (of revelation) and all the knowledge (relating thereto)," explains καὶ ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν by stating the source, or resources, from which "prophecy" is drawn: πᾶσαν τ. γνῶσιν (attached somewhat awkwardly to εἰδῶ), combined with τ. μυστ., posits a mental grasp of the contents of revelation added to the supernatural insight which discovers them (see notes on λόγος

γνώσεως and προφητεία, xii. 8 ff.), as e.g. in the case of Isaiah. Hn. supplies ἔχω, instead of the nearer εἰδῶ, before τ. γνῶσιν (cf. viii. 1, 10), reading "if I have all knowledge" as a second, distinct assumption following on "if I know all mysteries," on account of the incongruity of Prophecy and Knowledge; but the point of P.'s extreme supposition lies in this unusual combination—the intellect of a philosopher joined to the inspiration of a seer.—For μυστήρια, see note on ii. 1.—πίστιν (see note on xii. 9) ὥστε μεθιστάναι ὅρη—an allusion to the hyperbolic sayings of Jesus ad rem (Matt. xvii. 20, xxi. 21; see notes in vol. i.); in the pr. (continuous) inf.—"to remove mountain after mountain" (Ed.). Whatever God may be pleased to accomplish through such a man (cf. iii. 9), he is personally worthless. On the form οὐθέν, see Wr., p. 48; for the thought, cf. iii. 18, 2 Cor. xii. 11, Gal. vi. 3.

Ver. 3. The suppositions of these three vv. cover three principal forms of activity in the Church—the spheres, viz., of supernatural manifestation, of spiritual influence, of material aid (3); loveless men who show conspicuous power in these several respects, in the first in-



For both, *cf.* 2 Cor. vi. 6; Rom. ii. 4; Gal. v. 22; *μακροθυῖα*, i Th. v. 14; Heb. vi. 15; Jas. v. 17; Mt. xviii. 26, 29; Lk. xviii. 7; Prov. xix. 11. - *μα*, 10 times in P.; 4 in other Epp.; - *μω*, Acts xxvi. 3. *w H.I.* in Gr. x In this sense, Acts vii. 9, xvii. 5; Jas. iv. 2. Diff. in xii. 31, etc.; diff. again in Gal. iv. 17 *L. y H.I.* See note below. z See iv. 6. a See vii. 36. b See x. 24. c Acts xvii. 16. - *σμος*, Acts xv. 39; Heb. x. 24. d In this sense (act.), Rom. iv. 6, 8 (Ps. xxxi. 2); 2 Cor. v. 19; diff. in iv. 1, ver. 11 below. e Five times in Rom.; Jo. xviii. 23; 3 Jo. 11. f xvi. 17; 2 Cor. vii. 13; Acts xv. 31; Lk. i. 14; Mt. xviii. 13; Prov. xxiv. 19. g See xii. 26. h In this sense, 16 times more in P.; Heb. x. 26; Jas. v. 19; 1 Pet. i. 22; 2 Pet. i. 12, ii. 2; Jo. *passim*. i See ix. 12. k With acc., Rom. viii. 24; 2 Tim. ii. 10 (*παντα*); Heb. x. 32, xii. 2 f.; Jas. i. 12; Wisd. xvi. 22.

<sup>1</sup> *Om. η αγαπη (?)* B, 17, and a few other minn., f. vg. cop., and a number of Ff. So W.H., Tr.; Nestle brackets. Tisch. reads η αγαπη thrice, but attaches the second to χρηστ., and the third to ζηλοι.

<sup>2</sup> *το μη εαυτης*: B, Clem. The best codd. may contain a vicious reading.

stance are *sound signifying nothing*; in the second, they are *nothing*; in the third, they *gain nothing*. Those who make sacrifices to benefit others *without love*, must have some hidden selfish recompense that they count upon; but they will cheat themselves.—*ἐὰν ψωμίω κ.τ.λ.*, “If I should dole out all my property”. The vb. (derived from *ψωμός*—*ψωμίον*, John xiii. 26 ff.—a *bit or crumb*) takes acc. of *person* in Rom. xii. 20 (LXX), here of *thing*—both regular: “Si distribuero in cibos pauperum” (Vg.), “Si insumam alendis egenis” (Bz.).—The sacrifice of *property* rises to its climax in that of *bodily life*: *cf.* Job ii. 4 f., Dan. iii. 28, Gal. ii. 20, etc.; John x. 11, xv. 13.—But in either case, *ex hypothesi*, the devotion is vitiated by its motive—*ἵνα καυχῶμαι*, “that I may make a boast” (*cf.* Matt. vi. 1 ff.); it is prompted by ambition, not love. So the self-immolator forfeits the end he seeks; his glorifying becomes *κενοδοξία* (Gal. v. 26, Phil. ii. 3; *cf.* John v. 44). *οὐδὲν ὀφελούμαι* signifies loss of *final benefit* (*cf.* Gal. v. 2, Rom. ii. 25, Luke ix. 25). This entire train of supposition P. puts in the 1st pers., so avoiding the appearance of censure: *cf.*, for the *usus loquendi*, xiv. 14-19, viii. 13, ix. 26 f.—*καυθῶμαι* is a grammatical *monstrum*,—a reading that cannot well be explained except as a corruption of *καυχῶμαι*; it was favoured by the thought of the Christian martyrdoms, and perhaps by the influence of Dan. iii. 28. Hn., Gd., Ed., El., amongst critical comment., are in favour of the T.R., which is supported by the story, told in Josephus (*B.J.*, vii. 8. 7), of a Buddhist

fakir who about this time immolated himself by fire at Athens.

§ 43. THE QUALITIES OF CHRISTIAN LOVE, xiii. 4-13. The previous vv. have justified the *καθ' ὑπερβολὴν* of xii. 31. The loftiest human faculties of man are seen to be frustrate without love; by its aid alone are they brought to their proper excellence and just use. But this “way” of Christian attainment has still to be “described,” and the promise of xii. 31b fulfilled. So while vv. 1-3 have proved the *necessity*, the rest of the chap. shows the *nature and working* of the indispensable *ἀγάπη*. The Cor. may see in this description the mirror of what they ought to be and are not; they will learn how childish are the superiorities on which they plume themselves. (a) The *behaviour* of Love is delineated in fifteen exquisite aphorisms (4-7); (b) its *permanence*, in contrast with the transitory and partial character of the prized *χαρίσματα* (8-13).

Vv. 4-7. In vv. 1-3 Paul's utterance began to rise with the elevation of his theme into the Hebraic rhythm (observe the recurrent *ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω*, and the repeated *οὐδέν*) which marks his more impassioned passages (see e.g., Rom. viii. 31 ff., Eph. i. 8 ff. on a smaller scale, iii. 22 f. above). Here this rhythm dominates the structure of his sentences: they run in seven couplets, arranged as *one* (affirm.), *four* (neg.), and *two* (aff.) verse-lines, with the subject (*ἡ ἀγάπη*) repeated at the head of the 2nd line. The ver. which closes the middle, longer movement becomes a triplet, making a pause in the chant by the antithetical

8. ἡ ἀγάπη οὐδέποτε ἐκκίπτει<sup>1</sup>. ἢ εἴτε δὲ<sup>2</sup> ἢ προφητεῖαι,<sup>3</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>πῖπτει,</sup>  
<sup>καταργηθήσονται</sup><sup>2</sup>. ἢ εἴτε ὁ γλῶσσαι, ἢ παύσονται. ἢ εἴτε ὁ γλῶ- <sup>of things,</sup>  
<sup>19. Cf. Rom. ix. 6; Acts xii. 7. Jas. i. 11. Of persons, see x. 8. m Rom. xii. 6. For εἴτε, εἴτε,</sup>  
<sup>see iii. 22. προφητ., see xii. 10. n See i. 28. o See xii. 1a. p In this sense, Acts xx. 1;</sup>  
<sup>Exod. ix. 33 f. q See i. 5. 17; i Kings iii.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> πῖπτει, <sup>ABC</sup>, 17, 67\*\*. ἐκκίπτει, Western and Syrian.

<sup>2</sup> Om. δε C\*D\*GKP, latt. vg. cop. Tr. brackets. Required to effect transition from ἡ ἀγάπη; easily dropped by copyist after εἴτε.

<sup>3</sup> προφητεῖα, καταργηθήσεται (?): B A (-εῖα, -σονται). So W.H. marg.

repetition of the second clause. The par. then reads as follows:—

"Love suffers long, shows kindness.

Love envies not, makes no self-display;  
 Is not puffed up, behaves not unseemly;  
 Seeks not her advantage, is not embittered;  
 Imputes not evil, rejoices not at wrong,  
 but shares in the joy of the truth.  
 All things she tolerates, all things she believes;  
 All things she hopes for, all things she endures."

The first line supplies the general theme, defining the two fundamental excellencies of Love—her patience towards evil, and kindly activity in good. In the negative movement, the first half-lines set forth Love's attitude—free from jealousy, arrogance (cf. iv. 6b), avarice, grudge-bearing; while the second member in each case sets forth her temper—modest, refined in feeling, placable, having her joy in goodness. The third movement reverts to the opening note, on which it descends.—For the individual words: μακροθυμία is to be long-tempered (*longanimis est*, Er.)—a characteristic of God (Rom. ii. 4, etc.)—patient towards injurious or provoking persons; this includes οὐ παροξύνεται, οὐ λογίζεται τὸ κακόν, πάντα στέγει; whereas ὑπομένει, closing the list, signifies patience in respect of adverse and afflictive circumstances; the two unite in Col. i. 11: see Trench, *Syn.*, § liii.—χρηστεύεται—a vb. perhaps of Paul's coining—plays the part of a χρηστός (*benignus*), one who renders gracious, well-disposed service to others (Trench, *Syn.*, § lxiii): P. associates μακροθυμία and χρηστότης repeatedly (see parls.).—οὐ ζηλοῖ qualifies the ζηλοῦτε of xii. 31: directed towards right objects, ζηλος is laudable ambition; directed towards persons, it is base envy; desire for excellencies manifest in others should stimulate not ill-will but admiring love.—The vb. περπερεύεται (parl. in form to χρηστεύεται) occurs only in Marc. Anton., v. 5 besides, where it is rendered *ostentare se* (the Vg. *perperam se agit* rests on mistaken resemblance): *to*

*show oneself off*: *πέρπερος*, used by Polybius and Epictetus, signifies *braggart*, *boastful* (see Gm., s.v.), its sense here.—He who is *envious* (ζηλ.) of superiority in others is commonly *ostentatious* (περπ.) of superiority assumed in himself, and *arrogant* (φυσ.) towards inferiors. Such *φυσιοῦσθαι* is a mark of bad taste—a *moral indecency*, from which Love is clear (οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ: see parls.); she has the instinct for the seemly; Love imparts a delicacy of feeling beyond the rules of politeness.—The absence of *pride* is the burden of the two former of the negative couplets, the absence of *greed* of the two latter. For οὐ ζητεῖ κ.τ.λ., cf. parls.; 2 Cor. xii. 13 ff. supplies a fine illustration in the writer. Selfishness generates the *irritability* denied concerning Love in οὐ παροξύνεται; intent on one's own advantage, one is incessantly angered to find the world at cross purposes with him. Except Heb. x. 24, the only other N.T. parls. (Acts xv. 39, xvii. 16) ascribe to P. himself the παροξυσμός which he now condemns; as in the case of *ζηλος* (see iii. 3), there is a bad and a good *exasperation*; anger may be holy, though commonly a sin. To "rejoice at iniquity," when seeing it in others, is a sign of deep debasement (Rom. i. 32); Love, on the contrary, finds her joy in the joy of "the Truth" (personified: cf. Rom. vii. 22, Ps. lxxxv. 10 f., 3 John 8, 12)—she rejoices in the progress and vindication of the Gospel, which is "the truth" of God (cf. Phil. i. 7, Col. i. 3-6; 3 John 4): ἀδικία and ἀλήθεια are similarly contrasted in 2 Thess. ii. 10, 12.—The four πάντα clauses form a chiasmus: the first and fourth relating to the bearing of ill, the second and third to expectation of good in others; the first pair belong to the present, the last to the future. For στέγει, see parls.; Bz. and a few others render the clause "omnia tegit," in accordance with the radical sense of the vb.; but *suffert* (Vg.) is its Pauline, and also prevalent cl. sense.—Πίστις appears



r Cf. xii. 27. σις, "καταργηθήσεται" 9. ἔκ τ' μέρους γὰρ γινώσκουμεν καὶ ἔκ  
 ■ See xi. 4.  
 t H.l. For τ' μέρους "προφητεύομεν" 10. ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τότε<sup>1</sup> τὸ  
 the adj.,  
 see ii. 6; ἔκ τ' μέρους "καταργηθήσεται". 11. ὅτε ἤμην "νήπιος, ὡς νήπιος  
 of things,  
 Rom. xii. ἐλάλουν,<sup>2</sup> ὡς νήπιος ἑφρόνουν,<sup>2</sup> ὡς νήπιος ἐλογιζόμεν<sup>2</sup>. ὅτε  
 2; Heb.  
 ix. 11; Jas. δὲ<sup>3</sup> γέγονα ἄνθρωπος, "κατήργηκα τὰ τοῦ νηπίου. 12. βλέπομεν  
 i. 4, 17, 25;  
 1 Jo. iv. 18.

u See iii. 1. v Abs., N.T. h.l.; Isa. xlv. 18. w In this sense, 8 times more in P.; Heb. xi. 19;  
 1 Pet. v. 12; Jo. xi. 50. Abs., here only. x See ver. 1. y In contrast with νηπιος, cf. xiv. 20;  
 Gal. iv. 1-5; Eph. iv. 13. z 2 Cor. x. 7, xii. 6; Rom. vii. 23, viii. 24 f.; Heb. ii. 9, iii. 19; Jas. ii.  
 22; Acts i. 9, ix. 8; Mt. vi. 4, vii. 3, xiii. 13, etc., xv. 31; Lk. x. 23 f., etc.

<sup>1</sup> Om. τότε all uncc. but DeKL.

<sup>2</sup> ἐλάλουν ὡς νηπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς νηπ., ἐλογιζόμεν ὡς νηπ.  
 (in this order):  $\aleph$ AB, 17. All crit. edd.

<sup>3</sup> Om. δε  $\aleph$ ABD\*, 67\*\*. Here δε weakens the antithesis. Cf. note 8 above.

to bear in Gal. v. 22 the meaning of *faith in men* belonging to πιστεύει here. *Hope* animates and is nourished by *endurance*: ὑπομένει (*sustinet*, not *patitur*), the active patience of the stout-hearted soldier; see Trench, *Syn.*, § liii., and N.T. parls.

Ver. 8. Love, that bears, also *outwears everything*: "Love never faileth". That πίπτει denotes "falling" in the sense of cessation, dropping out of existence (cf. x. 8, Luke xvi. 17), not moral failure (as in x. 12, etc.), is manifest from the parl. clauses and from ver. 13. The charisms of chh. xii. and xiv. are bestowed *on the way* and serve the way-faring Church, they cease each of them at a determined point; but the Way of Love leads indefinitely beyond them; οὐ διασφάλλεται, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ μένει βεβαία καὶ ἀκίνητος (Thd.).—"Prophecyings, tongues, and knowledge"—faculties inspired, ecstatic, intellectual—are the three typical forms of Christian expression. The abolition of Prophecies and Knowledge is explained in vv. 9 ff. as the superseding of the partial by the perfect; they "will be done away" by a complete realisation of the objects they seek,—viz., by *intuition* into the now hidden things of God and of man (xiv. 24 f.), and by adequate *comprehension* of the things revealed (see note on 12). Of the Tongues it is simply said that "they will stop" (παύσονται), having like other miracles a temporary significance (cf. xiv. 22); not giving place to any higher development of the like kind, they lapse and terminate (*desinent*, Bg.).

Vv. 9, 10: reasons why *Prophecy* and *Knowledge* must be abolished. Though amongst the μέλζονα (xii. 31) and rich in edification (xiv. 6), these charisms are partial in scope, and therefore temporary: the fragmentary gives place to the com-

plete.—ἐκ μέρους (see note, xii. 27, and parls.): coming of a part, our knowledge and prophesying are limited by the limiting conditions of their origin. For the conscious imperfection of *Prophecy*, cf. 1 Peter i. 10 f.; this text has some bearing on the much-discussed "inerrancy" of Scripture.—ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ τὸ τέλειον, τὸ ἐκ μέρους καταργηθήσεται, "But when there comes the perfect (*full-grown, mature*; see note on ii. 6), the 'in part' will be abolished": cf. Eph. iv. 13 f., where τέλειος is contrasted with νήπιος as here; also Phil. iii. 11 ff. This τελείωσις is brought about at the παρουσία—it "comes" with the Lord from heaven (xv. 47; cf. 1 Thess. i. 10, and i. 7 above); that of Eph. iv. is some what earlier.

Ver. 11 illustrates the abolition of the partial by the perfect through the transition from *the child to the man*—in speech (ἐλάλουν), in disposition and aim (ἐφρόνουν), and in mental activity (ἐλογιζόμεν). These three points of diff. can hardly be identified with the γλῶσσαι, προφητεία, and γνώσις respectively; though "spake as a babe" may allude to the childish fondness of the Cor. for γλωσσολαλία (cf. xiv. 18 ff.), and "to reason" is the distinction of γνώσις. On the later-Gr. mid. form ἤμην, see Wr., pp. 95 f.—ὅταν with sbj. is the *when* of future contingency, ὅτε with ind. the *when* of past or present fact.—ὅτε γέγονα ἄνθρωπος κατήργηκα κ.τ.λ.: "now that (*ex quo*) I have become a man (*vir factus sum*): cf. ἄνθρωπος τέλειος in Eph. iv. 12), I have abolished the things of the child". Such is the κατάργησις which Prophecy and Knowledge (Scripture and Theology), as at present known, must undergo through the approaching "revelation" (i. 7). "Non dicit, *Quum abolevi puerilia, factus*

γὰρ<sup>1</sup> ἄρτι δι' ἑσόπτρου ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς ἄρτι πρόσωπον ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε δὲ ἐπιγινώσκειν καὶ ἐπεγινώσθη. 13. νυνὶ δὲ μένει πίστις, ἐλπίς, ἀγάπη, τὰ τρία ταῦτα· μεῖζον δὲ τούτων ἡ ἀγάπη.

below. c N.T. h.l.; Numb. xii. 8; Sir. xxxix. 3. d N.T. h.l.; Gen. xxxii. 30. See note 3 Jo. 14; Numb. xii. 8; also 2 Cor. iii. 18. e xiv. 37, xvi. 18; 8 times more in P.; 2 Pet. ii. 21; many times in Syn. G.G. and Acts. For the antith., cf. viii. 2 f.; Gal. iv. 9. f See xii. 18 g See xii. 31. For compar. with παρῶν, xv. 19; Mt. xiii. 32; Lk. ix. 46.

<sup>1</sup> DG, latt. vg., Latt. Ff. om. γαρ.

*sum vir.* Hiems non affert ver; sed ver pellit hiemem: sic est in anima et ecclesia" (Bg.).—γέγονα and κατήργηκα, in pf. of *abiding result*; for καταργέω, cf. i. 28 and parls.

Ver. 12 figures in another way the contrast between the present partial and the coming perfect Christian state, in respect particularly of *knowledge*: it is the diff. between discernment by broken reflexion and by immediate intuition. "For we see now through a mirror, in (the fashion of) a riddle; but then face to face."—βλέπω, as distinguished from δρῶ, points to the fact and manner of *seeing* rather than the object seen (see parls.). On ἄρτι, see note to iv. 11; it fastens on the *immediate present*.—δι' ἑσόπτρου, "by means of a mirror": ancient mirrors made of burnished metal—a specialty of Cor.—were poor reflectors; the art of silvering glass was discovered in the 13th century.—ἑσόπτρον = κάτοπτρον (2 Cor. iii. 18), or ἐνοπτρον (cl. Gr.); not δίδωπον, *speculare*, the semi-transparent window of talc (the *lapis specularis* of the ancients), as some have explained the term. Cf. Philo, *De Decal.*, § 21, "As by a mirror, the reason discerns images of God acting and making the world and administering the universe"; also Plato's celebrated representation (*Repub.*, vii., 514) of the world of sense as a train of shadows imaging the real. Mr., Hf., Gd., Al., El. adopt the local sense of διὰ, "through a mirror," in allusion to the appearance of the imaged object as *behind* the reflector: but it is the *dimness*, not the displacement, of the image that P. is thinking of.—Such a sight of the Divine realities, in blurred reflexions, presents them ἐν αἰνίγματι, *enigmatically*—"in (the shape of) a riddle" rather than a full intelligible view. Divine revelation opens up fresh mysteries; advanced knowledge raises vaster problems. With our defective earthly powers, this is inevitable.—πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, Heb. *panim 'el panim* (see parls.), with a reminiscence of

Num. xii. 8, στόμα κατὰ στόμα . . . καὶ οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων (referring to the converse of God with Moses): the "face" to which ours will be turned, is God's. God is the tacit obj. of ver. 12b, which interprets the above figure: "Now I know (γινώσκω, a learner's knowledge: see i. 21, etc.; contrast οἶδα, 2 above and ii. 11) partially; but then I shall know-well (ἐπιγινώσκειν), as also I was well-known". God has formed a perfect apprehension of the believing soul (viii. 3); He possesses an immediate, full, and interested discernment of its conditions (Rom. viii. 27, etc.); its future knowledge will match, in some sense, His present knowledge of it, the searching effect of which it has realised (Gal. iv. 9, etc.).

Ver. 13. νυνὶ δὲ μένει κ.τ.λ.—final conclusion of the matter, μένει being antithetical to πύπτει κ.τ.λ. of the foregoing: "But as it is (*nunc autem*), there abides faith, hope, love—these three!" they stay; the others pass (8 ff.). Faith and Hope are elements of the perfect and permanent state; new objects of trust and desire will come into sight in the widening visions of the life eternal. But Love, both now and then, surpasses its companions, being the character of God (viii. 3, 1 John iv. 8, 16); in Love is the fruition of Faith's efforts (Gal. v. 6) and Hope's anticipations; it alone gives worth to every human power (1-3). The popular interpretation, since Cm., has read νυνὶ as *temporal* instead of logical, identifying it with the ἄρτι of ver. 12, as though the Ap. meant that *for the present* Faith and Hope "abide" with Love, but Love alone "abides" for ever. But P. puts the three on the same footing in respect of enduringness—"these three" in comparison with the other three of ver. 8—pointedly adding Faith and Hope to share and support the "abiding" of Love; "love is *greater* among these," not more lasting.—For μεῖζον with partitive gen., cf. Matt. xxiii. 11, and see Wr., p. 303. For the pregnant, absolute μένει, cf. iii. 14, 1 John ii. 6, 2 John 2.



<sup>a</sup> Rom. ix. 30, xii. 13, xiv. 19; Ph. iii. 12, 14; 1 Th. v. 15; 1sa. ii. 1; Sir. xxvii. 8.  
 XIV. 1. <sup>a</sup> Διώκετε τὴν ἀγάπην · <sup>b</sup> ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ <sup>c</sup> πνευματικά, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα <sup>d</sup> προφητεύητε. 2. ὁ γὰρ <sup>e</sup> λαλῶν <sup>f</sup> γλώσση, οὐκ <sup>g</sup> ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ ἀλλὰ τῷ <sup>h</sup> <sup>1</sup> Θεῷ · οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀκούει, <sup>i</sup> πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ <sup>j</sup> μυστήρια · 3. ὁ δὲ <sup>k</sup> προφητεύων, <sup>l</sup> ἀνθρώποις λαλεῖ  
 b See xii. 31. c See xii. 1. d See xi. 4. e See xiii. 1. f See i. 25. g vv. 14 f.; Acts xvii. 16. h See ii. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Om. τῷ the pre-Syrian uncc.

§ 44. THE GIFTS OF TONGUES AND OF PROPHECY, xiv. 1-6. The digression upon ἡ ἀγάπη has not diverted us from the subject of this Div.; Love has shown the way (xii. 31b) in which all τὰ πνευματικά (xii. 1, xiv. 1) are to be sought, the animating principle and ulterior aim that should govern their exercise. But the principle of Love supplies, further, a criterion by which the charisms are to be relatively estimated—their use in *edification* (3 ff., 12, 19, 26). Thus P. at length answers the question addressed to him from Cor. as to the worth of the several “spiritual powers,” and in particular as to the relative value of Tongues and Prophesying. He has led up to this answer by his exposition of the general Christian truths bearing upon the matter—viz. the office of the Holy Spirit as the distributor of God’s gifts (xii. 3-11), the organic nature of the Church (12-31), and the sovereignty of love in the Christian life (xiii.).

Ver. 1. “Pursue love”—follow intently this καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ὁδόν (xii. 31b: see note): διώκω (see parls.: pr. impr.) signifies to prosecute to its goal (xiii. 13) a course on which one has entered. ζηλοῦτε δὲ τὰ πνευματικά, “but (continue to) covet the spiritual (gifts)”: P. resumes xii. 31 (see note, also on xii. 1). Love is exalted in the interest of the charisms, not to their disparagement; it is not to be pursued by forgetting everything else, but opens the true way to everything else: “Sectamini charitatem, affectate spiritualia” (Cv.).—“But rather (in preference to other gifts) that you may prophesy”: this is chief amongst “the greater charisms” of xii. 31. Perhaps the Cor. had asked specifically which of the two, Tongues or Prophecy, was to be preferred. ἵνα προφητεύητε (cf. θέλω . . . μᾶλλον ἵνα, 5) differs from τὸ προφητεύειν by making the object distinctly an aim: in striving after the charisms, Prophecy is to be set highest and to control the rest. For the use of ἵνα, cf. note on i. 10, also Bm., pp. 235 ff.

Vv. 2, 3. The reason for preferring

Prophecy, on the principles laid down, is that one’s fellows receive no benefit from the Tongues: except God, “no one hears” the latter—i.e. hears understandingly (cf. Eph. i. 13, iv. 29, etc.). There was *sound* enough in the glossolalia (xiii. 1), but no sense (23). πνεύματι δὲ λαλεῖ κ.τ.λ., “but in spirit he is speaking mysteries”; δὲ points a contrast to the οὐδεὶς . . . ἀκούει: there is something worth hearing—deep things muttered by those quivering lips, that should be rationally spoken. For μυστήριον, see note on ii. 7, and Cr. s.v.: *mystery* in Scripture is the correlate of *revelation*; here it stops short of disclosure, tantalizing the Church, which hears and hears not. πνεύματι, dat. of manner or instr.,—“with the spirit,” but without the “understanding” (νοῦς: 14 ff.; cf. note to xii. 8).—“But he who prophesies *does speak to men*—edification and exhortation and comfort.” παράκλησις and παραμυθία are distinct from οἰκοδομή: prophetic speech serves for (a) “the further upbuilding of the Christian life, (b) the stimulation of the Christian will, (c) the strengthening of the Christian spirit” (Hf.). παραμυθία has ref. to sorrow or fear (see parls.); παράκλησις (far commoner) to duty; οἰκοδομή, in the widest sense, to knowledge and character and the progress of the Church: this last stands alone in the sequel.

Ver. 4. “He that speaks with a tongue edifies himself, but he that prophesies edifies a church (assembly)” —not one but many persons, not himself but a whole community. The impression made on the γλωσσολαλῶν by his utterance, since it was delivered in a rapture and without clear conception (12 ff.), must have been vague; but it powerfully confirmed his faith, since it left an abiding sense of possession by the Spirit of God (cf. 2 Cor. xii. 1-10). Our deepest feelings frequently enter the mind below the surface consciousness.

Ver. 5. Notwithstanding the above drawback, the Tongues are a real and desirable charism; the better is preferred

<sup>1</sup> οἰκοδομὴν καὶ <sup>κ</sup>παράκλησιν καὶ <sup>1</sup> παραμυθίαν. 4. ὁ <sup>ο</sup> λαλῶν <sup>1</sup> νν. 12, 26; <sup>ο</sup> γλώσσῃ ἑαυτὸν <sup>ο</sup> οἰκοδομεῖ, ὁ δὲ <sup>4</sup> προφητεύων <sup>2</sup> ἐκκλησίαν 2 Cor. x. 8, xii. 19. <sup>ο</sup> οἰκοδομεῖ. 5. θέλω δὲ πάντας ὑμᾶς <sup>ο</sup> λαλεῖν <sup>ο</sup> γλώσσαις, μᾶλλον xiii. 10; Rom. xiv. 19, xv. 2; Eph. iv. 12, 16, 29. δὲ ἵνα <sup>4</sup> προφητεύητε. <sup>ο</sup> μείζων γὰρ <sup>1</sup> ὁ <sup>4</sup> προφητεύων ἢ ὁ <sup>ο</sup> λαλῶν see ver. 4. <sup>ο</sup> γλώσσαις, <sup>2</sup> ἐκτὸς <sup>2</sup> εἰ μὴ <sup>2</sup> διερμηνεύῃ, ἵνα ἡ ἐκκλησία <sup>1</sup> οἰκοδομὴν <sup>μω.</sup> λάβῃ. 6. <sup>2</sup> νῦν <sup>2</sup> δέ, ἀδελφοί, ἐὰν ἔλθω πρὸς ὑμᾶς <sup>ο</sup> γλώσσαις <sup>κ</sup> <sup>ο</sup> λαλῶν, <sup>2</sup> τί ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσω, ἐὰν μὴ ὑμῖν λαλήσω ἢ <sup>3</sup> ἐν <sup>1</sup> ἀποκαλύψει <sup>μω.</sup> ἢ ἐν <sup>2</sup> γνώσει, ἢ ἐν <sup>2</sup> προφητείᾳ ἢ ἐν <sup>4</sup> διδασκῇ; Freq. in P.; thrice in Heb.; 6 times in Lk., Acts.

1 N.T. h.l.; Wisd. xix. 12. -ιον, Phil. ii. 1; -ισθαί, 1 Th. ii. 11. m See viii. 1. n Naruse, anarthrous, see xi. 18. o See xii. 31. p xv. 2; 1 Tim. v. 19. For εκτος, cf. vi. 18. q See xii. 30. r See xii. 18. s Mt. xvi. 26; Mk. viii. 36; also xiii. 3; Rom. ii. 25; Gal. v. 2. Cf. xv. 32; Rom. iii. 1; Jas. ii. 14. t See i. 7. Abs., ver. 26; Gal. ii. 2; Eph. i. 17, iii. 3. u See i. 5. v See xii. 10. w ver. 26; cf. xii. 29. διδασκῇ, Rom. vi. 17, xvi. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 2; Tit. i. 9; Heb. vi. 2, xiii. 9; 2 Jo. 9, 10; thrice in Rev.; 4 times in Acts; 11 in GG.

<sup>1</sup> δε, **ABP**, cop. γαρ, DGKL, etc., latt. vg. syrr. (Western and Syrian).

<sup>2</sup> νν all pre-Syrian uncc. Cf. xii. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Om. η (first) **Δ**, 17, 67\*\*, cop.

<sup>4</sup> Om. εν (last) **Δ**Dgr.Ggr So Tisch.; Tr. brackets.

to the good: "Yet I would have you all speak with tongues,—but rather that you might prophesy." μᾶλλον ἵνα προφητεύητε is repeated from ver. 1: what the Ap. bids his readers prefer, he prefers for them—not to the exclusion of the Tongues, for the two gifts might be held at once (6, 18), but as looking beyond them.—θέλω ἵνα occurs several times in the Gospels without any marked telic force (Matt. vii. 12, Mark vi. 25, ix. 30, John xvii. 24), but only here in P.; its substitution for the inf. (λαλεῖν) of the co-ordinate clause is significant.—"Moreover he who prophesies is greater than he who speaks with tongues"—attached by the part. δὲ where one expected γὰρ (T.R.); P. is not justifying *his own* preference just stated, but giving a further reason why *the Cor.* should covet Prophecy more than Tongues: the main reason lies in the eminent usefulness of this charism (2-4); besides that (δε), its possessor is a "greater" person (μείζων: cf. xii. 31) "than the speaker with tongues—except in the case that he interprets (his ecstatic utterance), that the Church may get edification". The power to interpret *superadded* to the glossolalia (see 13, 26 ff., xii. 10) puts the mystic speaker on a level with the prophet: first "uttering mysteries" (2) and then making them plain to his hearers, he accomplishes in two acts what the prophet does in one. ἐκτὸς εἰ μὴ is a Pauline pleonasm (see parls.), consisting of ἐκτὸς εἰ (*except if*) and εἰ μὴ (*unless*) run together; "with this exception,—unless

he interpret" (Wr., p. 756). For εἰ with subj., in distinction from ἐὰν, see Wr., p. 368; it "represents that the event will decide the point" (El.). To supply τίς with διερμηνῶν, supposing *another* interpreter meant, is ungrammatical; the *identity* of speaker and interpreter is the essential point. He interprets with the express intention that the Church may be edified (ἵνα . . . οἰκοδομὴν λάβῃ).

Ver. 6. What the Ap. has said touching the criterion of *edification*, he applies to his own approaching visit (iv. 18 ff., xvi. 5 ff.): "But at the present time, brothers,"—νῦν δε, *temporal*, as in v. 11, etc.; not *logical*, as in vii. 14, xiii. 13, etc. (see Hf., against most interpreters). It is the *situation at Cor.* which gives point to this ref.: what help could the Ap. bring to his readers in their troubled state, if he were to offer them nothing but confused mutterings and ravings? (cf. 7-11)—an appeal to common sense.—The hypotheses are parl. (expressing by ἐὰν actual possibility, cf. 18; not mere conceivability)—the second the negative of the first: "if I should come to you speaking with tongues, wherein shall I profit you—if I do not speak in (the way of) revelation or knowledge, or prophesying or teaching?" In the four ἢ clauses, the second pair matches the first: revelation comes through the prophet, knowledge through the teacher (cf. xii. 8, 10, 28, etc.). For ἐρχομαι with ptp. of the *character* or *capacity* in which one comes—"a (mere) speaker with tongues," unable to interpret (see 5)



x Gal. iii. 15; Jo. xii. 42; 2 Macc. xv. 5; N.T. *h.l.*; Wisd. xiii. 17, xiv. 29. z Mt. xxiv. 29; Isa. xiii. 10. ηχω δίδουσα θορυβον, Eurip., *Hec.*, 1093. a See iii. 22. b N.T. *h.l.*; -λητης, Mt. ix. 23. c Rev. i. 8, xiv. 2, xv. 2; Gen. iv. 21, etc. d Rom. iii. 22, x. 12; Exod. viii. 23. e Rom. x. 18 (Ps. xviii. 4); Wisd. xix. 18. f Mt. xi. 17, ανλ.; κισαρ, Rev. xiv. 2; Isa. xxiii. 16. g Lk. xi. 44. See ix. 26. h Mt. xxiv. 31; Rev. i. 10, viii. 13; Exod. xix. 16, 19. See xv. 52. i 2 Cor. ix. 2 f.; Acts x. 10; Jer. xii. 5. k N.T. *h.l.*; Ps. lxxx. 3. See note below. l See ix. 26.

<sup>1</sup> σαλπιγξ φωνην, N.A.P. So Tisch., W.H. *txt.*, Nestle.  
φων. σαλπ.: BDGKL. So Tr., Al., W.H. *margin.*, El.

—cf. Acts xix. 18, Matt. xi. 18 f., Mark i. 39, Luke xiii. 7.

§ 45. UTTERANCE USELESS WITHOUT CLEAR SENSE, xiv. 7-13. P. has just asked what the Cor. would think of him, if in their present need he came exhibiting his power as a speaker with Tongues, but without a word of prophetic inspiration or wise teaching to offer. Such speech would be a mockery to the hearers. This holds good of sound universally, when considered as a means of communication—in the case, *e.g.*, of lifeless instruments, the flute and lyre with their modulated notes, or the military trumpet with its varied signals (7 f.); so with articulate speech, in its numberless dialects. To the instructed ear every syllable carries a meaning; to the foreigner it is gibberish (10 f.). Just as useless are the Tongues in the Church without interpretation (9, 12 f.).

Ver. 7. Ὅμως τὰ ἄψυχα, "Quin et inanima" (Cv.); as in Gal. iii. 15, the part. emphasises the word immediately following, not φωνὴν διδόντα ("though giving sound") in contrast to ἐὰν διαστολὴν . . . μὴ δῶ (so however Wr., Gm., Mr., Sm.: "yet unless they give a distinction, etc."). The argument is a *minori ad majus*, from dead instruments to living speech: "Yet even in the case of lifeless things (τὰ ἄψυχα, generic art.) when they give sound, unless they give a distinction in their notes" (so Hf., Ed., Gd., El.).—φθόγγος denotes a measured, harmonious sound, whether of voice (Rom. x. 18) or instrument; see Plato, *Tim.* 80.—διαστολή is referred by Lidd., and by Ev. *ad loc.*, to the pause between notes; by most others (after Plato, *Phileb.*, 17C; cf. Oec. *ad loc.*) to the interval (= διάστημα) or distinction of pitch; possibly (so Cv., El.) it includes

both in untechnical fashion—whatever in fact distinguishes the φθόγγοι.—πῶς γνωσθήσεται κ.τ.λ.; "How will that which is being piped or harped be discerned?"—how will the air be made out, if the notes run confusedly into one another? The double art., τὸ αὐλ. . . τὸ κιθαρ., separates the two sorts of music. This comparison used applies to *inarticulate γλωσσολαλία*, not to foreign languages.

Ver. 8. To the *pipe* and *harp*, adornments of peace, P. adds for further illustration (καὶ γάρ) the warlike *trumpet*. This ruder instrument furnishes a stronger example: varied signals can be given by its simple note, provided there is an understanding between trumpeter and hearers; "unius tubæ cantus alius ad alia vocat milites" (Bg.). Without such agreement, or with a wavering, indistinct sound, the loudest blast utters nothing to purpose: "For if the trumpet also gives an uncertain voice, who will prepare for battle?" How disastrous, at the critical moment, to doubt whether the trumpet sounds Advance or Retreat!

Ver. 9 enforces the twofold illustration of vv. 7 f.: "So also in your case (οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς), if through the tongue you do not give a word of clear signification (εὖσημον λόγον), how will that which is spoken be discerned?"—εὖ-σημος (from εὖ and σῆμα, a sign) implies a meaning in the word, and a meaning good to make out; cf. Sophocles, *Antig.*, 1004, 1021.—πῶς γνωσθήσεται κ.τ.λ.; is an echo from ver. 7; and "the tongue" (διὰ τῆς γλώσσης: cf. iii. 5, vi. 4, vii. 17), as the means of living speech, is thrust before the ἐὰν in emphatic contrast to "the lifeless" pipe, etc. P. does not therefore refer in this sentence (as Est., Gd., Ed. would have it) to the supernatural Tongue

ΙΟ. τοσαῦτα, <sup>m</sup> εἰ <sup>m</sup> τύχοι, <sup>n</sup> γένη φωνῶν ἐστίν <sup>1</sup> ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ οὐδέν <sup>m</sup> <sup>xv. 37</sup>  
 αὐτῶν <sup>2</sup> ἄφωνον. ΙΙ. ἐὰν οὖν μὴ εἰδῶ <sup>3</sup> τὴν <sup>n</sup> δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, <sup>only, in</sup>  
 ἔσομαι τῷ λαλοῦντι <sup>n</sup> βάρβαρος, καὶ ὁ λαλῶν <sup>n</sup> ἐν <sup>4</sup> ἐμοὶ <sup>n</sup> βάρβαρος. <sup>N.T.;</sup>  
 Ι2. οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ <sup>n</sup> ζηλωταὶ ἐστε <sup>n</sup> πνευμάτων, πρὸς τὴν <sup>cf. xvi. 6,</sup>  
<sup>τυχόν.</sup>  
<sup>n</sup> See xii. <sup>10.</sup>  
<sup>o</sup> H.J. in <sup>this</sup>  
 sense; cf. xii. 2. p N.T. h.J. in this sense; Numb. vi. 21; Plat., *Crat.*, 394B, etc. q Rom.  
 i. 14; Col. iii. 11; Acts xxviii. 2, 4. r Cf. vi. 2; Rom. xi. 25 (?). See Wr., p. 481. s Gal. i. 14;  
 Tit. ii. 14; 1 Pet. iii. 13; four times in Lk. and Acts; cf. *o-w*, xii. 36. t Pl., see xii. 10.

<sup>1</sup> εἰσιν: all uncc. but KL.

<sup>2</sup> Om. αὐτῶν all pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>3</sup> ἰδω, by itacism, AD\*L, 17, 46. G, γινωσκω.

<sup>4</sup> Om. εν DG, 67\*\*, latt. vg. syrutr. cop.

(elsewhere, moreover, expressed by the *anarthrous* γλῶσσα: otherwise here), for it is precisely his objection to this charism that it gives an ἄσημον instead of a εὔσημον λόγον (16, 19, 23); he means to say: "As inanimate instruments by due modulation, and by the fixed meaning attached to their notes, become expressive, so it is in a higher degree with the human tongue; its vocables convey a meaning just in so far as they are ordered, articulate, and conformed to usage". Now this is what the Cor. Glossolalia was not: "for you will be (otherwise) speaking into the air"—the issue of uninterpreted Tongue-speaking (cf. 2, 17, etc.).—εἰς ἀέρα λαλεῖν, a proverbial expression (cf. ix. 26) for ineffectual speech, like our "talking to the wind"; in Philo, ἀερομυθεῖν.

Ver. 10. Speaking of vocal utterance, the Ap. is reminded of the *multitude* of human dialects; this suggests a further proof of his contention, that there must be a settled and well-observed connexion between sound and sense. "Ever so many kinds of voices, it may chance, exist in the world."—On εἰ τύχοι (*if it should hap* = τυχόν, xvi. 6), which removes all known limit from the τοσαῦτα, see note of El. For the anarthrous ἐν κόσμῳ, cf. 2 Cor. v. 19; "in the world"—a sphere so wide.—καὶ οὐδέν (*sc. τῶν γενῶν*) ἄφωνον, "and none (of them) voiceless": not tautologous, but asserting for every "kind of voice" the real nature of a voice, *viz.*, that it means something to somebody; "nullum genus vocum vocis experts" (Est.); "aucune langue n'est une non-langue"; the Greeks love these paradoxical expressions—cf. βλὸς ἀβίωτος, χάρις ἄχαρις (Gd., Hn.). The Vg. and Bz. miss the point in rendering, "nihil est mutum".

Ver. 11. "If then I know not the meaning of the voice" (τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φωνῆς, *vim* or *virtutem vocis*)—for every voice has a meaning (10b); on this very

possible hypothesis, "I shall be a barbarian to the speaker, and the speaker a barbarian in relation to me" (ἐν ἐμοί, cf. Matt. xxi. 42, and perhaps ii. 6 above), or "in my ear". By this illustration of the futility of the uninterpreted Tongues, Paul implicitly distinguishes them from natural foreign languages; there is a μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος in the comparison, just as in the previous comparison with harp and trumpet; one does not compare things identical. The second figure goes beyond the first; since the foreign speech, like the mysterious γλῶσσαι (2), may hide a precious meaning, and is the more provoking on that account, as the repeated βάρβαρος intimates.

Ver. 12. οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς is parl. to ver. 9; but the application is now turned into an exhortation. P. leaves the last comparison to speak for itself, and hastens to enforce his lesson: "So also with yourselves; since you are coveters of spirits (ζηλωταὶ ἐστε πνευμάτων), seek that you may abound (in them) with a view to the edifying of the church"—or "for the edifying of the church seek (them), that you may abound (therein)". The latter rendering, preferred by Cv., Mr., Al., Hf., Sm., is truer to the order of the words, and reproduces the emphasis of πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομ. τῆς ἐκκλ. ζητεῖτε has its object supplied beforehand in the previous clause, and ἵνα (περισσεύητε) bears its ordinary sense as conj. of purpose. Spiritual powers are indeed to be sought (cf. i. 12, xii. 31), provided that they be sought for the religious profiting of others, *with a view to abound in service* to the Church. The ἵνα clause is thus parl. to πρὸς τ. οἰκοδομήν (cf. vii. 35, 2 Tim. iii. 16); cf. John x. 10, and other parls. for περισσεύω.—ζηλωταί, *zealots, enthusiasts after spirits* (Ev.).—used perhaps with a touch of irony (Hn.). The Cor. have already the eagerness that P. commends in ver. 1;



u See ver. 3. <sup>u</sup> οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ζητεῖτε, ἵνα <sup>v</sup> περισσεύητε. 13. διόπερ <sup>v</sup> See viii. 8. <sup>w</sup> See xiii. 1. <sup>δ</sup> ὁ λαλῶν <sup>w</sup> γλώσση <sup>x</sup> προσευχέσθω <sup>x</sup> ἵνα <sup>y</sup> διερμηνεύῃ.  
 1. <sup>x</sup> ἵνα, Phil. 1.9; Col. 1.9, iv. 3; 2 <sup>δ</sup> δὲ νοῦς μου <sup>a</sup> ἄκαρπός ἐστι. 15. <sup>b</sup> τί <sup>b</sup> οὖν <sup>b</sup> ἐστι; προσεύχομαι <sup>3</sup> Th. i. 11, iii. 1; Mt. τῷ <sup>c</sup> πνεύματι, προσεύχομαι <sup>3</sup> δὲ καὶ <sup>4</sup> τῷ <sup>d</sup> νοί. <sup>e</sup> ψαλῷ τῷ <sup>e</sup> πνεύματι, Mk. xiv. 35; <sup>σ</sup> ὡς, Acts viii. 15. <sup>y</sup> See xii. 30. <sup>z</sup> See ii. 11. <sup>a</sup> Eph. v. 11; Tit. iii. 14; 2 Pet. i. 8; Jude 12; Mt. xiii. 22; Jer. ii. 6; Wisd. xv. 4. <sup>b</sup> Ver. 26; Acts xxi. 22. <sup>c</sup> See ii. 11. Instrum. dat., ver. 2; Rom. viii. 13; Gal. iii. 3, v. 16, 25; 1 Pet. iii. 18, iv. 6. <sup>d</sup> Rom. vii. 25. <sup>e</sup> Rom. xv. 9 (Ps. xvii. 49); Eph. v. 19; Jas. v. 13; *Psa. passim*.

<sup>1</sup> Σιο, all uncc. but <sup>KL</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Om. γαρ (?) BG, 17, sah. Hence Lachm. and W.H. *bracket*.

<sup>3</sup> προσευξομαι (twice), ADGP, 46; <sup>KL</sup>, -ομαι, -ομαι.

<sup>4</sup> Om. και GKP, latt. vg. sah.—Western variant.

but it is not prompted by the best motives, nor directed to the most useful end: this word was common amongst Greeks as describing the ardent votaries of a school or party, or those jealous for the honour of some particular master (*cf.* Gal. i. 14).—πνεύματα differs somewhat from τὰ πνευματικά (1), signifying not “the (proper) spiritual” powers, but *unseen forces* generally (see xii. 10, διακρίσεις πνευμάτων, 1 John iv. 1, and the warning of xii. 3; *cf.* the notes); “the Cor. sought supernatural endowments, no matter what their nature might be” (Ed.).—at any rate, they thought too little of the true source and use of the charisms, but too much and too emulously of their outward impression and prestige (see πνευμάτων, 32).—Everling (*Die paul. Angel. u. Dämonologie*, pp. 40 ff.) infers from this passage, along with Rev. xxii. 6, the conception of a *number* of Divine “spirits” that may possess men; but he overpresses the turn of a single phrase, in contradiction to the context, which knows only “the one and the self-same Spirit” as from God (xii. 11).

Ver. 13. “Wherefore (since thus only can the γλώσσαις λαλῶν edify the church) let him who speaks with a tongue pray that he may interpret”: *cf.* ver. 5. It appears that the speaker with Tongues in some instances could recall, on recovery, what he had uttered in his trance-ecstasy, so as to render it into rational speech. The three vbs. are *pr.*, regulating current procedure.—The ἵνα clause, after προσευχέσθω, gives the *purpose* of the prayer, as in Phil. i. 9; *cf.* i. 10 above, xvi. 12; Luke ix. 40, etc. Mr., El., and others, prefer to borrow γλώσση from the next ver., and render thus: “Let him that speaks (with a tongue)

pray (therewith), in order that he may interpret”; but this strains the construction, and γλώσση appears to be added in ver. 14 just because the vb. προσεύχομαι had not been so understood before.

§ 46. THE NOYΣ THE NEEDED ALLY OF THE ΠΝΕΥΜΑ, xiv. 14-20. In § 44 the Ap. has insisted on *edification* as the end and mark of God's gifts to His Church, and in § 45 on *intelligibility* as a condition necessary thereto. Now the faculty of intelligence is the νοῦς; and we are thus brought to see that for a profitable conduct of worship, and for a sane and sound Church life (14, 17 ff., 23), the understanding must be in exercise: it is a vehicle indispensable (14 f.) to the energies of the Spirit. On this point P. is at one with the men of Gnosis at Cor.; he discountenances all assumptions made in the name of “the Spirit” that offend against sober judgment (20). This passage, in a sense, counterbalances i. 18-ii. 5; it shows how far the Ap. is from approving a blind fanaticism or irrational mysticism, when he exalts the Gospel at the expense of “the wisdom of the world”.

Ver. 14. The Tongue has been marked out as an inferior charism, because it *does not edify others*; it is less desirable also because it *does not turn to account the man's own intelligence*: “If I pray with a tongue, my spirit prays, but my understanding (νοῦς) is unfruitful”. The introductory γάρ (see txtl. note) seems hardly needed; if genuine, it attaches this ver. to ver. 13, as giving a further reason why the γλωσσολαλῶν should desire to interpret—*viz.*, that his own mind may partake fruitfully in his prayers. In any case, the consideration here

• ψαλῶ δὲ<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῷ<sup>4</sup> νοῦ. • 16. ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογήσης<sup>2</sup> τῷ<sup>3</sup> • πνεύματι, f See x. 6.  
 ὁ<sup>5</sup> ἀναπληρῶν τὸν<sup>h</sup> τόπον τοῦ<sup>i</sup> ἰδιώτου πῶς<sup>k</sup> ἔρεῖ<sup>k</sup> τὸ<sup>k</sup> ἀμῆν<sup>l</sup> ἐπὶ τῇ<sup>g</sup>  
 σῇ<sup>m</sup> εὐχαριστίᾳ, • ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδε; 17. σὺ μὲν γὰρ  
 • καλῶς<sup>p</sup> εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀλλ’<sup>q</sup> ὁ<sup>q</sup> ἕτερος<sup>4</sup> οὐκ<sup>r</sup> οἰκοδομεῖται. 18. Found in  
 • εὐχαριστῶ τῷ Θεῷ μου,<sup>5</sup> πάντων ὑμῶν • γλώσσαις<sup>6</sup> • λαλῶν<sup>7</sup>. Joseph.  
 and  
 Philo.  
 h N.T. h.l.

in this sense, Sir. xii. 12; cf. Lk. xiv. 9 f. i Ver. 23 f.; 2 Cor. xi. 6; Acts iv. 13; Prov. vi. 8. See  
 note below. k 2 Cor. i. 20; λεγ. αμην, Rev. v. 14, etc. l 2 Cor. xii. 21; Heb. viii. 1; Acts xi.  
 19. m 12 times in P.; Acts xxiv. 3; Rev. iv. 9, vii. 12; τος, Col. iii. 15; -τω, passim in P.  
 n See i. 21. o See vii. 37. p See i. 4, and m above. Absol., see xi. 24 q See iv. 6. r See  
 viii. 1. s See xiii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Om. δε (?) BG, 46. Lachm. om.; Tr. and W.H. bracket.

<sup>2</sup> εὐλογῆς, all uncc. but GKL.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν πνεύματι (?): N<sup>c</sup>BDP, 73, cop. sah. W.H. bracket.

πνεύματι (?), N<sup>c</sup>\*AG, 17, latt. vg. syrr. So Tisch., Tr., W.H. txt., R.V., Nestle.  
 τῷ πνεύματι: KL, etc., Chr., Thdr.—as in ver. 15.

<sup>4</sup> εταιρος, G, syr<sup>sch</sup>—an obvious itacism; see Mt. xi. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Om. μου all pre-Syrian witnesses.

<sup>6</sup> γλωσση (?), NADG, 17, latt. vg. So Lachm., Tr., Tisch., W.H. marg., Nestle  
 —perhaps borrowed from vv. 13 and 19 (? Western).

γλώσσαις (?), BKL<sup>p</sup>, etc., cop. syrr. So W.H. txt.

<sup>7</sup> λαλω, all uncc. but KL. The ptp. a grammatical emendation.

brought in opens a new point of view. "The fruit of the speaker is found in the profit of the hearer" (Thd.).—"The νοῦς is here, as distinguished from the πνεῦμα, the reflective and so-called discursive faculty, *pars intellectiva*, the human πνεῦμα quatenus cogitat et intelligit" (El.): see Beck's *Bibl. Psychology*, or Laidlaw's *Bib. Doctrine of Man*, s.vv.; and cf. notes on i. 10, ii. 16 above; also on Rom. vii. 23, 25. Religious feelings and activities—prayer in chief (Phil. iii. 3, Rom. i. 9, etc.)—take their rise in the spirit; normally, they pass upward into conception and expression through the intellect.

Ver. 15. It is the part of *nous* to share in and aid the exercises of *pneuma*: "What is (the case) then? I will pray with the spirit; but I will also pray with the understanding: I will sing with the spirit; but I will also sing with the understanding".—τί οὖν ἐστίν; "How then stands the matter?" (*Quid ergo est?* Vg.); one of the lively phrases of Greek dialogue; it "calls attention, with some little alacrity, to the upshot of what has just been said" (El.).—ψάλλω denoted, first, *playing on strings*, then *singing* to such accompaniment; Eph. v. 19 distinguishes this vb. from ᾄδω. Ed. thinks that instrumentation is implied; unless forbidden, Gr. Christians would be sure to grace their songs with music. Through its LXX use, esp. in the title

Ψαλμοί, *t'hillim* (Heb.), the word came to signify the *singing of praise to God*; but the connexion indicates a larger ref. than to the singing of the O.T. Psalms; it included the "improvised psalms which were sung in the Glossolalia, and could only be made intelligible by interpretation" (Mr.). Ecstatic utterance commonly falls into a kind of chant or rhapsody, without articulate words.

Ver. 16. "Since if thou bless (God) in spirit": πνεύματι, anarthrous—"in spirit" only without understanding; cf. ἐὰν προσεύχῃ γλώσσῃ, ver. 14.—Εὐλογέω (cf. x. 16, Matt. xiv. 19) is used elliptically, of *praise to God*, like εὐχαριστέω (17, xi. 24); it bears ref. to the *form*, as εὐχ. to the *matter* of thanksgiving; possibly P. alludes to the solemn act of praise at the Eucharist, this ellipsis being peculiar to blessing at *meals*.—ἐπεὶ (cf. v. 10, vii. 14) has its "usual causal and retrospective force, introducing the alternative" (El.); so *quandoquidem*, Bz.; *alioqui*, Cv.).—ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου, πῶς ἔρεῖ κ.τ.λ.; "he who fills the position of the unlearned, how will he say the Amen at thy thanksgiving?" P. does not here speak of ὁ ἰδιώτης simply (cf. 24), as meaning one unversed in Christianity; nor can this word, at so early a date, signify the *lay* Christian specifically (as the Ff. mostly read it); the man supposed "*holds the place* of one unversed" in the matter in question



<sup>1</sup> See xi. 18; 19. ἀλλ' <sup>1</sup> ἐν <sup>2</sup> ἐκκλησίᾳ <sup>3</sup> θέλω πέντε λόγους διὰ <sup>4</sup> τοῦ <sup>5</sup> νοός <sup>6</sup> μου  
 also ver. 4  
<sup>a</sup> above.  
<sup>a</sup> θελω η  
 (mallo),  
 N.T. h.l.;  
<sup>2</sup> Macc.  
 xiv. 42.  
 "A com-  
 mon formula" in cl. Gr., Wr., p. 302. Cf. Lk. xv. 7, xvii. 2; Mt. xviii. 9. Numb. xxii. 6; Tob. iii.  
 6, etc., LXX.  
<sup>v</sup> Rom. ii. 18; Gal. vi. 6; Lk. i. 4; Acts xviii. 25, xxi. 21, 24. w See iv. 15.  
<sup>x</sup> In like sense, Mt. xi. 16. See νηπιος, iii. 6, xiii. 11. y N.T. h.l. Prov. xviii. 2. z See v. 8.  
<sup>a</sup> H.l.; see xiii. 11; in Homer, νηπιαχέω. b See ii. 6; for the contrast, iii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> τφ νοι μου: all uncc. but KL. Cf. ver. 15.

being an *ιδιώτης* γλώσση (cf. 2 Cor. xi. 6): Thd. rightly paraphrases by ἀμύη-  
 τος, *uninitiated*. In cl. Gr., *ιδιώτης*  
 means a *private person* in distinction from  
 the State and its officers, then a *layman*  
 as distinguished from the expert or pro-  
 fessional man. The ptp. ἀναπληρῶν, *fill-*  
*ing up* (see parls.), represents the *ιδιώτης*  
 as a necessary complement of the γλωσ-  
 σολαλῶν (xii. 30). Hn. and others insist  
 on the literal (local) sense of τόπος, as  
 equivalent to ἔδρα not τάξις, supposing  
 that the *ιδιώται* occupied a separate part  
 of the assembly room; but this is surely  
 to pre-date later usage.—The united  
 "Amen" seals the thanksgiving pro-  
 nounced by a single voice, making it the  
 act of the Church—"the Amen," since  
 this was the familiar formula taken over  
 from Synagogue worship; cf. 2 Cor. i.  
 18 ff. On its ecclesiastical use, see El. *ad*  
*loc.*, and *Dict. of Christian Antiq. s.v.*—  
 ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδεν = the οὐδείς  
 ἀκούει of ver. 2. El. observes, "From  
 this ver. it would seem to follow that at  
 least some portions of early Christian  
 worship were extempore". indeed, it is  
 plain that extempore utterance prevailed  
 in the Cor. Church (cf. 14 f.).

Ver. 17. "For thou indeed givest thanks  
 well"—admirably, finely (καλῶς; cf. Luke  
 xx. 39, James ii. 19): words *légèrement*  
*ironiques* (Gd.).—εὐχαριστεῖς=εὐλογεῖς  
 (16: see note, also on i. 4).—ὁ ἕτερος,  
*i.e.*, the *ιδιώτης* of ver. 16 signifies, as in  
 iv. 6, x. 29; the pron. a distinct or even  
 opposite person. P. estimates the devo-  
 tions of the Church by a spiritually utili-  
 tarian standard; the abstractly beautiful  
 is subordinated to the practically edify-  
 ing: the like test is applied to a diff.  
 matter in x. 23, 33.

Vv. 18, 19. Again (cf. 6, iv. 6, ix.)  
 the Ap. uses *himself* for an instance in  
 point. Even at Cor., where this charism  
 was abundant, no one "speaks with  
 tongues" (mark the pl. γλώσσαις) so  
 largely as P. does on occasion; far from  
 thinking lightly of the gift, he "thanks

God" that he excels in it. 2 Cor. v. 13  
 and xii. 1-4 show that P. was rich in  
 ecstatic experiences; cf. Gal. ii. 2, Acts  
 ix. 12, xvi. 9, xxii. 17, xxvii. 23 f., etc.—  
 The omission of ὅτι after εὐχαριστῶ is  
 exceptional, but scarcely irregular; it  
 belongs to conversational liveliness, and  
 occurs occasionally after a number of  
 the *verba declarandi* in cl. Gr.: cf. note  
 on δοκῶ κ.τ.λ., iv. 9; and see Wr., p.  
 683. The Vg., omitting μάλλον, reads  
*omnium vestrum lingua loquor*, making P.  
 thank God that he could speak in every  
 tongue used at Cor.; Jerome, in his  
 Notes, refers the μάλλον to the other  
 Ἀφρ., as though P. exulted in being a  
 better linguist than any of the Twelve!  
 —ἀλλὰ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ κ.τ.λ.: "but in  
 church-assembly (cf. note on ver. 4) I  
 would (rather) utter five words with my  
 understanding, that I might indeed in-  
 struct others, than ten thousand words  
 in a tongue!"—ἀλλὰ contradicts the  
 seeming implication of ver. 18—"but for  
 all that": one might have supposed that  
 P. would make much of a power in which  
 he excels; on the contrary, he puts it  
 aside and prefers to use every-day speech,  
 as being the *more serviceable*; cf. for the  
 sentiment, ix. 19-23, 2 Cor. i. 24, iv. 5,  
 12, 15, xi. 7, xiii. 9, 1 Thess. ii. 6 ff.  
 With his Tongue P. might speak in soli-  
 tude, "to himself and to God" (2, 28, 2  
 Cor. v. 13); amongst his brethren, his  
 one thought is, how best to help and  
 benefit *them*.—For νοῦς in contrast with  
 πνεῦμα, see note on ver. 14; for its de-  
 clension, cf. i. 10.—κατηχέω (see parls.)  
 differs from διδάσκω as it connotes,  
 usually at least, *oral* impartation ("ut  
 alios voce instituiam," Bz.), including  
 here prophecy or doctrine (6). On  
 θέλω . . . ἢ, dispensing with μάλλον,  
 see parls.; *malim . . . quam*, Bz. For  
 the rhetorical μυρίους, cf. iv. 15.

Ver. 20. P. has argued the superiority  
 of intelligible speech, as a man of practi-  
 cal sense; he finally appeals to the good  
 sense of his readers: "Brethren, be not

21. Ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται, “Ὅτι ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐν<sup>c</sup> χεῖλεσιν ἑτέροις<sup>2</sup> λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ, καὶ οὐδ’ οὕτως εἰσα-  
κούσονται μου, λέγει Κύριος”. 22. ὥστε αἱ ἡ γλῶσσαι εἰς<sup>d</sup>  
ἡ σμειῖόν εἰσιν οὐ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπίστοις· ἡ δὲ  
xv. 8 (Isa. xxix. 13). e Cf. Acts ii. 4; Exod. xxx. 9. For gen. *ετερων*, cf. 2 Cor. viii. 8. f See  
xi. 28. g Heb. v. 7; Mt. vi. 7; Lk. i. 13; Acts x. 31; Deut. i. 43. h See xii. 10. i In like  
sense, Rom. iv. 11; Rev. xii. 1, 3, xv. 1; Mt. xxiv. 30; Lk. ii. 12, 34. eis σημ., Gen. ix. 13; Isa.  
xix. 20, lv. 13; Ezek. xx. 12. k See vi. 6.

<sup>1</sup> *ετεραις γλωσσαις*: G latt. vg. (*in aliis linguis et labiis aliis*) and Latt. Ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ετερων*: B<sup>AB</sup>, 17, 67\*\*, 73. So crit. edd.

children in mind” (see parls.).—“in judgment” (Ed.), “the reasoning power on its reflective and discriminating side” (El.); *φρένες* differs from *νοῦς* much as *φρόνιμος* from *σοφός* (see notes to iv. 10, x. 15). Emulation and love of display were betraying this Church into a childishness the very opposite of that broad intelligence and enlightenment on which it plumed itself (i. 5, iv. 10, viii. 1, x. 15, etc.). “It is characteristic of the child to prefer the amusing to the useful, the shining to the solid” (Gd.). This is a keen reproof, softened, however, by the kindly *ἀδελφοί* (“suavem vim habet,” Bg.).—*γίνεσθε*, “be in effect,” “show yourselves”; cf. xi. 1, etc. “In malice, however, be *babes* (act the babe); but in mind show yourselves full-grown (men)”.—For the force of the ending in *νηπι-άζω*, cf. *πυρρ-άζω*, to *redden*, Matt. xvi. 2; the vb. is based on *νήπιος*, a kind of superlative to *παιδίον*—“be (not boyish, but actually) childish” (Ed.), or “*infantile*, in malice”. For the antithesis of *τέλειος* (= *ἄνθρωπος*) and *νήπιος*, see ii. 6, xiii. 9 ff., and parls. For *κακία*, cf. note on v. 8: P. desiderates the *affection* of the little child (see Eph. iv. 32 f., for the qualities opp. to *κακία*), as Jesus (in Matt. xviii. 1 ff.) its *simplicity and humbleness*. Gd. excellently paraphrases this ver.: “Si vous voulez être des enfants, à la bonne heure, pourvu que ce soit quant à la malice; mais, quant à l’intelligence, avancez de plus en plus vers la maturité complète”.

§ 47. THE STRANGE TONGUES AN OCCASION OF UNBELIEF, xiv. 21-25. The Ap. has striven to wean the Cor. from their childish admiration of the Tongues by showing how unedifying they are in comparison with Prophecy. The Scripture quoted to confirm his argument (21) ascribes to this kind of manifestation a *punitive* character. Through an alien voice the Lord speaks to those refusing

to hear, by way of “sign to the unbelieving” (22). These abnormal utterances neither instruct the Church nor convert the world. The unconverted see in them the symptoms of *madness* (23). Prophecy has an effect far different; it searches every heart, and compels the most prejudiced to acknowledge the presence of God in the Christian assembly (24 f.).

Ver. 21. This O.T. citation is ad-duced not by way of Scriptural proof, but in solemn asseveration of what P. has intimated, to his readers’ surprise, respecting the inferiority of the Glossolalia; cf. the manner of quotation in i. 19, ii. 9, iii. 19. The passage of Isaiah reveals a principle applying to all such modes of speech on God’s part. The title *ὁ νόμος* Jewish usage extended to Scripture at large; see Rom. iii. 19, John x. 34. P. shows here his independence of the LXX: the first clause, *ὅτι . . . τούτῳ*, follows the Heb., only turning the prophet’s third person (“He will speak”) into the first, thus appropriating the words to God (*λέγει Κύριος*); Origen’s Hexapla and Aquila’s Gr. Version run in almost the same terms (El.). Paul’s second clause, *καὶ οὐδ’ οὕτως εἰσακού-σονται μου*, is based on the latter clause of ver. 12 (translated precisely in the LXX, *καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀκοῦειν*), but with a new turn of meaning drawn from the general context: he omits as irrelevant the former part of ver. 12. The original is therefore condensed, and somewhat adapted. Hf. and Ed. discuss at length the Pauline application of Isaiah’s thought. According to the true interpretation of Isa. xxviii. 9 ff. (see Cheyne, Delitzsch, or Dillmann *ad loc.*), the drunken Israelites are mocking in their cups the teaching of God through His prophet, as though it were only fit for an infant school; in anger therefore He threatens to give His lessons through



- l See xii. 10. <sup>1</sup> προφητεία οὐ <sup>k</sup> τοῖς <sup>k</sup> ἀπίστοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. 23. εἰάν  
 m See xi. 20.  
 n Rom. xvi. οὖν <sup>m</sup> συνέλθῃ <sup>1</sup> ἢ <sup>n</sup> ἐκκλησία <sup>n</sup> ὅλη <sup>m</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ <sup>m</sup> αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες  
 23; Acts  
 v. 11, xv. <sup>h</sup> γλώσσαις <sup>2</sup> ἡ λαλῶσιν, <sup>2</sup> εἰσελθῶσι δὲ <sup>o</sup> ἰδιώται <sup>h</sup> ἢ <sup>k</sup> ἄπιστοι, οὐκ  
 22.  
 o See ver. <sup>h</sup> ἐροῦσιν ὅτι <sup>p</sup> μαίνεσθε; 24. εἰάν δὲ πάντες <sup>a</sup> προφητεῦσιν, εἰσελθῇ  
 Acts xii.  
 p Acts xii. δέ τις <sup>k</sup> ἄπιστος ἢ <sup>o</sup> ἰδιώτης, <sup>r</sup> ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ πάντων, ἄνακρίνεται  
 15, xxvi.  
 24 f.; Jo.  
 x. 20; Jer. xxxvi. 26; Wisd. xiv. 28. q See xi. 5. r Eph. v. 11, 13; five times in Pastt.:  
 Jo. iii. 20, viii. 46, xvi. 8, etc.; γῆμος, 2 Tim. iii. 16. s See ii. 14.

<sup>1</sup> ελθῇ: BGGr. συν easily lost in foregoing ουν.

<sup>2</sup> λαλῶσιν γλώσσαις (in this order): all uncc. but DKL. G has λαλησῶσιν. D puts πάντες last.

the lips of foreign conquerors (11), <sup>12</sup> whose speech the despisers of the mild, plain teaching of His servants (12) shall painfully spell out their ruin. The <sup>ὅτι</sup> (*ki*) is part of the citation: "For in men of alien tongue and in lips of aliens I will speak to this people; and not even thus will they hearken to me, saith the Lord". God spoke to Israel through the strange Assyrian tongue in *retribution*, not to confirm their faith but to consummate their unbelief. The Glos-solalia may serve a similar melancholy purpose in the Church. This analogy does not support, any more than that of vv. 10 f. (see notes), the notion that the Tongues of Corinth were foreign languages.—*εἰσακούω*, to hear with attention, effect, shares the meaning of *ὑπακούω* (*obedio*) in the LXX and in cl. Gr.

Ver. 22. The real point of the above citation from Isaiah comes out in *ὥστε αἱ γλῶσσαι εἰς σημεῖον κ.τ.λ.*, "And so the tongues are for a sign not to the believing, but to the unbelievers"—*sc.* to "those who will not hear," who having rejected other modes of instruction find their unbelief confirmed, and even justified (23*b*), by this phenomenon. This interpretation (*cf.* Matt. xvi. 4; and for *εἰς σημεῖον* in the judicial sense, Is. viii. 18) is dictated by the logical connexion of vv. 21, 22, which forbids the thought of a *convincing* and *saving sign*, read into this passage by Cm. and many others. P. desires to quench rather than stimulate the Cor. ardour for Tongues.—*ἡ δὲ προφητεία κ.τ.λ.*, "while prophecy on the other hand" (δὲ) serves the opposite purpose—it " (is for a sign) not to the unbelievers, but to the believing". *οἱ πιστεύοντες* implies the act continued into a habit (*cf.* i. 21); *οἱ ἄπιστοι*, the determinate character. For *ὥστε* with ind., see note on iii. 7.

Ver. 23 shows the disastrous impression which the exercise of the Tongues,

carried to its full extent, must make upon men outside—a result that follows (*οὖν*) from the aforesaid intention of the gift (22): "If then the entire Church should assemble together and all should be speaking with tongues, but there should enter uninstructed persons or unbelievers, will they not say that *you are mad!*" If the Tongues are, as many Cor. think, the highest manifestation of the Spirit, then to have the whole Church simultaneously so speaking would be the *ne plus ultra* of spiritual power; but, in fact, the Church would then resemble nothing so much as a congregation of lunatics! A *reductio ad absurdum* for the fanatical coveters of Tongues.—The *ἰδιῶται* (here unqualified: otherwise in 16; *cf.* note) are persons *unacquainted with Christianity* (altogether uninitiated) and receiving their first impression of it in this way, whereas the *ἄπιστοι* are rejectors of the faith. The impression made upon either party will be the same. The effect here imagined is altogether diff. from that of the Day of Pentecost, when the "other tongues" spoke intelligibly to those religiously susceptible amongst non-believers (Acts ii. 11 ff.). The imputation of *madness* from men of the world P. earnestly deprecates (Acts xxvi. 24 f.).—Ed. renders *ἰδιῶται* "separatists"—unattached Christians; but this interpretation wants lexical support, and is out of keeping with ver. 16: did any such class of Christians then exist?

Vv. 24, 25. How diff. (δὲ) and how blessed the result, "if all should be prophesying and there should enter some unbeliever or stranger to Christianity (*ἰδιώτης*: see previous note), he is convicted by all, he is searched by all, the secret things of his heart become manifest; and so he will fall on his face and worship God, reporting that verily God is among you!" This brings out two further notes of eminence in the charism of

ὑπὸ πάντων· 25. καὶ<sup>1</sup> οὕτω<sup>1</sup> τὰ κρυπτὰ τῆς καρδίας αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> <sup>See iv. 5. With</sup>  
 φανερά γίνεται· καὶ οὕτω<sup>2</sup> πεισὼν<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ πρόσωπον<sup>2</sup> προσκυνή-  
 σει τῷ Θεῷ, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς<sup>1</sup> ὄντως<sup>2</sup> ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστι.  
<sup>u See xi. 19. v See xi. 28; ver. 21 above.</sup>

26. Τί<sup>1</sup> οὖν ἐστίν, ἀδελφοί; ὅταν συνέρχησθε, ἕκαστος ὑμῶν<sup>2</sup>  
 φωνὴν ἔχει, διδασχὴν ἔχει, γλώσσαν<sup>4</sup> ἔχει, ἀποκαλύψιν<sup>4</sup> ἔχει,  
<sup>w Mt. xvii. 6, xxvi. 39; Lk. v. 17. Freq. in GG. and Rev. y 1 Th. i. 9; Heb. ii. 12; 1 Jo. i. 2 f.; GG. and Acts, *passim*; Gen. xiv. 13. z Gal. iii. 16; 1sa. lxi. 20. βιβλ. ψ., Lk. xx. 42, xxiv. 44; Acts i. 20, xiii. 33. Cf. ver. 15. d See ver. 6. e See xii. 10. Cf. ἐρμηνευτής, ver. 28.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Om. καὶ οὕτω all pre-Syrian witnesses, including vg.

<sup>2</sup> οὕτως ὁ Θεός (in this order): all pre-Syrian uncc. Om. ο Ν\* D\* G: so Tisch., but not other edd.: probably a Western error: the ο easily lost between σ and θ in uncial script.

<sup>3</sup> Om. ὑμῶν Ν\* AB, 17, cop. So crit. edd. Obvious grammatical addition.

<sup>4</sup> ἀποκαλύψιν . . . γλώσσαν (in this order): all uncc. but L. K and many minn. om. γλωσσ. ἐχει, a few copies om. ἀποκαλ. ἐχει, by homœoteleuton.

Prophecy when compared with Tongues:

(1) The former edifies the Church (3 ff.); (2) it employs a man's rational powers (14-19); (3) it can be exercised safely by the whole Church, and (4) to the conversion of sinners. That "all" should "prophecy" is a part of the Messianic ideal, the earnest of which was given in the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost: see Num. xi. 23-29, Joel ii. 28, Acts. ii. 4, 15 ff.; the speaking of Pentecost Peter identifies with prophesying, whereas P. emphatically distinguishes the Cor. Glossolalia therefrom. Prophecy is an inspired utterance proceeding from a supernatural intuition, which penetrates "the things of the man," "the secrets of his heart," no less than "the things of God" (ii. 10 ff.): the light of heart-searching knowledge and speech, proceeding from every believer, is concentrated on the unconverted man as he enters the assembly. His conscience is probed on all sides; he is pierced and overwhelmed with the sense of his sin (cf. John iv. 29, also i. 48, viii. 9, Acts viii. 18 ff., xxiv. 25). This form of Prophecy abides in the Church, as the normal instrument for "convicting the world of sin" (John xvi. 8 ff.); it belongs potentially to "all" Christians, and is in fact the reaction of the Spirit of Christ in them upon the unregenerate (cf. John xx. 22 f.); ἐλέγχεται is the precise word of John xvi. 8.—Ἀνακρίνω (see ii. 14 and parls.) denotes not to judge, but to put on trial, to sift judicially. God alone, through Christ, is the judge of "the heart's secrets" (iv. 5, Rom. ii. 16); but the God-taught word of man throws a search-

ing light into these recesses. In ver. 24 the ἄπιστος precedes the ἰδιώτης (cf. 23), since in his case the arresting effect of Prophecy is the more signal.—προσκυνήσει and ὄντως ὁ Θεός κ.τ.λ. are a reminiscence of Is. xlv. 14, following the Heb. txt. rather than the LXX (cf. note on 21).—ἀπαγγέλλων, "taking word away," reporting, proclaiming abroad (cf. parls.), thus diffusing the impression he has received (cf. John iv. 29).—ὄντως (revera, Cv.), really, in very deed—contradicts denials of God's working in Christianity, such as the ἄπιστος himself formerly had made.—πεισὼν (aor. ptp., of an act leading up to that of principal vb. and forming part of the same movement) indicates the prostration of a soul suddenly overpowered by the Divine presence. To convince men that "God is in the midst of her" is the true success of the Church.

§ 48. SELF-CONTROL IN RELIGIOUS EXERCISES, xiv. 26-33. The enquiry of the Cor. as to whether Tongues or Prophecy is the charism more to be coveted is now disposed of. P. supplements his answer by giving in the two last paragraphs of this chap. certain directions of a more general bearing relative to the conduct of Church meetings, which arise from the whole teaching of chh. xi.-xiv.: see the *Intro.* to Div. iv.

Ver. 26. τί οὖν ἐστίν (cf. 15), ἀδελφοί; "How then stands the case, brothers?" οὖν is widely resumptive, taking in the whole state of the Cor. Church as now reviewed, with esp. ref. to its abundance of charisms, amongst which Tongues and Prophecy are conspicuous; *edifica-*



f Ver. 12. \* ἔρμηνείαν<sup>1</sup> ἔχει πάντα<sup>1</sup> πρὸς<sup>12</sup> οἰκοδομὴν γενέσθω.<sup>2</sup> 27. <sup>h</sup> εἴτε  
For προς,  
Jo. xi. 3; γλώσση τις λαλεῖ, <sup>1</sup> κατὰ δύο ἢ <sup>k</sup> τὸ <sup>k</sup> πλείστον τρεῖς καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἀνὰ  
i Pet.  
iv. 12. <sup>1</sup> μέρος, καὶ εἰς <sup>m</sup> διερμηνευέτω. 28. εἰδὼν δὲ μὴ ἢ <sup>n</sup> διερμηνευτής,<sup>3</sup>  
g See ver. 3.  
h Single,  
h.l.; completed by προσ. δε, in oratio variata. i Distrib. with numb., Mk. vi. 40; cf. ver. 31.  
So ανα, Lk. ix. 3, x. 1; John ii. 6. k The phrase, h.l.; πλείστος, Mt. xi. 20, xxi. 8; Mk. iv. 1.  
l H.l.; ανα μέρος ἀδειν, Polyb. iv. 20. 10. Diff. from εκ μερους, xlii. 9; and απο μερους, Rom. xi. 25  
m See xii. 30. n H.l. See text. note.

<sup>1</sup> DG, διερμην[ε]ίαν; ADL, -ίαν for -είαν, a common itacism.

<sup>2</sup> γινέσθω: all uncc., and all but a few minn.

<sup>3</sup> ἐρμηνευτής: B, with DG (which prefix ο). So Lachm., Tr., W.H. marg.

διερμηνευτής: ΞADb,cKL, etc., Chr., Euthal., etc.; "vox apud antiquos Græcos non usitata" (Tisch.).

tion must once more be insisted on as the true aim of them all.—**δταν συνέρχῃσθε**, "whosoever you assemble" (cf. xi. 18 ff.): here *pr.*; the aor. of ver. 23 referred to particular occasions.—"Each has a psalm (to sing)—a teaching, a revelation (to impart)—a tongue, an interpretation (to give)." The succession of the objects of ἔχει perhaps reflects the order commonly pursued in the Church meetings. For **ἕκαστος**, cf. i. 12, etc.: every Cor. Christian has his faculty; there is no lack of gifts for utterance or readiness to use them; cf. i. 5, also iv. 6 ff. This exuberance made the difficulty; all wanted to speak at once—women as well as men (34); **ἔχει**, in *promptu habet* (Mr.)—"iteratum, eleganter exprimit divism donorum copiam" (Bg.). The **ψαλμὸς** might be an original song (though not chanted unintelligibly, **ἐν γλώσση**—the latter is enumerated distinctly: see note on **ψαλῶ**, 15), or an O.T. Psalm Christianly interpreted (see parls.); similarly Philo, *De Vita Cont.*, § 10, describing the Therapeutæ, **ὁ ἀναστὰς ὕμῶν ὕμνον ᾄδει εἰς τ. Θεόν, ἡ καινὸν αὐτὸς πεποιηκώς, ἡ ἀρχαῖον τινα τῶν πάλαι ποιητῶν**. For N.T. psalms, see Luke i., ii., Rev. iv. 11, v. 9 f., 12 f., xv. 3 f.—**διδασχὴ** and **ἀποκάλυψις** (see 6 above; xii. 28 f.), the two leading forms of Christian edification. Beside the **γλώσσα** is set the complementary **ἐρμηνεία**, by which it is utilised for the Church: cf. xii. 10, 30; and vv. 1-19 *passim*.—**πάντα πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν γινέσθω** (pr. impv.), "Let everything be carried on with a view to edification".

Vv. 27, 28. The maxim **πρὸς τ. οἰκοδομὴν κ.τ.λ.** is applied to Tongues and Prophecy, as the two main competing gifts: "Whether any one speaks with a tongue (let them speak: sc. λαλεῖτωσαν) to the number of two (**κατὰ δύο**), or at the most three" (at one meeting)—"fiat

per binos, aut ad plurimum ternos" (Bz.).—**καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος**, "and in turn," *idque vicissim* (Cv.)—not all confusedly speaking at once. Ed. ingeniously renders the **κατὰ** and **ἀνὰ** clauses "by two or at most three together, and in turns" (antiphonally), as though the Tongues could be combined in a *duet*—"the beginning of Church music and antiphonal singing amongst Christians": but this does not comport with the ecstatic nature of the Glossolalia; moreover, the sense thus given to the second clause would be properly expressed by **ἐν μέρει**, not **ἀνὰ μέρος** (Hn.).—"And let one person interpret": whether one of the **γλωσσολαλοῦντες** (13), or someone else present (**ἄλλος**, xii. 10); the use of several interpreters at the same meeting might occasion delay or confusion. "If however there be no interpreter (present), let him (the speaker with the Tongue) keep silence in the Church, but let him talk to himself and to God": unless his utterance can be translated, he must refrain in public, and be content to enjoy his charism in solitude and in secret converse with God (cf. 2 ff.); the instruction to "speak in his heart, noiselessly" (so Cm., Est., Hf.) would be contrary to **λαλεῖν**, and indeed to the nature of a *tongue*. "ἢ for cl. **παρῇ**, sit for *adsit*; cf. Luke v. 17; *Iliad* ix. 688" (Ed.).

Vv. 29, 30. **προφήται δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς κ.τ.λ.**: "But in the case of prophets, let two or three speak, and let the others discern" (*discernant*, Vg.). In form this sentence varies from the parl. clause respecting the Tongues (27); see Wt., p. 709, on the frequency of *oratio variata* in P., due to his vivacity and conversational freedom; the anarthrous **προφήται** is quasi-hypothetical, in contrast with **γλώσση τις λαλεῖ**—not "the prophets," but "supposing they (the speakers) be prophets, let them speak, etc." The

ο σιγάτω ἢ ἐν ἑκκλησίᾳ, ἑαυτῷ δὲ λαλείτω καὶ τῷ Θεῷ. 29. ἢ προ-  
 φῆται δὲ δύο ἢ τρεῖς λαλείτωσαν, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι <sup>1</sup> διακρινέτωσαν.  
 30. ἐὰν δὲ ἄλλω ἂ ἀποκαλυφθῇ καθημένῳ, ὁ πρῶτος οἱ σιγάτω. 31.  
 δύνασθε γὰρ καθ' ἕνα πάντες ἡ προφητεύειν, ἵνα πάντες ἡ μανθάνωσι  
 καὶ πάντες ἡ παρακαλῶνται. 32. καὶ ἡ πνεύματα <sup>2</sup> ἡ προφητῶν

R See vi. 5. S See ii. 10. T See ver. 27. For καθ' ἕνα, add Eph. v. 33; Jo. xxi. 25; καθ' εἰς, Rom. xii. 5; Mk. xiv. 19; Jo. viii. 9. U See xi. 5. V Absol., Col. i. 7; 1 Tim. ii. 11; 2 Tim. iii. 7; Mt. xi. 29; Jo. vi. 45. W Frequent throughout P.; in Acts rarely; in GG., only Lk. iii. 18 with this sense. X Rev. xxii. 6. πνεύματα, see xii. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Om. οἱ ἄλλοι D\*GL—an example of Western license.

<sup>2</sup> πνεύμα, DG, 67\*\*, latt. (not »g.), syrsch., Epiph., Latt. FL

number to prophesy at any meeting is limited to "two or three," like that of the Tongue-speakers; the condition ἀντὶ μέρος (27) is self-evident, where edification is consciously intended (3, etc.). "The others" are the other *prophets* present, who were competent to speak (31); these silent prophets may employ themselves in the necessary "discernment of spirits" (see xii. 10)—διακρινέτωσαν, acting as critics of the revelations given through their brethren. The powers of προφητεία and διακρίσις appear to have been frequently combined, like those of artist and art-critic. It is noticed that in the *Didachē* a contrary instruction to this (and to 1 Thess. v. 20 f.) is given: πάντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσσετε οὐδὲ διακρινέετε.—The above regulation implies pre-arrangement amongst the speakers; but this must not hinder the free movement of the Spirit; if a communication be made *ex tempore* to a silent prophet, the speaker should give way to him: "But if anything be revealed to another seated" (the prophetier stood, as in Synagogue reading and exhortation: Luke iv. 1, Acts xiii. 16), "let the first be silent". σιγάτω does not command (as σιγησάτω might) an *instant* cessation; "some token would probably be given, by motion or gesture, that an ἀποκάλυψις had been vouchsafed to another of the προφῆται; this would be a sign to the speaker to close his address, and to let the newly illumined succeed to him" (El.). Even inspired prophets might speak too long and require to be stopped!

Ver. 31. By economy of time, every one who has the prophetic gift may exercise it in turn; so the Church will enjoy, in variety of exhortation, the full benefit of the powers of the Spirit conferred on all its members: "For you can (in this way) all prophesy one by one (καθ' ἕνα:

*singulatim*, Cv.), in order that all may learn and all may be encouraged". Stress lies on the repeated πάντες (cf. xii. 12 f.): let *every* prophet get his turn, and *every* hearer will receive benefit (cf. 26b); even if the Church members were all prophets, as Paul imagined in ver. 24, and thinks desirable (1-5), by due arrangement, and self-suppression on the part of the eloquent, all might be heard.

Ver. 32. The maxim πνεύματα προφητῶν προφήταις ὑποτάσσεται, is coupled by καὶ to ver. 31 under the regimen of γάρ; it gives the *subjective*, as ver. 31 the main *objective*, reason why the prophets should submit to regulation. "How can I prophesy to order?" one of them might ask; "how restrain the Spirit's course in me?" The Ap. replies: "(for) also the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets"; this Divine gift is put under the control and responsibility of the possessor's will, that it may be exercised with discretion and brotherly love, for its appointed ends. An *unruly prophet* is therefore no genuine prophet; he lacks one of the necessary marks of the Holy Spirit's indwelling (see 33, 37). This kind of subjection could hardly be ascribed to the ecstatic Glossolalia. On the pl. πνεύματα, signifying manifold forms or distributions (xii. 4, 11) of the Spirit's power, see note on xii. 10.—ὑποτάσσεται is the pr. of a general truth: "a Gnostic Present" (Bn., § 12); cf. iii. 13, 2 Cor. ix. 7.

Ver. 33. The apophthegm of ver. 32 exemplifies the universal principle of order in God's works; cf. the deduction drawn in xi. 3. God's gift of the Spirit submits itself to the receiver's will, through whose direction its exercise is brought into regulated and edifying use: "For God is not (a God) of disorder (or *seditionis*, Cv.), but of peace". To suppose that God inspires His prophets



γ xv. 27 f.,  
xvi. 16.  
15 times  
besides in  
P.; thrice  
in Lk.  
(πνεύματα  
υποτάσσαι,  
x. 20);  
four exx. in Heb.; one in Jas.; six in 1 Pet.  
Prov. xxi. 8: Tob. iv. 13. —τος, Jas. i. 8.  
1 Th. v. 23; Heb. xiii. 20; 2 Th. iii. 16 (ὁ κυρ. τ. εἰρ.).  
pass., Acts xxvi. 1, xxviii. 16. See also xvi. 7; 1 Tim. ii. 12, Acts xxi. 39.

α 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Rom. xv. 33, xvi. 20; Phil. iv. 9;  
b See vii. 17. c See vi. 1. d Impers.

33. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἁκαταστασίας ὁ  
"θεὸς ἀλλ' εἰρήνης, ὡς ἐν <sup>b</sup>πάσαις ταῖς <sup>b</sup>ἐκκλησίαις <sup>c</sup>τῶν <sup>c</sup>ἁγίων.<sup>1</sup>  
34.<sup>2</sup> Αἱ γυναῖκες ὑμῶν <sup>3</sup>ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις <sup>c</sup>σιγάτωσαν· οὐ γὰρ  
ἐπιτρέπεται <sup>d</sup>αὐταῖς λαλεῖν ἀλλὰ <sup>c</sup>ὑποτάσσεσθαι,<sup>5</sup> καθὼς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> N by its punctuation distinctly attaches *ὡς . . . ἁγίων* to ver. 33. So Chr. and Ff.; so also the crit. edd., exc. Tisch., Weiss, W.H. *marg.* See note below.

<sup>2</sup> DG and several Latin authorities read vv. 34; 35 after 40.

<sup>3</sup> *Om.* υμῶν NAB, 17, vg. cop., Or., Mcion., Cyp.

<sup>4</sup> ἐπιτρέπεται, all uncc. but KL.

<sup>5</sup> *υποτασσεσθῶσαν*: NAB, 17, 73, syr<sup>sc</sup>h. cop. basm., Mcion.  
*υποτασσεσθαι*: DGKL, latt. vg.—a Western emendation.

to speak two or three at a time, to make a tumult in the Church and refuse control, would be to suppose Him the author of confusion, of chaos instead of cosmos. —*ἁκαταστασία* (see parls.) is a word of the LXX and later Gr., denoting civil disorder or mutiny; it recalls the *σχίσματα* and *ἐριδες* of i. 10 f., xi. 18 f., to which emulation in the display of spiritual powers seems to have contributed.—“As it is in all the Churches of the saints”: in evidence of the “peace” which God confers on human society, P. can point to the conduct of Church meetings in all other Christian communities—a feature proper to “assemblies of the saints”. Here is a final and solemn reason why the prophets of Cor. should practise self-control and mutual deference: *cf.* xi. 16; also i. 26, and note; xvi. 1.—On the connexion of the *ὡς* clause, see Ed. or El. W.H. attach it to ver. 31, regarding vv. 32, 33a as a parenthesis; but this breaks the continuity of vv. 31, 32; nor does it appear that “all the churches” had the superabundance of prophets that necessitated the restrictions imposed in vv. 29-31. Other leading editors (Tisch., Mr., Hn., Hf., Bt., Gd.) link this qualification to the following context; but it comes in clumsily before the impv. of ver. 34, and the repetition of *ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις* is particularly awkward. On the other hand, the ref. to the example of the other Churches appropriately concludes the Apostle’s appeals on the weighty subject, of universal interest, which has occupied him throughout this chapter.

§ 49. FINAL INSTRUCTIONS ON CHURCH ORDER, xiv. 34-40. In vv. 34 ff. P. re-

turns to the matter which he first touched upon in reproving the disorderly Church life at Cor., *viz.*, the irregular behaviour of certain Christian women (xi. 2-16): there it was their *dress*, now it is their *tongue* that he briefly reproves. Vv. 37 f., glancing over the injunctions of Div. IV. at large, commend their recognition as a test of the high pretensions to spiritual insight made at Cor. Ver. 39 recapitulates Paul’s deliverance on the vexed question of Tongues *versus* Prophecy. Ver. 40 adds the final maxim of *propriety and order*,—a rule of administration as comprehensive and important as the *πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομήν* of ver. 26.

Ver. 34. Αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις *σιγάτωσαν*: “Let women (Gr. generic art.) keep silence in the church assemblies, for it is not allowed them to speak”; *cf.* 1 Tim. ii. 12, where the “speaking” of this passage is defined as “teaching, or using authority over a man”. The contradiction between this veto and the language of xi. 5, which assumes that women “pray” and “prophesy” in gatherings of Christians and forbids their doing so “with uncovered head,” is relieved by supposing (a) that in xi. 5 P. refers to *private gatherings* (so Cv., Bg., Mr., Bt., Ev., El.), or means specifically *at home* (Hf.), while here speaking *ἐν ἐκκλησίαις* is forbidden (35); but there is nothing in ch. xi. to indicate this distinction, which *ex hyp.* is vital to the matter; moreover, at this early date, the distinction between public and private Christian meetings—in *church* or *house*—was very imperfectly developed. Or (b), the instances admitted in xi. 5 were *exceptional*, “où la femme se sentirait

ὁ νόμος λέγει· 35.<sup>1</sup> εἰ δέ τι μαθεῖν<sup>2</sup> θέλουσιν, \*ἐν \*οἴκῳ τοὺς<sup>e</sup> See xi. 34  
 ἰδίου ἀνδράς \*ἐπερωτάτωσαν· \*αἰσχροὺν γὰρ ἐστὶ γυναῖξιν<sup>3</sup> ἢ ἐν<sup>20</sup> (Isa.  
 ἡ ἐκκλησία<sup>4</sup> λαλεῖν.<sup>4</sup> 36. ἡ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὁ \*λόγος τοῦ \*Θεοῦ ἐξηλθεν;<sup>g</sup> See xi. 6.  
 ἡ \*εἰς ὑμᾶς μόνους<sup>k</sup> κατήγγησεν; 37. εἴ τις<sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ<sup>m</sup> προφήτης<sup>h</sup> See xi. 18.  
 εἶναι ἡ<sup>a</sup> πνευματικός, \*ἐπιγινωσκέτω ἃ γράφω ὑμῖν, \*ὅτι τοῦ<sup>5</sup> i 2 Cor. ii.  
 14; Col. i. 25; 1 Th. ii. 13; 1 Tim. iv. 5; 2 Tim. ii. 9; Tit. ii. 5; occasional in other Epp.; freq. in  
 Syn. GG. and Acts. k See x. 11. l See iii. 18. m See xii. 28; sing. thus, Acts xxi. 10; Tit.  
 i. 12 (?). n See ii. 15. o 2 Cor. i. 14, xiii. 5; Acts iii. 10, iv. 13. For vb., see xiii. 12.

<sup>1</sup> DG and several Latin authorities read vv. 34, 35 after 40.

<sup>2</sup> μαθεῖν:  $\aleph$ BDGKL, etc. So all edd. except W.H., who put *μανθάνειν* (?) in *txt.*, following  $\aleph^*A^2$ , 17, and a few other minn. with Greg. Nyss., and *μαθ.* in *marg.*

<sup>3</sup> γυναῖκι:  $\aleph$ AB, 17, 73, vg., cop. basm.

<sup>4</sup> λαλεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ (in this order):  $\aleph$ AB, 17.

GL, and a few others, ἐν ἐκκλησίαις (*cf.* ver. 34).

<sup>5</sup> *Om.* του all but a few minn.; *cf.* vii. 19.

pressée de donner essor à un élan extraordinaire de l'Esprit" (Gd.); but *πᾶσα γυνή* (xi. 5) suggests frequent occurrence. (c) Hn. supposes *participation in the ec-static manifestations* forbidden, as though *γλώσση* were understood with *λαλεῖν*. (d) Ed. thinks the tacit *permission* of xi. 5 here *withdrawn*, on maturer consideration. But (e), in view of the words that follow, "but let them *be subject*" and "if they want to *learn*" (contrasted with *λαλεῖν* by δέ), and on comparison with the more explicit language of 1 Tim. ii. 12, in view moreover of the principle affirmed in ch. xi. 3 ff., it appears probable that P. is thinking of *Church-teaching and authoritative direction* as a rôle unfit for women.—*ὑποτάσσεσθωσαν* is the keynote of Paul's doctrine on the subject (*cf.* also Eph. v. 22 ff., etc.). This command cannot fairly be set aside as a temporary regulation due to the state of ancient society. If the Ap. was right, there is a *ὑποτάσσεσθαι* which lies in the nature of the sexes and the plan of creation; but this must be understood with the recollection of what *Christian subjection* is (see Gal. v. 13b, Eph. v. 22 ff.; also note on xi. 3 above).—What "the law says" was evidently in Paul's mind when he grounded his doctrine in ch. xi. on the O.T. story of the creation of Man and Woman. For Jewish sentiment in the matter, see Wetstein *ad loc.*, Vitranga, *Synag.*, p. 724; Schöttgen, *Hor.*, p. 658. For Gr. feeling, *cf.* Soph., *Ajax*, 293, *γυναῖξί κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει* (Ed.); for Early Church rule, *Const. Apost.*, iii. 6, *Conc. Carthag.*, iv. 99 (quoted by El.).

Ver. 35. εἰ δέ τι θέλουσιν *μανθάνειν*: "But if they want to *learn* something"

—if this is the motive that prompts them to speak. This plea furnishes an excuse, consistent with the submission enjoined, for women raising their voices in the Church meetings; but even so P. deprecates the liberty. As between *μανθάνειν* and *μαθεῖν* after *θέλω* and the like, El. thus distinguishes: "when attention is directed to the procedure of the action specified, the *pr.* is commonly used; when simply to the action itself, the *aur.*" —In bidding the Cor. women of enquiring minds to "ask at home of their own husbands," P. is laying down a general rule, not disposing of all cases that might arise; since the *impv.* of ver. 35 admits of exceptions, so may that of ver. 34: the utterances of Pentecost (Acts ii. 4) proceeded from "all," both men and women (*cf.* 18 f.); there is also the notable instance of Philip's "four daughters which did prophesy" (Acts. xxi. 9). At Cor. there was a disposition to put men and women on an equal footing in public speaking and Church leadership; this is stigmatized as *αἰσχροὺν* (*turpe, inhonestum*; *cf.* xi. 6, 13 ff.); it shocks moral feeling. For *ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, see xi. 18.

Ver. 36. The Ap. adds the authority of Christian usage to that of natural instinct (*cf.* the connexion of xi. 14 and 16), in a tone of indignant protest: "Or (is it) from *you* (that) the word of God went out? or to *you only* did it reach?" —*i.e.*, "Neque primi, neque soli estis Christiani" (Est.). The Cor. acted without thinking of any but themselves, as though they were the one Church in the world, or might set the fashion to all the rest (see note on i. 2b; also 33 above, and xi. 16). For the self-sufficiency of this



p Lk. i. 6. <sup>εἰς τ. Θ.,</sup> <sup>see vii.</sup> <sup>19. Cf.</sup> <sup>also ix.</sup> <sup>14, vii. 40,</sup> <sup>ii. 16.</sup> <sup>q 2 Cor. vi.</sup> <sup>9 (pass.);</sup> <sup>Rom. ii. 4, vi. 3, vii. 1, x. 3; Gal. i. 22 (pass.); 1 Tim. i. 13. See also x. 1. Six times in N.T. besides (see esp. 2 Pet. ii. 12). Sir. v. 15. r See xii. 31. s See xi. 5. t See xiii. 1. u Mt. xix. 14, etc. For κωλ. in P., Rom. i. 13; 1 Th. ii. 16; 1 Tim. iv. 3. v Rom. xiii. 13; 1 Th. iv. 12; -μων, see xii. 24; -οσυνη, xii. 23. w Col. ii. 5; Lk. i. 8; Heb. v. 6, etc.; Job xxxviii. 12. Contrast ατακτος, -ως, 1 Th. v. 14; 2 Th. iii. 6, 11. Cf. xv. 23.</sup>  
 p Lk. i. 6. <sup>εἰς τ. Θ.,</sup> <sup>see vii.</sup> <sup>19. Cf.</sup> <sup>also ix.</sup> <sup>14, vii. 40,</sup> <sup>ii. 16.</sup> <sup>q 2 Cor. vi.</sup> <sup>9 (pass.);</sup> <sup>Rom. ii. 4, vi. 3, vii. 1, x. 3; Gal. i. 22 (pass.); 1 Tim. i. 13. See also x. 1. Six times in N.T. besides (see esp. 2 Pet. ii. 12). Sir. v. 15. r See xii. 31. s See xi. 5. t See xiii. 1. u Mt. xix. 14, etc. For κωλ. in P., Rom. i. 13; 1 Th. ii. 16; 1 Tim. iv. 3. v Rom. xiii. 13; 1 Th. iv. 12; -μων, see xii. 24; -οσυνη, xii. 23. w Col. ii. 5; Lk. i. 8; Heb. v. 6, etc.; Job xxxviii. 12. Contrast ατακτος, -ως, 1 Th. v. 14; 2 Th. iii. 6, 11. Cf. xv. 23.</sup>  
 1. Κυρίου εἰσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐντολαί<sup>1</sup>. 38. εἰ δέ τις ἄγνοεῖ, ἄγνοεῖτω.<sup>2</sup>  
 39. Ὡστε, ἀδελφοί,<sup>3</sup> ἡμεῖς προφητεύειν, καὶ τὸ ἑλαλεῖν<sup>4</sup>  
 ὑμῶν γλώσσαις<sup>5</sup> μὴ κωλύετε.<sup>6</sup> 40. πάντα<sup>6</sup> εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ  
 τὰς τάξεις γινέσθω.

<sup>1</sup> ἐστιν ἐντολή: **ΣAB**, 17, cop., Aug. (**Σc**, **εἰς τ. εστ.**). **D\*G**, 14, Or., Hil., Ambrst., **εστιν** simply (Western); so Tisch. **εἰσιν ἐντολαί**: Syrian emendation.

<sup>2</sup> ἄγνοεῖται (?): **Σ\*A\*D\*G**, Or., latt. vg., Amb., Ambrst., Hil.; so Lachm., Tr. marg., Tisch., W.H. *txt.*, R.V. *marg.*, Nestle. Possibly a Western corruption.  
<sup>3</sup> ἄγνοεῖτω (?): **ΣcA<sup>2</sup>BD<sup>bc</sup>**, etc.; retained by Tr. *txt.*, R.V. *txt.*, W.H. *marg.* See note below.

<sup>4</sup> ἀδελφοί μου: **ΣAB\***, 67\*\*, syrr. cop. Om. μου Western and Syrian.

<sup>5</sup> ἐν γλώσσαις: **BD\*G**, cop., Tr. *marg.*

<sup>6</sup> το λαλεῖν μὴ κωλύετε γλώσσαις (in this order): **ΣABP**, 17, 73—conformed by Western and Syrian edd. to usual order.

<sup>6</sup> πάντα δε: all uncc. but KL.

church, cf. iv. 6 ff., v. 2. On κατανάω εἰς, see x. 11.—*h* links this ver. with the foregoing, "Or (if what I have said is not sufficient), etc."

Vv. 37, 38. *α* γράφω ὑμῖν, in the apodosis, includes, beside the last particular (34 ff.), the other instructions of this Ep.; προφήτης and πνευματικός in the protasis recall esp. the directions of chh. xii.-xiv.: cf. xi. 4, xii. 1, xiv. 1.—δοκεῖ, as in iii. 18 (see note), is *putat*, *sibi videtur* (not *videtur* alone, Vg.), denoting self-estimation. The term πνευματικός includes every one endowed with a special gift of the Spirit; cf. the pl. πνεύματα, ver. 12. Hf. and Hn. think however that the disjunctive *h* narrows the ref. of "spiritual," by contrast with "prophet," to the sense of "speaker with tongues"; but this is a needless inference from the part.; the Ap. means "a prophet, or a man of the Spirit (in any sense)". The adj. πνευματικός (in masc.: see parls.) refers not to spiritual powers (τὰ πνευματικά, xii. 1, etc.), but to spiritual character (=ὁ κατὰ πνεῦμα, ἐν πνεύματι, Rom. viii.), which gives insight in matters of revelation (cf. John vii. 17, viii. 31 f.). While the true "prophet," having a kindred inspiration (cf. 29), will "know well of the things" the Ap. "writes, that they are a commandment of the Lord" (Κυρίου ἐστὶν ἐντολή, "are what the Lord commands"; cf. ii. 10-16, vii. 40, and notes, 2 Cor. xiii. 3), this ability belongs to "the spiritual" gener-

ally, who "judge all things" (ii. 15); being "of God," they hear His voice in others (cf. John viii. 42 f., etc.; 1 John ii. 20, iv. 6). The "Lord" is Christ, the Head of the Church, who "gives commandment to His Apostles" (cf. vii. 10, 25, xi. 23, xii. 3, etc.; Matt. xxviii. 20, etc.).—For ἐπι-γινώσκω, cf. xiii. 12—"judicet atque agnoscat" (Est.); the pr. impv. asks for a continued acknowledgment of Christ's authority in His Apostle.—"But if any one is ignorant (of this), he is ignored" (ἀγνοεῖται)—a retribution in kind. The professor of Divine knowledge who does not discern Paul's inspiration, proves his ignorance; his character as "prophet" or "spiritual" is not recognised, since he does not recognise the Apostle's character; cf. Matt. x. 14 f., 41, John xiii. 20, for this criterion as laid down by Christ; the Ap. John assumes it in i. 4, 6.—ἀγνοεῖται, is pr. in tense, *ignoratur* (not *ignorabitur*, Vg.), affirming an actual rejection—sc. by the Lord, who says to such despisers of His servants, "I know you not" (cf. viii. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 19; John v. 42, etc.); but by His Apostle too, who cannot acknowledge for fellow-servants men who repudiate the Lord's authority in him (cf. 3 John 9 f.). Christ foretold that He would have to disown "many who had prophesied" in His name (Matt. vii. 22 f.). If ἀγνοεῖτω be read (still preferred by Mr., Bt., Ev., Gd., with R.V. *txt.*), the impv. is *permissive*, as in vii. 15: "sibi suæque ignorantiae relinquen-

XV. 1. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁ δὲ ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον δὲ εὐηγγελισά-  
 μην ὑμῖν, <sup>α</sup> δὲ καὶ <sup>β</sup> παρελάβετε, <sup>γ</sup> ἐν <sup>δ</sup> καὶ <sup>ε</sup> ἐστήκατε, 2. δι' οὗ  
 καὶ <sup>ζ</sup> σώζεσθε· τίνι λόγῳ εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν, εἰ <sup>η</sup> κατέχετε, <sup>θ</sup> ἕκτος

Acts xiii. 32. c See xi. 23. d Rom. v. 2; Col. iv. 12; Jo. viii. 44; cf. 2 Cor. i. 24. e Pr.,  
 see i. 18; also, beside ptpl. use, Heb. v. 7, vii. 25; 1 Pet. iii. 21, iv. 18; Jude 23; Acts xxvii. 20.  
 f See xi. 2. g See xiv. 5.

dos esse censeo" (Est.)—a counsel of despair; contrast 2 Tim. ii. 24 ff.

Vv. 39, 40 restate the advice of ver. 1 in the light of the subsequent discussion, moderating the Church's zeal for demonstrative charisms by insisting on the seemliness and good order which had been violated by their unrestrained exercise (26-33). "And so, my brothers, covet to prophesy": *ζηλοῦτε*, cf. xii. 31; τὸ προφητεῦν replaces by the regular inf. the telic *ἵνα προφητεύητε* of ver. 1 (see note).—καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν μὴ κωλύετε γλώσσαις, "and the speaking with tongues do not hinder"; this is to be allowed in the Church, but not encouraged like Prophecy, of course with the proviso that the Tongue has its interpreter (13, 28). For *ὥστε* with impv., see iv. 5, etc.—πάντα δὲ γινέσθω: "But let all things be carried on, etc.": the δὲ attaches this caution specially to ver. 39; zeal for Prophecy and permission of Glossolalia must be guarded by the observance at all points of *decorum* and *discipline*.—*εὐσχημόνως* (see parls., and note on vii. 35), *honeste* (Vg.) or *decently*; North. Eng. *mensefully* (cf. Eph. iv. 1, v. 4, and 33 above)—a sort of "ethical enhancement of the more mechanical κατὰ τάξιν" (El.). On the latter expression, opp. of ἀτάκτως, cf. 2 Thess. iii. 6 f., also xi. 34b above; the Cor. would interpret it by P.'s previous instructions—his παραδόσεις, ἐντολαί, ὁδοὶ ἐν Χριστῷ—and those given in this Ep.—*εὐσχημόνως* demands a right Christian *taste* and *deportment*, κατὰ τάξιν a strict Christian *method* and *rule of procedure*.

**DIVISION V.: THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY, CHAP. XV.** Some members of the Cor. Church denied the resurrection of the dead (12), compelling the Ap. to enter on a systematic defence and exposition of this Christian doctrine. The question was not raised in the Church Letter; nor does Paul indicate the source of his information; the opinion of the *τινὲς* was openly expressed, and was doubtless matter of common report (cf. v. 1). Their position was incompatible with Christianity; it contravened, in-

ferentially, the whole verity and saving worth of the Gospel (1 f., 13-19). Such scepticism nullified the faith and hope of the Church (11) as effectually as the party-divisions destroyed its love. While standing apart from the practical and personal questions upon which the Ep. turns (and accordingly reserved to the last), this doctrinal controversy has two important points of connexion with them, lying (1) in the *differences of opinion* prevalent at Cor. (cf. 12, λέγουσιν ἐν ὑμῖν *τινὲς*, with *ἵνα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγητε πάντες*, i. 10), and (2) in the *laxity of moral sentiment* associated with Cor. unbelief (cf. 32 ff. with v. 2, vi. 8 f., viii. 10, x. 14, 21 f., xi. 21, 29 ff.). This latter trait identifies the doubters of the Resurrection with the men who justified antinomian tendencies by the assumption of superior "knowledge" (see notes on vi. 12 and viii. 1, etc.); affecting "the wisdom of this world," they cherished the rooted prejudice of Greek culture, against the idea of a bodily redemption (see *Introd.*, p. 732). To men of this way of thinking the Resurrection was a folly even more than the Cross; some of those who had overcome the latter offence, still stumbled at the former. Unbelief in the Resurrection was sure to be excited wherever the Gospel spread amongst educated Greeks; the Ap. feels that he must grapple boldly with this difficulty at its first appearance in the Church; he puts forth his full strength to conquer it and to commend the truth that was impugned to the intelligent Corinthians.—Sceptics as they are in regard to the general doctrine, the *τινὲς* do not question the personal resurrection of Jesus Christ (a circumstance of great apologetic value); the Apostle's refutation starts from the assumption of this cardinal fact. They will not admit the recovery of the body as a part of the Christian salvation; they reject it as a principle, and a law of the kingdom of God. It was probably held that Christ's rising from the dead was a unique, symbolical occurrence, bringing about for believers in Him a redemption wholly spiritual, a literal and full deliverance from the



<sup>h</sup> Rom. xiii. 8 εἰ μὴ <sup>h</sup> εἰκῇ ἐπιστεύσατε; 3. <sup>k</sup> παρέδωκα γὰρ ὑμῖν <sup>i</sup> ἐν <sup>i</sup> πρώτοις, 4; Gal. iii. 4, iv. 11; <sup>m</sup> δ <sup>m</sup> καὶ <sup>o</sup> παρέλαβον, ὅτι <sup>n</sup> Χριστὸς <sup>n</sup> ἀπέθανεν <sup>o</sup> ὑπὲρ τῶν <sup>o</sup> ἁμαρτιῶν Col. ii. 18; Prov. xxviii. 25. i See iii. 5. k See xl. 2. l N.T. h.l.; Gen. xxxiii. 2. m Rom. ix. 24; Gal. ii. 10; 2 Th. i. 11; 1 Pet. ii. 8, iii. 21. n See viii. 11. o Gal. i. 4; Heb., 4 times; Ezek. xlv. 22. Cf. *περὶ ἁμαρτ.*, Rom. viii. 3, etc

flesh and the world of matter.—Paul's argument is in two parts: (A) vv. 1-34, concerning *the certainty*; (B) vv. 35-57, concerning *the nature of the Resurrection*. To establish its certainty (A), P. begins by (a) rehearsing *the historical evidence of Christ's bodily resurrection*, which had been preached by himself *ἐν πρώτοις* and so received by the readers (1-11); (b) he shows that *to deny the resurrection of the dead is to deny Christ's resurrection*, and so to declare the Gospel witness false and its salvation illusive (12-19); and further, (c) that the risen Christ is the first-fruit of a great harvest, whose ingathering is essential to the fulfilment of the kingdom of God (20-28); (d) he closes this part of the case by pointing to the *practical results of faith or unbelief in a future resurrection* (29-34). (B) The nature of the resurrection body is (a) illustrated by the difference between the seed and the perfect plant; also by the endless variety of material forms, instanced in animal organisms and in the heavenly bodies, which helps us to understand how there may be a future body of a higher order than the present human frame (35-43). (b) This difference between the *σῶμα πνευματικὸν* and the *σῶμα ψυχικὸν* being premised, it is argued that our investiture with the former is as necessary a *consequence of our relation to Christ* as our investiture with the latter is a consequence of our relation to Adam (44-49). (c) Only by this transformation, by the victory over death and sin thus achieved, can the promise of God in Scripture be fulfilled, His redeeming purpose effected, and the work of His servants made secure (51-58).—This is the earliest Christian doctrinal essay; in method and argumentative character it is akin to the Ep. to the Romans. Hn. ably defends its integrity against the attempts of Clemen and the Dutch School to make out interpolations and contradictions.

§ 50. THE FACTS CONCERNING CHRIST'S RESURRECTION, xv. 1-11. The doubt which the Ap. combats strikes at the fundamental, probative fact of his Gospel. He must therefore go back to the beginning, and reassert the "first things" he had taught at Cor. (1-4); to establish

the resurrection of Jesus Christ is logically to destroy the theorem, "There is no resurrection of the dead" (12). Six successive appearances of the Risen One are enumerated—the first made to Kephias, and the last to Paul himself—(5-9); the list is not intended as exhaustive, but includes the names most prominent in the Church, the witnesses whose testimony would be best known and most accessible. The Ap. dwells on the astonishing mercy that was in this way vouchsafed to himself (9 f.), insisting finally on the unbroken agreement of the Apostolic preaching and of the Church's faith in regard to this supremely important event (11).

Vv. 1, 2. "Now I give you to know, brothers" (cf. xii. 3, for *γνωρίζω*): Paul writes, with a touch of blame, as though informing the Cor. of what the staple of his message had been, that on which their whole Christianity is built (cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 5, Rom. vi. 3)—*viz.*, "the good news which," on the one hand, "I proclaimed to you (for cognate noun and vb., emphasising the *benefit* of the news, cf. ix. 18, etc.), which also," on the other hand, "you received; in which also you stand fast (cf. i. 6, xi. 2), through which also you are being saved". Ver. 11 similarly contrasts the correspondent part of proclaimers and receivers in attesting the saving facts (cf. xi. 23). The three relative clauses describe the inception, continuance, and progressive benefits of the faith of this Church.—*σώζεσθε* affirms a present, continuous salvation (cf. Rom. viii. 24, Eph. ii. 8); but "salvation," with Paul, always looks on to the future (see Rom. v. 9, 1 Thess. v. 8 ff.).—The connection of *τίνι λόγῳ εὐαγγελισάμην ὑμῖν*; is difficult to seize. The two interpretations of the R.V., *txt.* and *marg.* (also A.V.), are those commonly adapted: (a) making the *τίνι λόγῳ* dependent on *γνωρίζω*, as appositive to *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον κ.τ.λ.*, "I make known the good news . . . with what word I preached, etc." (so Bg., Hn., Ed.); (b) prefixing the clause, with an inversion of the normal order, to the hypothetical *εἰ κατέχευε*, which states the condition of *σώζεσθε*, "(you are saved), if you hold fast by what word I preached (it) to you" (Bz., Mr., Ev.,





- <sup>v</sup> Acts vi. 2; εἴτα<sup>1</sup> <sup>v</sup> τοῖς <sup>v</sup> δώδεκα<sup>2</sup>. 6. ἔπειτα <sup>v</sup> ὥφθη <sup>v</sup> ἐπάνω πεντακοσίοις  
<sup>above</sup>  
<sup>twenty</sup> ἀδελφοῖς <sup>x</sup> ἐφάπαξ, ἐξ ὧν <sup>v</sup> οἱ <sup>v</sup> πλείους<sup>3</sup> <sup>x</sup> μένουσιν <sup>a</sup> ἕως <sup>a</sup> ἄρτι,  
<sup>times in</sup>  
<sup>GG.: cf.</sup> τινὲς δὲ καὶ<sup>4</sup> <sup>b</sup> ἐκοιμήθησαν. 7. ἔπειτα<sup>5</sup> <sup>b</sup> ὥφθη <sup>v</sup> ἱακώβω, εἴτα<sup>6</sup>  
<sup>Rev. xxi.</sup>  
<sup>14.</sup> τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν. 8. <sup>o</sup> ἔσχατον δὲ <sup>c</sup> πάντων, <sup>d</sup> ὥσπερ εἰ τῷ  
<sup>14.</sup>  
<sup>5.</sup> See  
<sup>Wt., p. 313.</sup> <sup>x</sup> Rom. vi. 10; Heb. vii. 27, ix. 12, x. 10. See note below. <sup>y</sup> See ix. 19.  
<sup>z</sup> In this sense, Phil. i. 25; John xxi. 22 f. <sup>a</sup> See iv. 13. <sup>b</sup> See vii. 39. <sup>c</sup> Adv., Mk. xii. 22  
<sup>(with παρτω);</sup> Num. xxxi. 2. For adj., see ver. 26. <sup>d</sup> Bibl. h.l. See note below.

<sup>1</sup> εἴτα (?) , NA, 17, 37, 46. So Tisch., Tr., and W.H. marg.  
 εἴτα, BD<sup>c</sup>KLP. μετὰ ταῦτα: D\*G.

<sup>2</sup> ενδεκα, DG, latt. vg., and Latt. Ff.,—a characteristic Western emendation.

<sup>3</sup> πλείονες, pre-Syrian uncc.

<sup>4</sup> Om. καὶ pre-Syrian uncc. and verss.

<sup>5</sup> εἴτα, D, Cyr.

<sup>6</sup> εἴτα (?) , N\*AGK, 17, 46. So Tisch., Lachm., Tr., W.H. marg.  
 εἴτα, N<sup>c</sup>BDLP, etc. Cf. note 2.

states as having been formally delivered to the Cor. along with the facts attested; for these two clauses are under the regimen of παρέδωκα (ver. 3). The manifold testimony was detailed with more or less fulness at diff. times; but P. seems always to have related *imprimis* the witness of Kephas and the Twelve, beside the revelation to himself (8). The Lord's manifestation to Peter (on the form *Kephas*, see i. 12) preceded that given to the body of the Apostles (Luke xxiv. 34). Peter's evidence, as the witness of Pentecost and ἀπόστολος τ. περιτομῆς, was of palmary importance, ἀξιόχρεων εἰς μαρτυρίαν (Thd.), esp. in view of the *consensus* to be asserted in ver. 11 (cf. i. 12).—ὥφθη with dat., *appeared* (pass. aor., in reflexive sense: see Bm., pp. 52, 187), is used of exceptional, supernatural appearances (see parls.). "The twelve," the college of the App., without exact regard to number: actually *ten*, wanting Judas Iscariot, and Thomas absent on the first meeting. Luke speaks on this occasion of "the eleven (the Western reading here) and those with them," xxiv. 33; Paul cites the official witnesses.

Ver. 6 carries forward ὥφθη into a new sentence, independent of παρέδωκα . . . ὅτι: the four remaining manifestations P. recites without indicating whether or not they formed a part of his original communication.—ἔπειτα (cf. 23, 46, xii. 28) ὥφθη κ.τ.λ.: "After t at (*deinde*) He appeared to above (ἐπάνω, cf. Mark xiv. 5) five hundred brethren once for all" (*semel*, Bz.). Nowhere else has ἐφάπαξ the meaning *simul, at once* (so Vg., and most interpreters, in violation of usage). This was the culminating manifestation

of the risen Jesus, made at the general gathering to which His brethren were invited by Him *in a body*, as it is related in Matt. xxviii. 7, 10, Mark xvi. 7; the appearance to "the eleven" described in Matt. xxviii. 16 ff. is recorded as the sequel to this summons, and implies the presence of a larger assembly (see esp. the words οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν in ver. 17), such as P. alludes to; the great charge of Matt. xxviii. 18 ff., closing the First Gospel, corresponds by its importance to this ἐφάπαξ.—P. writes a quarter of a century after the event; the followers of Jesus were mostly young in age for "the majority" (οἱ πλείονες) to have been still alive. On ἕως ἄρτι, see iv. 13.

Ver. 7. "After that, He appeared to James"—sc. *James, the brother of the Lord*, as elsewhere in P. (Gal. i. 19, ii. 9, 12), included in the ἀδελφοὶ τ. Κυρίου of ix. 5 above (see note); associated with P. in Acts xv. 13, xxi. 18 (see notes). The manifestation to James—only mentioned here—the chief of our Lord's formerly unbelieving brothers (John vii. 5), explains the presence of "His brothers" amongst the 120 disciples at Jerus. (Acts i. 14) and James' subsequent leadership in the mother Church. His high position at the time of writing accounts for his citation in this place. Paul made acquaintance with James as well as Peter on his first visit to the Jerus. Church (Gal. i. 18 f.). The well-known story about the meeting of Jesus with James told by Jerome (*De viris illustr.*, 2) implies an earlier date for this than Paul's narrative admits of, since ἔπειτα signifies succession in *time*; succession of *rank* cannot be intended.—"After that, to all the

ἐκτρώματι, ὥφθη κάμοι· 9. ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ ἐλάχιστος τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι ἀπόστολος, διότι ἐδίωξα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ· 10. χάριτι δὲ Θεοῦ εἰμι ὃ εἰμι, καὶ ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ κενή<sup>2</sup> ἐγενήθη, ἀλλὰ περισσότερον πάντων ἐκοπίασα· οὐκ ἐγὼ δέ, ἀλλ' ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ σὺν

above. g 2 Cor. iii. 5; 2 Tim. ii. 2 and Mt. iii. 11 (with inf.); Ex. iv. 10. h Gal. i. 13, 23, iv. 29; Phil. iii. 6; Acts ix. 4 f., xxii. 4, 7 f., xxvi. 11, 14 f.; Rev. xii. 13; Mt. v. 10 ff., etc. i See i. 2. k See i. 4. l 1 Pet. i. 10; cf. 2 Cor. ix. 8; Rom. v. 15. m 1 Th. ii. 1, iii. 5 (εις κενον). For κενος, see ver. 14. n Adv., Mk. vii. 36; Heb. vi. 17, vii. 15. For comp. adj., see xii. 23. o Rom. xvi. 6, 12; Ph. ii. 16; Acts xx. 35; Mt. vi. 28; Ps. cxxvi. 1. For κοπος, see iii. 8.

<sup>1</sup> Om. η DG, latt. verss. and Ff.—*gratia ejus in me*.

<sup>2</sup> πτωχη ουκ εγενηθη: DG (γεγονεν), some latt., Amb., Ambrst. (*pauper, egena*).

<sup>3</sup> Om. η B\*BD\*G, latt. vg. So crit. edd., exc. W.H. marg. Cf. note 1.

apostles": in this formal enumeration, ἀπόστολοις bears its strictest sense, and could hardly include James (see Acts i. 13 f.; he is not certainly so styled in Gal. i. 19). Paul was, presumably, aware of the absence of Thomas on the occasion of ver. 5, and his consequent scepticism (John xx. 24 ff.); he therefore says distinctly that *all* participated in this latter sight, which coincides in point of time with Acts i. 6-12, not John xx. 26. The witness of the First App. to the resurrection was complete and unqualified.

Ver. 8. ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων, ὥσπερ ἐκτρώματι: "But last of all, as it were to the abortion (a creature so unfit and so repulsive), He appeared also to me".—ἔσχατον (adv.) πάντων marks the conclusion of a long series; cf. iv. 9, also Mark xii. 22.—ὥσπερ, a frequent cl. conjunction, "nonnihil mitigat—ut si [or quasi]: docet non debere hoc nimium premi. . . . Articulus vim habet (τῷ ἐκτρώματι). Quod inter liberos est abortus, inquit, id ego sum in apostolis. . . . Ut abortus non est dignus humano nomine, sic apostolus negat se dignum apostoli appellatione" (Bg.; similarly Est., Mr., Al., Ed., Sm.); ἐκτρώμα need not be pressed beyond this figurative and descriptive meaning. However, Cv., Gr., Bt., Gd., and many find in the phrase an indication of the suddenness and violence of Paul's birth into Christ; Hn. and El. see pictured in it, more appropriately, the unripe birth of one who was changed at a stroke from the persecutor into the Apostle, instead of maturing normally for his work,—P. describes himself thus in contrast with those who, when Jesus appeared to them, were already brothers or apostles, already born as God's children into the life of faith in Christ" (Hf.). Sm. aptly sug-

gests that τὸ ἐκτρώμα was one of the insulting epithets flung at Paul by the Judaists; in their eyes he was a *wirklich Missgeburt*. He adopts the title—"the abortion, as they call me"—and gives it a deeper meaning. His low stature may have suggested the taunt: cf. 2 Cor. x. 10, and *Acta Pauli et Theclae*, 3. An abortion is a living, genuine offspring.

Ver. 9. ὁ ἐλάχιστος corresponds to ἔσχατον πάντων (8); "the least" properly comes "last": cf. Eph. iii. 8, which enhances this expression; also i Tim. i. 15.—ὃς οὐκ εἰμὶ ἱκανὸς καλεῖσθαι κ.τ.λ., "who am not fit to bear the name of apostle".—ἱκανὸς (lit. *reaching up to, hinreichend*), as distinguished from ἀξιον (*worthy*: xvi. 4), denotes *adequacy, competence* for office or work (cf. 2 Cor. iii. 5); the words are interchangeable "where the capacity to act consists in a certain moral condition of mind and heart" (Ed.: cf. Matt. iii. 11, and John i. 27).—διότι (*propterea quod*, Bz.) ἐδίωξα κ.τ.λ., "because I persecuted the Church of God"—a remorse which never left the Ap. (cf. Gal. i. 13, 1 Tim. i. 13 ff., Acts xxvi. 9 ff.); the prominence of this fact in Luke's narrative is a sign of Paul's hand. The Church of Jerus., whatever opposition to himself might proceed from it, was always to Paul "the church of God" (Gal. i. 13, 22): on this phrase, see note to i. 2. For καλέομαι, in this sense, cf. Rom. ix. 25 f., Heb. ii. 11. This ver. explains how P. is "the abortion" among the App.; in respect of his *dwarfishness*, and the *unripeness* of his birth into Apostleship.

Ver. 10. "God's grace," which makes Paul what he is (see ix. 1 f.: the double εἰμι is firmly assertive—"I am what I verily am"), is the *favour*, utterly undeserved, that summoned Saul of Tarsus



- p See iii. 22. ἔμοι. II. εἴτε οὖν<sup>1</sup> ἐγὼ εἴτε ἐκεῖνοι, οὕτω κηρύσσομεν καὶ  
 q See i. 23.  
 r See iii. 5 οὕτως ἔπιστεύσατε.  
 (ver. 2 above).  
 s See i. 23.  
 t Mt. xvii. πῶς λέγουσί τινες<sup>2</sup> ἐν ὑμῖν<sup>2</sup> ὅτι ἡ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν;  
 9, xiv. 2, etc. (apoc. r. νεκρ.); Mk. vi. 14; Lk. ix. 7; Jo. ii. 22, xii. 1, 9, 17, xxi. 14; Acts iii. 15, iv. 10, xiii. 30; 1 Pet. i. 21; Heb. xi. 19; 8 exx. in Rom.; 7 in P. elsewhere. u See ver. 4. v Rom. vi. 2; Gal. ii. 14, iv. 9. w Rom. i. 4; in Acts five times; Heb. vi. 2; 1 Pet. i. 3; Mt. xxii. 31; Lk. xx. 35.

<sup>1</sup> Om. η Ν\*BD\*G, latt, vg. So crit. edd., exc. W.H. marg. Cf. note 1 (p. 921).

<sup>2</sup> ἐν ὑμῖν τινες: ΝABP, 17.

from the foremost rank of the persecutors to the foremost rank amongst the servants of the Lord Jesus: cf. 1 Tim. i. 14, Eph. iii. 8, ii. 7, Gal. i. 13 ff. The grace of Apostleship implies the antecedent grace of forgiveness and adoption.—καὶ ἡ χάρις αὐτοῦ ἡ εἰς ἐμὲ κ.τ.λ., “and His grace that was extended (or went out) unto me, has not proved vain”: cf. the emphatic ἔμοι of Eph. iii. 8; the repeated art. marks me as the signal object of this grace; for χάρις εἰς, cf. 1 Peter i. 10.—κενή (cf. 14) means not void of result (that is ματαία, 17), but void of reality: Paul’s Apostleship was no titular office, no mere benevolence towards an unworthy man; the favour brought with it a labour quite as extraordinary—“nay, but (ἀλλ’) more abundantly than they all did I labour”.—κοπιῶ connotes exertion, painful or exhausting toil; see note on κόπος, iii. 8. So that, if last and least at the outset, and conspicuously unfit for Apostleship, in execution P. took the premier place: see 2 Cor. x. 13-18, xi. 23, xii. 11 ff., Rom. xv. 15-21.—αὐτῶν πάντων, presumably, more than all the rest together: by his single labours P. had extended the kingdom of Christ over a region wider than all the Twelve had traversed up to this date.—From the depth of Paul’s self-abasement a new pride is ready to spring, which is corrected instantly by the words, οὐκ ἐγὼ (δέ, ἀλλ’ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ σὺν ἔμοι: “not I, however, but the grace of God (working) with me”—this really wrought the work; I was its instrument. See iii. 7 ff., xii. 6, Phil. ii. 12 f., Eph. iii. 20, Col. i. 29; and for the turn of expression, Gal. ii. 20.

Ver. 11 breaks off the comparison between himself and the other App., into which Paul was being drawn, to sum up the statement of fact and evidence concerning Christ’s resurrection: “Whether then it were I (8 f.) or they (Kephass, the Twelve, the first disciples, James: 5 ff.),

so we proclaim (3 f.), and so you believed (2)”. For εἴτε, εἴτε, giving alternatives indifferent from the point of view assumed, cf. iii. 22, x. 31, etc.—οὕτως is emphatic: in the essential matters of vv. 1-4 and the crucial point of the resurrection of Jesus, there is not the least variation in the authoritative testimony; Peter, James, Paul—Jerusalem, Antioch, Corinth—are in perfect accord, preaching, believing, with one mind and one mouth, that the crucified Jesus rose from the dead.—On κηρύσσω, see note to i. 23.—This closes the case on the ground of testimony.

§ 51. IF CHRIST IS NOT RISEN? xv. 12-19. Paul has intrenched his own position; he advances to demolish that of his opponents. His negative demonstration, taking the form of a destructive hypothetical syllogism, has two branches: he deduces (a), in vv. 13-15, from the (supposed) non-existence of the fact of resurrection, the falsity of the faith (κενή ἡ πίστις) accorded to it, and of the witnesses attesting it; (b), in vv. 17-19, from the non-existence of the fact, the unreality of the effects derived from it (ματαία ἡ πίστις). Are the sceptics at Cor. prepared to affirm that the App. are liars? and that the new life and hopes of their fellow-Christians are an illusion? In arguing these two points, P. presses on the impugnors twice over (13, 16), that their general denial logically and in principle excludes Christ’s resurrection.

Ver. 12. δὲ contrasts with the affirmation of all Christians (11) the contradictory dogma of τινὲς ἐν ὑμῖν. For their sake P. made the rehearsal of vv. 1 ff. “But if Christ is preached, (to wit) that He is raised from the dead”—not “it is preached that Christ, etc.”: the preaching of Christ is the preaching of His resurrection; ἐξηγεσμένος and ἐσταυρωμένος (see i. 23 f., ii. 2) are, both of them, predicates inseparable from Χριστός (cf. Rom. iv. 24 f., viii. 34, x. 9, 2 Cor. v. 15;

13. εἰ<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἡ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν,<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ ἡ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται. x See ver 10; also  
 14. εἰ δὲ ἡ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, <sup>2</sup> κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν, ver. 58;  
<sup>3</sup> κενὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν<sup>4</sup>. 15. εὐρισκόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡ ψευδο- Eph. v.  
 μάρτυρες τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι ἔμαρτυρήσαμεν<sup>5</sup> κατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅτι 6; Col. ii.  
<sup>6</sup> ἡγάγετε τὸν Χριστόν, ὃν οὐκ ἡγάγειν εἶπερ<sup>7</sup> ἄρα νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγεί- 8; Jas. ii.  
 γονται. z See i. 21. 20; Acts  
 a Mt. xxvi.  
 60. Cf. Acts vi. 13, μαρτ. ψευδεῖς; -ρεῖν, Mk. x. 19; -ρισ, Mt. xv. 19. b N.T. h.l. Cf. καταμαρτ.,  
 Mt. xxvi. 62; also Mk. xiv. 56 f. For vb., 2 Cor. viii. 3; Rom. iii. 21, x. 2; Gal. iv. 15; Col. iv. 13;  
 1 Tim. v. 10, vi. 13; in Acts and Heb. freq. in Mt. and Lk. once each; Rev., 4 exx.; Gosp. and Epp.  
 of Jo. *passim*. c Cf. Acts iv. 26, vi. 13; Mt. xii. 32. d See vi. 14. Cf. Mt. x. 8, xi. 5; Mk. xii.  
 26; Lk. vii. 22, x. 37; Jo. v. 21; Acts xxvi. 8.

<sup>1</sup> ἡ ἀνάστασις, with several minn., om. εἰ . . . ἔστιν, the copyist's eye skipping from ver. 12b to ver. 13a. Several such omissions occur, in important ancient copies, in the duplicated clauses of this context.

<sup>2</sup> ἄρα καὶ (?) : ἡ ἀνάστασις, some 25 minn. So Tisch., Lachm., and Nestle (bracket); Tr. and W.H. marg. See ver. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Om. δὲ pre-Syrian uncc. and verss.

<sup>4</sup> ἡμῶν (?) : BD\*, 17, 67\*\*, sah. basm., Cyr.—Hier., Epiph., Ruf.—witnesses few, but varied, and forming a strong group. So W.H. txt. and R.V. marg.

ὑμῶν, as in all other witnesses, R.V. retains in txt., W.H. relegate to marg. Ver. 11 speaks for πίστις ὑμῶν.

<sup>5</sup> εἶπερ . . . ἐγείρονται omd. by D, 43, sah. basm. syrsch.; some latt. codd.

εἰ . . . ἐγείρονται omd. by P, 123, and two chief codd. of vg. See note 1 above.

Acts xvii. 18, 1 Peter iii. 18, 21, etc.). For the pf. ἐγήγερται, see ver. 4.—If this is so, “how (is it that) amongst you some say?”—a crying contradiction, that Christ is preached as risen and is so believed by the readers, and yet some of them say, ἡ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, “There is no (such thing as a) resurrection of dead (men)” (cf. the modern dogma, “Miracles never happen”),—a sweeping denial of anything of the kind. The doctrine of the Sadducees (Acts xxiii. 8); cf., for the Greeks, out of countless parl., Æschylus, *Eumen.*, 639, ἀπαξ θανόντος οὐτις ἔστ’ ἀνάστασις. —The deniers are “some” (not many), *quidam*, *quos nominare nolo* (Mr.: cf. 2 Cor. x. 2, etc., Gal. i. 7): “were they the ‘few wise men’ of i. 26?” (Ed.). Their maxim belonged to the current “wisdom of this age” (i. 20, iii. 19 f.). —πῶς, of surprised expostulation, as in Gal. ii. 14; for the emphasis on ἐν ὑμῖν, cf. John xiv. 9, πῶς σὺ λέγεις;

Ver. 13 opposes (δὲ) the thesis of the τινὲς by a syllogism in the *modus tollens* —“sublato genere, tollitur et species” (Gr.): if bodily resurrection is *per se* impossible, then there is no risen Christ (so Bg., Mr., Al., Bt., Ed., El., etc.); the abstract universal negative of the deniers ver. 16 will restate in the concrete. Hn. and Gd. (somewhat similarly Cm., Cv.) hold, on the other hand, that P. is making out the essential connexion between

Christ's rising and that of the Christian dead—in which case he should have written ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν; he speaks of “the dead in Christ” first in ver. 18. Hn. and Gd. justly observe that the τινὲς might have allowed Christ's resurrection as an exception; but the point of Paul's argument is that *this is logically impossible*, that the absolute philosophical denial of bodily resurrection precludes the raising up of Jesus Christ; on the other hand, if He is risen, the axiom ἡ ἀνάστασις οὐκ ἔστιν is disproved, the spell of death is broken, and Christ's rising carries with it that of those who are “in Christ” (18, 20-23, 1 Thess. iv. 14; cf. John xi. 25, Heb. ii. 15).

Vv. 14, 15. The implicit affirmative conclusion just intimated P. will develop afterwards. He has first to push the opposing axiom to further consequences. (1) if the fact is untrue, the testimony is untrue.—“But if Christ is not raised, vain therefore is our proclamation, vain also your faith”.—κενός (see note on οὐ κενή, 10; and cf. κενώω, i. 17, etc.) signifies void, unsubstantial (*inanis*, Vg.)—a hollow witness, a hollow belief, while μάταιος (17; see parl.) is “vain” as ineffectual, frustrate. For κήρυγμα, see note on i. 21; on its distinction from λόγος (2), see ii. 4: ἡμῶν includes P. and his colleagues (11). For ἄρα, see v. 10.—If “the message is empty,” declaring a thing that is not, “the faith is also



e See iii. 26. ρονται<sup>1</sup>. 16. εἰ γὰρ ἄνεκροὶ οὐκ ἔγειρονται,<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ Ἐχριστὸς ἔγήγερ-  
f Jo. viii. 21, ται· 17. εἰ δὲ Ἐχριστὸς οὐκ ἔγήγερται, ὁ ματαία ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν,<sup>2</sup> ἔτι<sup>3</sup>  
g See vii. 39. ἔστι· 18. ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἔν  
h 1 Th. iv. 16. Cf. i. 2.

<sup>1</sup> εἰπερ . . . εγειρονται omd. by D, 43, sah. basm. syr<sup>sch</sup>.; some latt. cod.

εἰ . . . εγειρονται omd. by P, 123, and two chief codd. of vg. See note 3 above.

<sup>2</sup> Ins. εστιν (?): BD\*. Lachm. and W.H. bracket. If original, easily dropped in view of ver. 14.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ ετι: B<sup>h</sup>A, 31, sah. basm. syr<sup>sch</sup>.; vg., *adhuc enim*. οτι ετι, 37, 43, Tert. τι ετι, d e (*quid adhuc*).

empty," building on the thing that is not; preaching and faith have no genuine content; the Gospel is evacuated of all reality.—For the character of P. and his fellow-witnesses this conclusion has a serious aspect: "We are found more-over (to be) false witnesses of God"—men who have given *lying* testimony, and that about God, "the worst sort of impostors" (Gd.)! τοῦ Θεοῦ is objective gen., as the next clause shows; it is always "God" to whom P. imputes the raising of Christ, who by this act gave His verdict concerning Jesus (Rom. i. 4, Gal. i. 1, Eph. i. 20; Acts ii. 36, xiii. 30-39, xvii. 31).—δὲ καὶ calls emphatic attention to another and contrasted side of the matter in hand.—εὐρισκόμεθα approaches the sense of ἐλεγχόμεθα or ἀλίσκόμεθα (see parls.)—"discovered" in a false and guilty position.—Nothing can be stronger evidence than this passage to the objective reality, in Paul's experience, of the risen form of Jesus. The suspicion of *hallucination*, on his own part or that of the other witnesses, was foreign to his mind; the matter stood on the plain footing of testimony, given by a large number of intelligent, sober, and responsible witnesses to a sensible, concrete, circumstantial fact: "Either He rose from the grave, or we lied in affirming it"—the dilemma admits of no escape.—ὅτι μαρτυρήσαμεν κ.τ.λ.: "in that we testified against God that He raised up the Christ—whom He did not raise, if indeed then (as 'some' affirm) dead (men) are not raised up". κατὰ τ. Θεοῦ, *adversus Deum* (Vg., Est., Mr., Hn., Gd., Ed., Sm.), as always in such connexion in N.T. (see iv. 6 and parls.), not *de Deo* (Er., Bz., Al., El., A.V.); the falsehood (*ex hyp.*) would have *wronged* God, as, e.g., the ascription of miracles to God traduces Him in the eyes of Deists.—ἤγειρε τὸν Χριστόν, "the Messiah," whom "according to the Scriptures" (3 f.; cf. Luke xxiv. 46, Acts xvii. 3, xxvi. 22 f., etc.) God was

bound to raise from the dead.—εἰπερ ἄρα, *si videlicet* (Bz.), *supposing to be sure*; see viii. 5; and v. 10, for ἄρα.

Ver. 16 restates the position of the τινές (13; see note), in order to press it to another, even more intolerable conclusion: (1) vv. 14, 15 proved the witness untrue, if the fact is unreal; (2) vv. 17, 18 conclude the effects unreal, if the fact is unreal.

Vv. 17, 18 unfold this latter consequence in a form parl. to the former: εἰ δὲ . . . ἄρα (14). For ματαία (syn. with ἀργή, James ii. 20; with ἀνωφελεῖς, Tit. iii. 9), see note on κενόν (14); a faith is "frustrate," "null and void," which does not *save from sin*; now "Christ died for our sins" (3), but His *resurrection* makes His death valid, publishing it to men as accepted by God and availing for redemption (Rom. iv. 25, viii. 33 f., x. 9; Luke xxiv. 46 f.; Acts xiii. 32-38—observe the γνωστὸν οὖν ἔστω); it is hereby that "God gives the victory" over both sin and death (57). In Christ's resurrection is the seal of our justification, and the spring of our sanctification (Rom. vi. 4-11); both are wanting, if He is still in the grave. The absence of both is implied in being "yet in your sins"—unforgiven, unrenewed. Now this is contrary to experience (i. 30, vi. 11); the Cor. readers *know* themselves to be saved men, as Paul and the App. know themselves to be honest men (15). P. leaves the inference, which observes the strict method of the *modus tollens*, to the consciousness of his readers (cf. 20): "We are true witnesses, you are redeemed believers; on both accounts it is certain that Christ has risen,—and therefore that there is a resurrection of the dead".—A further miserable consequence of the negative dogma emerges from the last: ἄρα καὶ οἱ κοιμηθέντες . . . ἀπόλονται. "Then also those that were laid to sleep in Christ perished!"—*perished* (ptp. and vb. both aor.) when we laid them to rest, and with the

<sup>h</sup>Χριστῷ <sup>i</sup>ἀπώλοντο. 19. εἰ ἐν τῇ <sup>k</sup>ζωῇ ταύτῃ <sup>l</sup>ἡλπικότες <sup>1</sup>See viii. 11. <sup>ε</sup>σμὲν <sup>1</sup>ἐν Χριστῷ <sup>1</sup>μόνον, <sup>n</sup>ἡλειονότεροι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐσμέν. <sup>k</sup>Phil. i. 20; Jas. iv. 14  
20. Νυνὶ δὲ <sup>o</sup>Χριστὸς <sup>o</sup>ἐγγίγεται <sup>p</sup>ἐκ νεκρῶν, <sup>p</sup>ἀπαρχὴ τῶν <sup>1</sup>Pet. iii. 10 (Psa. xxxiii. 12). <sup>1</sup>Eph. i. 12; 4 Kings xviii. 5; cf. ελπιζ. eis, 2 Cor. i. 10. m Pf. 2 Cor. i. 10; 1 Tim. iv. 10, v. 5, vi. 17; Jo. v. 45. n Rev. iii. 17; for compar. with πάντων, see xiii. 13. o See vv. 4 and 12. p xvi. 15; Rom. viii. 23, xi. 16, xvi. 5; 2 Th. ii. 13 (?); Jas. i. 18; Rev. xiv. 4; Exod. xxiii. 19, etc.

<sup>1</sup>ἐν Χριστῷ ἡλπικότες ἐσμεν (in this order): all pre-Syrian uncc.

"perishing" which befalls those "yet in their sins" (cf. i. 18, viii. 11, Rom. ii. 12, vi. 23, etc.; also John viii. 21, 24). They were "put to sleep in Christ" (cf. 1 Thess. iv. 14), as the sense of His presence and the promises of His gospel turned their death into sleep (John xi. 11, etc.). The ματαιότης of being lulled to sleep when falling into utter ruin! They thought "the sting of death" drawn (56), and lay down to rest untroubled: cruelly deceived! For the unclassical position of ἄρα, see Wr., p. 699.

Ver. 19 expresses the infinite bitterness of such a deception. In the right order of words (see xxi. note), μόνον is attached to ἡλπικότες (cf. Luke xxiv. 21): "If in this life we have only had hope in Christ"—no present deliverance from sin, no future inheritance in heaven—"we are more than all men to be pitied". For a hope without legitimate basis or ultimate fruition, Christians have sacrificed all material good! (cf. 30 ff., iv. 11 ff.; Heb. x. 32-46, Luke xviii. 22, etc.). ἡλπικότες ἐσμεν = ἡλπίκαμεν (1 Tim. iv. 10), with stress laid on the actual condition of those who have formed this futile hope. ἐν Χριστῷ points to Christ as the ground of Christian hope (cf. Phil. ii. 19). ἐν τῇ ζωῇ ταύτῃ brings to mind all that the Christian forfeits here and now—losing "this life" for the vain promise of another, letting earth go in grasping at a fancied heaven; no wonder the world pities us!—Ed. *ad loc.* answers well the censure passed on the Ap., as though he made the worth of goodness depend on its future reward: (1) P. does not say "we are more worthless"—a good man may be very "pitiable," and all the more because of his worth; (2) on Paul's hypothesis (17), moral character is undermined, while future happiness is destroyed, by denial of the Resurrection.

§ 52. THE FIRSTFRUIT OF THE RESURRECTION AND THE HARVEST, xv. 20-28. Paul has proved the actuality of Christ's personal resurrection by the abundant and truthful testimony by the fact (5-15), and by the experimental

reality of its effects (17). In ver. 20a he therefore affirms it unconditionally, having overthrown the contrary assertion that "there is no resurrection of the dead." But Christ never stands alone; He forms "a body" with "many members" (xii. 12); He is "firstborn among many brothers" (Rom. viii. 29, Col. i. 18, John xv. 5, etc.). His rising shows that bodily resurrection is possible; nay, it is inevitable for those who are in Him (18, 20b, 23). In truth, the universal redemption of Christ's people from the grave is indispensable for the realisation of human destiny and for the assured triumph of God's kingdom (24-28). The Ap. thus advances from the experimental (§ 51) to the theological proof of his theorem, much as in Rom. v. 1-11, 12-21.

Ver. 20. Νυνὶ δὲ (cf. xii. 18) marks the logical point P. has reached by the reductio ad impossibile of the negative proposition attacked in ver. 12. Christ has been raised; therefore there is a resurrection of the dead (12-18): "now" the ground is cleared and the foundation laid for the declaration that the Christian dead shall rise in Him—"Christ has been raised from the dead, a firstfruit of them that have fallen asleep"; He has risen in this character and purpose, "not to remain alone in His estate of glory" (Gd.).—ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων (pl. of abiding state: cf. John xi. 11 f., Matt. xxvii. 52) = ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν and πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν (Col. i. 18, Rev. i. 5).—Cm. and Bg. are surely right in seeing here an allusion to the first harvest-sheaf (ἀπαρχὴν του θερισμοῦ ὑμῶν, Lev. xxiii. 10: cf. in this connexion Matt. xiii. 39 ff. with John v. 28 f. and Rev. xiv. 14 ff.) of the Passover, which was presented in the Sanctuary on the 16th Nisan, probably the day of the resurrection of Jesus; this allusion is in the Easter strain of v. 6 ff. (see notes). The first ripe sheaf is an earnest and sample of the harvest, consecrated to God and laid up with Him (cf. Rom. vi. 10 f.) in anticipation of the rest. The Resurrection has begun.

Vv. 21, 22 explain the identification of



q See vii. 39. <sup>1</sup> κεκοιμημένων ἐγένετο.<sup>1</sup> 21. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ὁ θάνατος, καὶ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἀνάστασις. <sup>r</sup> See i. 21. νεκρῶν. 22. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἔν τῳ <sup>s</sup> See ver. 12. Ἀδὰμ πάντες ἀποθνήσκουσιν, οὕτως καὶ ἔν τῳ Χριστῷ πάντες <sup>t</sup> xi. 12, xvi. 1; 5 exx. ἡ ζωοποιηθήσονται. 23. ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι. ἡ ἀπαρχὴ <sup>in Rom.</sup> Gal. iv. 29; Jas. ii. 26; Jo. v. 21, 26. <sup>u</sup> vii. 14; 2 Cor. v. 19; Gal. ii. 17; Eph. i. 4, iii. 11; Acts iv. 2. <sup>v</sup> Rom. iv. 17, viii. 11; Jo. v. 21; 4 Kl. v. 7. <sup>w</sup> N.T. h.l.; 1 Kl. iv. 10; 2 Kl. xliii. 13. See-ξ,ς, xiv 40.

<sup>1</sup> Om. ἐγένετο all pre-Syrian witnesses.

<sup>2</sup> Om. • NABD•K, 17, 67.\*\*

the risen Christ with those sleeping in death, which was assumed by the word ἀπαρχή. It rests on the fact that Christ is the antitype of Adam, the medium of life to the race as Adam was of death. This parl. is resumed in vv. 46 ff., where it is applied to the nature of the resurrection body, as here to the universality of the resurrection. These two passages form the complement of Rom. v. 12-21; the antithesis of Adam and Christ—who represent flesh, trespass, death and spirit, righteousness, life respectively—is thus extended over the entire career of the race viewed as a history of sin and redemption.—"For since through man (there is) death, through man also (there is) a resurrection of the dead": δι' ἀνθρώπου, "through a man (*qua* man)"—*through human means or mediation*. For ἐπειδὴ, *quandoquidem* (Cv.), see i. 21 f.; the first fact necessitated and shaped the second: man was the channel conveying death to his kind (Rom. v. 12), through the same channel the counter current must flow (Rom. v. 15, etc.).—This goes deeper than ἀπαρχή; Christ is the ἀρχή, the principle and root of resurrection-life (Col. i. 18).—"Through man" implies that Death is not, as philosophy supposed, a law of finite being or a necessity of fate; it is an event of history, a calamity brought by man upon himself and capable of removal by the like means.

ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ κ.τ.λ.: "For just as in the Adam all die, so also in the Christ all will be made alive". The foregoing double δι' ἀνθρώπου opens out into "the (representative) Adam and Christ"—the natural and spiritual, earthly and heavenly counterparts (45 ff.), the two types and founders of humanity, paralleled by ὥσπερ . . . καὶ οὕτως (cf. Rom. v. 12 ff.).—The stress of the comparison does not lie on πάντες, as though the Ap. meant to say that "all (men)" will rise in Christ as certainly as they die in Adam (so, with variations, Or., Cm., Cv., Mr., Gd., Sm., El., referring

to John v. 28 f., Acts xxiv. 15): as Bt. says, the absence of ἀνθρώποι tells against such ref. to the race (contrast Rom. v. 12, 18), also the use of ζωοποιέω (see below). The point is that as death in all cases is grounded in Adam, so life in all cases is grounded in Christ (cf. John vi. 53, xi. 25)—no death without the one, no life without the other (Aug., Bg., Hf., Ed., Hn., Bt.). πάντες = οἱ πολλοί (Rom. v. 18 f.), as set in contrast with ὁ εἰς ἀνθρώπος.—Ζωοποιέω is narrower in extension than ἐγείρω (20), since the latter applies to every one raised from the grave (15 f., 35); wider in intension, as it imports not the mere raising of the body, but restoration to "life" in the full sense of the term (Hf.; cf. 45, Rom. vi. 8, viii. 11; John v. 21, vi. 63),—an ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς (John v. 29). A firm and broad basis is now shown to exist for the solidarity between Christ and the holy dead (οἱ κεκοιμημένοι) affirmed in ver. 20.

Ver. 23. But ἀπαρχή implies difference in agreement, distinction in order along with unity in nature and determining principle. Hence the added qualification, ἕκαστος δὲ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι, κ.τ.λ.: "But each in his proper rank—Christ (as) firstfruit; thereafter, at His coming, the (people) of Christ". τάγμα signifies a military division (cf. xiv. 40). There are two τάγματα (cf. Matt. xiii. 8) of the resurrection host; the Captain (ἡ ἀρχηγός, Heb. ii. 10; cf. ἀπαρχή above), in His solitary glory; and the rest of the army now sleeping, to rise at His trumpet's sound (52, 1 Thess. iv. 16).—It is incongruous to make a third τάγμα out of τὸ τέλος (ver. 24) as Bg. and Mr. would do, paraphrasing this as "the last act (of the resurrection),"—*vis.*, the resurrection of non-Christians. Their introduction is irrelevant: P. has proved the resurrection of Christ, and is now making out that the resurrection of His sleeping ones is bound up with His own. Christ and Christians are the participants in the resurrection of life. ἔπειτα, opp. of πρῶτον (cf. 46) implied

Χριστός, ἔπειτα <sup>1</sup>οἱ <sup>2</sup>Χριστοῦ <sup>1</sup>ἐν τῇ <sup>3</sup>παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ <sup>2</sup>. 24. <sup>x</sup> For gen. constr., see i. 12. <sup>y</sup> i Th. ii. 19, iii. 13, v. 23; i Jo. ii. 28. <sup>z</sup> Single, in temp. sense, Jas. i. 15; Mk. iv. 17, viii. 25; Lk. viii. 12; Jo. xiii. 5, xix. 27, xx. 27. <sup>a</sup> i Pet. iv. 7; Mt. xxiv. 6, 14. See i. 8. <sup>b</sup> Cf. Mt. xi. 27; Lk. iv. 6. <sup>c</sup> See iv. 20. <sup>abs.</sup>, Acts xx. 25; Lk. xii. 32, xix. 15; Rev. i. 6, v. 10. <sup>d</sup> 2 Cor. i. 3, xi. 31; Rom. xv. 6; Gal. i. 4; Eph. i. 3, iii. 14; Col. i. 3; i Pet. i. 3; Rev. i. 6. <sup>e</sup> See i. 28. <sup>f</sup> All three, Eph. i. 21. <sup>arch.</sup> and <sup>exous.</sup>, Eph. iii. 10, vi. 12; Col. i. 16, ii. 10, 15; Tit. iii. 1. <sup>arch.</sup> and <sup>dyn.</sup>, Rom. viii. 38. <sup>exous.</sup> and <sup>dyn.</sup>, i Pet. iii. 22; Rev. xvii. 13.

<sup>1</sup> του Χριστου: all Gr. MSS. The early printed texts om<sup>d</sup>. του by error.

<sup>2</sup> Ins. ἐλπισαντες (οἱ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐλπισαντες): G, with several latt. codd. Hil., Ambrst.,—also *qui in adventu ejus crediderunt*; instances of Western license.

<sup>3</sup> παραδιδῶ (?), <sup>h</sup>ADP, 67<sup>\*\*</sup>. Or παραδιδῶι (?), BG.; so Lachm. *txt.* and Tr. *txt.*, Nestle, R.V. See Wt., p. 360; Bm., p. 46.

in ἀπαρχῇ, is defined by ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ. Some attach the latter phrase to οἱ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, referring it to the first advent; but Christ's παρουσία in the N.T. always signifies His future coming. There is nothing to exclude O.T. saints (see x. 4; Heb. xi. 26, 40, John i. 11), nor even the righteous heathen (Acts x. 35, Matt. xxv. 32, 34, John x. 16), from the τάγμα of "those who are Christ's".

Ver. 24. εἰτα τὸ τέλος: "Then (is) the end"—sc., "at His coming". Christ's advent, attended with the resurrection of His redeemed to eternal life, concludes the world's history; then "the harvest" which is "the end of the world" (Matt. xiii. 39 f., 49; cf. Rev. xiv. 15 f.), "the end of all things" (i Pet. iv. 7), the dénouement of the drama of sin and redemption in which "the Adam" and "the Christ" have played out their respective parts, the limit of the human horizon.—As ἔπειτα was defined by ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ, so εἰτα by the two ὅταν clauses: "when He yields up the kingdom to His God and Father, when He has abolished every rule and every authority and power". The two vbs. denote distinct, but connected and complementary acts. παραδιδῶ (the reading παραδιδῶι is subj., not opt.: Bm., p. 46) is *pr.* subj., signifying a proceeding, contingent in its date and manner of occurrence, but concurrent with εἰτα, which again rests upon ἐν τ. παρουσίᾳ. The aor. subj. καταργήσῃ (Lat. *futurum exactum*) signalises an event lying behind the παραδιδῶ and by its nature antecedent thereto,—"when He shall have done away, etc."; every opposing force has been destroyed, then Christ lays at the Father's feet His kingdom. "Cum tradat (not tradiderit: so Vg., reading παραδῶ) regnum, etc., cum evacuet omnem princi-

patum, etc."—The title τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί, "to Him who is God and Father," contains the reason for this παραδόσις: Christ's one aim was to glorify the Father (Luke ii. 49, John iv. 34, vi. 38, xvii. 4, etc.); this end was reached proximately at the cross (John xix. 30), and will be so ultimately when our Lord, having "subdued all things to Himself" (Phil. iii. 21), is able to present to the Father a realm dominated by His will and filled with His obedient sons (cf. Matt. vi. 9 f.). This is no ceasing of Christ's rule, but the inauguration of God's eternal kingdom: παραδιδῶ does not connote the losing of anything (see John xvii. 10); it is just the rendering to another of what is designed for Him (cf. 3, v. 5, Rom. viii. 32, Luke iv. 6, x. 22, etc.). "The end" does not mean the termination of Christ's sovereignty, which in its largest sense began before the world (John i. 1-3, xvii. 5) and is its goal (Col. i. 16); but the termination of the reign of sin and death (Rom. v. 21; cf. John vi. 37 ff.). At the συντέλεια "the throne of God and of the Lamb," "the kingdom of Christ and of God," fills the N.T. horizon (Eph. v. 5, Rev. xi. 15, xxii. 3).—ἀρχὴν, ἐξουσίαν κ.τ.λ., should not be limited (with Ff. generally, Est., Ed., Gd., El., Sm.; Everling, *Paulin. Angelol. u.s.w.*, p. 44, in view of Eph. i. 21, vi. 12, Col. ii. 15, etc.) to angelic powers, or demons; nor (as by Cv., Gr.: cf. ii. 6) to earthly rulers: πᾶσαν . . . πᾶσαν . . . (see πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς, 25; πάντα ὑπέταξεν, 27; also Rom. viii. 37-39) embraces all forces oppugnant to God (Bg., Cr., Hn., Hf., Bt.), on earth or above it, whether they exercise princely sway (ἀρχὴν) or moral authority (ἐξουσίαν) or active power (δύναμιν). Death is a βασιλεὺς amongst these (Rom. v.



g See viii. 2. <sup>f</sup> δύναμιν. 25. "δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν <sup>h</sup> βασιλεύειν <sup>i</sup> ἄχρις <sup>j</sup> οὗ ἂν <sup>k</sup> ᾗ <sup>l</sup> ᾗ  
 h See iv. 8.  
 i See xl. 26.  
 k Ps. cx. 1;  
 l Acts ii. 35; καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος. 27. "πάντα" γὰρ "ὑπέταξεν ὑπὸ τοῦς  
 Heb. i. 13,  
 x. 13; Mt. πόδας αὐτοῦ." <sup>3</sup> ὅταν δὲ εἴπῃ ὅτι <sup>4</sup> "πάντα ὑποτέτακται" (<sup>m</sup> δῆλον  
 xxii. 44.  
 Ps. viii. 6.  
 In like connexion, Eph. ii. 22; Phil. iii. 21; Heb. ii. 8; 1 Pet. iii. 22; see xiv. 32. m Gal. iii. 11.

<sup>1</sup> Om. a v all pre-Syrian codd. Cf. xi. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Insert αὐτον AG, 17, sah. cop. syr<sup>sch</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> <sup>ss</sup>, 17, om. εσχατος . . . ποδας αὐτου (26, 27a), by skipping from the ποδας αὐτου of ver. 25. See notes on vv. 13-16.

<sup>4</sup> Om. οτι (?) B d e, vg., and several Ff. Lachm. brackets; W.H. om. in marg.

14); and behind death Satan (Heb. ii. 14 f.), "the prince" and "god of this world" (2 Cor. iv. 4, John xiv. 30). On καταργέω, see note to i. 28.

Ver. 25 sustains the representation of the τέλος just given by prophetic words of Scripture (cf. 3 f.): "For He must needs reign, until He has put all the enemies underneath His feet". Not till every enemy of God is vanquished can Christ's existing kingdom reach its end. P. is thinking of the culmination, not the cessation, of Christ's kingship (see note on παραδίδω, 24).—πάντας is added to the text of the Psalmist, as if to say: "Every one of the foes proscribed in the Messiah's charter must submit, before He can present to His Father a perfect kingdom"; see parl., for other applications of this cardinal O.T. dictum.—On δέι, see note to viii. 2.—ἄχρις οὗ—radically "up to," rather than "until, (the time at) which"—in later Gr. takes subj. of future contingency dispensing with ἂν (Wr., p. 371).—The words of Ps. cx. are freely adapted: ᾗ gets its subject from αὐτόν, viz. Christ—not God, as imported by Est., Bz., Bg., Hf., Gd., to suit the Ps.; it is parl. in tense-construction to καταργήσῃ (24, see note).

Ver. 26. εσχατος ἐχθρὸς καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος: "(As) last enemy death is abolished"—in other words, "is abolished last among these enemies".—εσχατος is the emphatic part of the predicate; and καταργ. (see i. 28) is in pr. tense, of what is true now in God's determination, in the fixed succession of things (cf. iii. 13). Death personified, as in ver. 55, Isa. xxv. 8, Rev. xx. 14. If all enemies must be subdued, and death is last to fall, then "the end" (24) cannot be until Christ has delivered His own from its power and thus broken Death's sceptre.—This ver. should close with a full stop. Καταργεῖται ὁ θάνατος is the Christian counter-position to the Ἀνάσ-

τασις οὐκ ἔστιν of Cor. philosophy; the τινές of ver. 12 say, "There is no resurrection"; P. replies, "There is to be no death". The dogma of unbelief has been confuted in fact by Christ's bodily resurrection (13 ff.); in experience, by the saving effect thereof in Christians (17); and now finally in principle, by its contrariety to the purpose and scope of redemption (21-26), which finds its goal in the death of Death. Hofmann makes τὸ τέλος in ver. 24 adverbial to ver. 26 ("at last," cf. 1 Peter iii. 8), with the ὅταν clauses as its definitions and the γὰρ clause parenthetical: "then finally, when etc., when etc. (for etc.), as last enemy death is abolished". His construction is too artificial to be sustained; but he sees rightly that this ver. is the climax of the Apostle's argument.

Vv. 27, 28 are a supplement to vv. 20-26. They reaffirm, in new words of Scripture, the unlimited dominion assigned to Christ (25-27a), in order to reassert more impressively the truth that only through His absolute victory can the kingdom of God be consummated (24a, 28b). The opening γὰρ adduces, by way of comment, a prophecy parl. to that cited in ver. 25 and specifically applied in ver. 26. Psalm viii. promised to man complete rule over his domain (cf. Heb. ii. 5 ff.); as man Christ here stands forth the countertype of Adam (21 f.) who forfeited our estate, winning for Himself and His own the deliverance from death (Heb. ii. 9, 14 f.) which seals His conquest and sets "all things under His feet". But (δε . . . δε) this subjection of all things to Christ is no infringement of God's sovereignty nor alienation of His rights; on the contrary, it is the means to their perfect realisation. Such is the purport of the two ὅταν sentences, the second of which repeats in another way, after the interposed δῆλον ὅτι clause, what the first has announced, τότε αὐτὸς

ἵνα ὅτι ἔκτος τοῦ ὑποτάξαντος αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα), 28. ὅταν δὲ ὑποταγῇ αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται τῷ ὑποτάξαντι αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἵνα ὅτι θεὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν.

o Col. iii. 11; Herod., iii., 137, πάντα ἢ ἐν τοῖς βαβυλωνίοις ζωपुरος (AL). p See xii. 6.

<sup>1</sup> ὅταν . . . πάντα om<sup>d</sup>. by B\*, and a few others, skipping from τ. πάντα of ver.

<sup>2</sup> Om. καὶ BDG, 17, 67\*\*, latt. vg. Lachm. and W.H. bracket; Tr. omits.

<sup>3</sup> Om. τ. α. ABD\*, 17. So Lachm., Tr., W.H., Nestle. Tisch. retains.

ὁ υἱὸς furnishing their common apodosis (cf. 54); so Hf., R.V. marg., after the Vg. and Lat. interpreters. The two vv. then read as follows: "For 'all things did He put in subjection under His feet'. But when He hath said, 'All things are brought to subjection' (manifestly, with the exception of Him that put all things in subjection to Him)—yea, when all things have become subject to Him, then shall (also) the Son Himself become subject to Him that made subject to Him all things, to the end that God may be all in all".—God is the tacit subject of ὑπέταξεν, as supplied by the familiar Ps. and brought out by the ptps. in vv. 27b, 28b; but Christ is subject to εἴπη—not God speaking in Scr., or at the end of the world (so Mr., Ed., El., etc.), nor ἡ γραφή (D.W., and others), nor προφῆται (Bg.). "All things are subdued!" is the joyful announcement by the Son that the grand promise recorded in the 8th Psalm is fulfilled; "the ὑπέταξεν of God affirms the purpose, the ὑποτάσσεται of Christ attests its accomplishment" (Hf., Hn.). Thus ὅταν εἴπη is simultaneous with ὅταν καταργήσῃ (24) and ὅταν θῇ ὑπὸ τ. πόδας (25): Christ proclaims the victory at last achieved; He reports that, with the abolition of death, His commission is ended and the travail of His soul satisfied. For anticipatory sayings of His, giving an earnest of this crowning word, see Matt. xi. 27, xxviii. 18, John iii. 35.—ὅταν ὑποταγῇ κ.τ.λ. (28) reassumes objectively, as matter of fact, what was given subjectively in ὅταν εἴπη κ.τ.λ. as the verdict of Christ upon His own finished work. Those who read δῆλον ὅτι κ.τ.λ. as a principal sentence, the apodosis to the first ὅταν clause (A.V., Mr., El., etc.), borrow from the protasis πάντα ὑποτάσσεται—more strictly ὑποτάσσεται or (by zeugma) ἔσται, after the virtually fut. εἴπη (cf. 28b, 54b); this, however, makes a halting sentence: "But when He [God] says, 'All things have been made subject,' it is evident [that this will be, or that all things will

be subjected] with the exception of Him, etc."—an affirmation of quite subsidiary importance, on which the writer has no need to dwell. The non-inclusion of God in the category of "things subjected" is rather a self-evident assumption made by the way, and serving to prepare for and throw into relief the real apodosis, "then shall the Son Himself also become subject, etc.," to which both the ὅταν clauses press forward. The advl. use of δῆλον ὅτι (perhaps better written δῆλον ὅτι = δηλαδὴ), signifying manifestly or to wit (*sine dubio*, Vg.), is familiar in Attic Gr.; no other certain instance occurs in the N.T. The remark that He who gave dominion is not Himself under it, reserves behind the Messianic reign the absolute supremacy of God, to which Christ will conform at the plenitude of His kingship.—τὰ πάντα (equivalent to "the universe") gathers into a totality the πάντα otherwise separate and diverse: cf. Col. i. 17, τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκαν.—ὑποταγήσεται (mid. in force, like the 2nd aor. pass. in Rom. x. 3, in consistency with the initiative ascribed to Christ throughout) has often been explained away, to avoid Arian or Sabellian inferences from the text; it affirms no other subjection of the Son than is involved in Sonship (see note on 24). This implies no inferiority of nature, no extrusion from power, but the free submission of love (αὐτὸς ὁ υἱός, "the Son of His own accord will subject Himself"—not in addition to, but in distinction from the πάντα), which is the essence of the filial spirit that actuated Christ from first to last (cf. John viii. 29, xii. 27, etc.). Whatsoever glory He gains is devoted to the glory and power of the Father (John xvii. 2, etc.), who glorifies Him in turn (John xvii. 5; Phil. ii. 9 ff.). ὑποταγήσεται speaks the closing word of Christ's mission, as Ἰδοὺ ἤκω τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημα σου was its opening word (Heb. x. 7).—It is hard to say whether ἵνα ὅτι θεὸς κ.τ.λ. is dependent



q See v. 10.  
r Acts xxi.  
13; Mk.  
xi. 5; Jo.  
xi. 47; in  
LXX, Jer.  
iv. 30, v.  
31; Hos. ix. 5.

29. Ἐπεὶ τί ποιήσουσιν οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν,<sup>1</sup>  
εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται<sup>1</sup>; τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ  
τῶν<sup>2</sup> νεκρῶν<sup>2</sup>; 30. τί καὶ ἡμεῖς κινδυνεύομεν πᾶσαν ὥραν;  
s See v. 1. t See ver. 13. u Here and Rom. viii. 24 (?) only. v Acts xix.  
27, 40; Lk. vii. 23 (abs. as here); Isa. xxviii. 13; Jonah i. 4; -vos, 2 Cor. xi. 26. w N.T. h.l.;  
Ex. xviii. 22, 26; Lev. xvi. 2. Cf. Rom. viii. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Lachm., Tisch., Al., W.H., El., Nestle, and others, place the *interrog.* sign after νεκρῶν, attaching εἰ ὅλως κ.τ.λ. to the following sentence. Tr. puts it as far back as βαπτιζόμενοι. See note below.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτῶν, all uncc. but DcL.

on δ υἱὸς ὑποταγήσεται (so most comment.) or on τ. ὑποτάξαντι (so Hf., and some others). This solemn conclusion most fitly attaches to the princ. vb.; it expresses the loyal *purpose of the Son* in His self-subjection, whose submission exhibits the unity of the Godhead (cf. John x. 30-36, xvii. 23), and constitutes itself the focus and uniting bond of a universe in which God's will is everywhere regnant and His being everywhere immanent.—*πάνσιν neuter*, like πάντα.

§ 53. THE EFFECT OF UNBELIEF IN THE RESURRECTION, xv. 29-34. To clinch the argument for the truth and the necessity of the Christian resurrection and to bring it home to the readers, the Ap. points out how futile Christian devotion must be, such as is witnessed in "those baptised for the dead" and in his own daily hazards, if death ends all (29-31); present enjoyment would then appear the highest good (32). The effect of unbelief in the future life is already painfully apparent in the relaxed moral tone of a certain part of the Cor. Church (33-34).

Vv. 29, 30. There are certain conditions of interpretation bearing on the sense of the much discussed expression οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν which bar out a large number of attempted explanations: (a) οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι, unless otherwise defined, can only mean the recipients of Christian baptism, in its well-understood sense as the rite of initiation into the Christian state administered upon confession of faith (i. 13 ff., xii. 13, Rom. vi. 3 f., Gal. iii. 27, etc.). (b) ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν (not ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, "on behalf of dead persons" as such: cf. 12, etc.) points to a specific class of "the dead" interested in the baptism of the living—presumably to "the (Christian) dead" of the last §, and probably to those amongst them who were connected with "the baptised" in question. (c) In following up ver. 29 with the words of

ver 30 (τί καὶ ἡμεῖς κινδυνεύομεν;) P. associates himself with the action of "those baptised for the dead," indicating that they and he are engaged on the same behalf (for καὶ ἡμεῖς associating "we" with persons aforementioned, cf. 2 Cor. iv. 13, Gal. ii. 16, iv. 3, Eph. ii. 3, etc.). This last consideration excludes the interpretation, at present widely adopted (Ambrst., Anselm, Grot., Mr., Holsten, Al., Hn., Bt., El., Sm.), that P. alludes to a practice then (it is conjectured) in vogue at Cor., which existed much later amongst the heretical Cerinthians and Marcionites (see Cm. *ad loc.* in Cramer's *Catena*; Tert., *De Resurr. Carnis*, 48, *adv. Marc.*, v., 10; Epiph., *Har.*, xxviii., 6), viz., that of the vicarious baptism of living Christians as proxies for relatives or friends dying unbaptised. With such a proceeding P. could not have identified himself, even supposing that it existed at this time in the Church (of which there is no evidence), and that he had used it by way of *argumentum ad hominem*. An appeal to such a superstitious *opus operatum* would have laid the Ap. open to a damaging retort. Gd. justly asks, "A quoi eût servi ce procédé de mauvaise logique et de bonne foi douteuse?" This objection tells less forcibly against the view, lately suggested, that P. alludes to some practice of substitutionary baptism observed in the Pagan mysteries, finding thus a witness to the Resurrection in the heathen conscience, καὶ ἡμεῖς adding thereto the Christian practical testimony; but condition (a) forbids this solution. As El. admits, condition (b) also bears strongly against the prevalent exposition. (b) moreover negatives the idea of Cm. and the Gr. Ff., maintained by Est. and Ev. (see the ingenious *Addit. Note* of the latter), that ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν means, as Thp. puts it, ὑπὲρ ἀναστάσεως, ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ ἀναστάσεως: if P. meant this, why did he not say it? The fol-

31. <sup>1</sup> καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω, <sup>2</sup> νή τὴν ἡμέτεραν <sup>1</sup> αὐτὴν <sup>2</sup> καύχησιν <sup>3</sup> ἢ <sup>4</sup> εἰς <sup>5</sup> Cor. xi. 28; thrice in Heb.; 13 exx. in Lk. and

Acts; Mt. xxvi. 35. y N.T. h.l.; Gen. xlii. 15 f. z = obj. gen., Rom. xi. 31; so ημετέρ., Rom. xv. 4. See note below. a Rom. xv. 17. For the noun, Rom. iii. 27; 6 exx. in 2 Cor.; 1 Th. ii. 19; Jas. iv. 16. -ημα, see v. 6; -ασμαι, see i. 29. b See iii. 3, and note below.

<sup>1</sup> ημετεραν: A, and many minn., Or., Thdrt. So Stephens and Bess, but not Elzevir.

<sup>2</sup> Ins. α ε λ φ ο ι. NABKP, and 15 minn., sah. cop. vg. syrr. Omd. by the Western and Syrian codd.

lowing ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν N.T. indicates that by ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν definite (dead) persons are meant. Ed. notices with approval the rendering of John Edwards (Camb., 1692), who supposed these "baptized" to be men converted to Christianity by the heroism of the martyrs; somewhat similarly, Gd. This points in the right direction, but misses the force of ὑπὲρ (on behalf of; not διὰ, on account of), and narrows the ref. of τῶν νεκρῶν (cf. 18, 20, 23); there is no indication in the ep. of martyrdoms at Cor. (see, on the contrary, iv. 9 f.). P. is referring rather to a much commoner, indeed a normal experience, that the death of Christians leads to the conversion of survivors, who in the first instance "for the sake of the dead" (their beloved dead), and in the hope of reunion, turn to Christ—e.g., when a dying mother wins her son by the appeal, "Meet me in heaven!" Such appeals, and their frequent salutary effect, give strong and touching evidence of faith in the resurrection; some recent example of the kind may have suggested this ref. Paul designates such converts "baptized for the dead," since Baptism seals the new believer and commits him to the Christian life (see note, xii. 13) with all its losses and hazards (cf. 30). The hope of future blessedness, allying itself with family affections and friendship, was one of the most powerful factors in the early spread of Christianity. Mr. objects to this view (expounded by Köster) that τ. νεκρῶν needs definition by συγγενῶν καὶ φίλων, or the like, to bear such meaning; but to each of these βαπτίζομενοι those who had thus influenced him would be "the dead". The obscure passage has, upon this explanation, a large, abiding import suitable to the solemn and elevated context in which it stands; the words reveal a communion in Christ between the living and departed (cf. Rom. xiv. 9), to which the hope of the resurrection gives validity and worth (cf. 1 Thess. v. 10, 2 Thess. ii.

x).—For ἐπεὶ, since otherwise, else (alioquin, Vg.; Germ. da sonst), see note on v. 10.—τί ποιήσουσιν; (see LXX parl.) indicates that the hope on which these baptisms rest will be stultified, without a resurrection; it will betray them (Rom. v. 5).—εἰ ὅλως νεκροὶ κ.τ.λ., "If absolutely (omnino, Vg.: see note, v. 10) dead men are not raised" (the axiom of the unbelievers, 12, 15, etc.), unfolds the assumption involved in ἐπεὶ as the protasis of τί καὶ βαπτίζονται ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν; which repeats, with emphasis on the pronoun, the former question—"Why indeed are they baptised for them?" how can they be interested in the baptism of survivors, if they have perished (18)? On this assumption, converts would have been gained upon false hopes (cf. 19), as well as upon false testimony (15).—"Why also do we run hazard every hour?"—further consequent of εἰ νεκροὶ οὐκ ἐγείρονται: "our case (that of the App. and other missionaries, braving death unceasingly: see 11; iv. 9 ff., 2 Cor. iv. 10 ff., xi. 23 ff.; John xv. 18-xvi. 22) is parl. to theirs; as they, in love for the dead whom they hope to meet again, take up the cross of Christian profession, so we in the same hope face hourly peril".

Vv. 31, 32a. In no slight jeopardy do P. and his comrades stand; for his part he declares, "Daily I am dying; my life at Ephesus has been that of a combatant with wild beasts in the arena—for what end, if there is no resurrection?" With καθ' ἡμέραν ἀποθνήσκω cf. 2 Cor. iv. 10, xi. 23, Rom. viii. 36; referring to his present "affliction in Asia," P. writes in 2 Cor. i. 8 f., "We have had the sentence of death in ourselves". Ed. softens the expression into "self-denial, dying to self and the world": better Cv., "obsidior assiduis moribus quotidie"; and Gd., "Not a day, nor an hour of the day, when they might not expect to be seized and led out to execution".—P. had not been in this extreme peril at



c H.L.; see note below. d Jas. ii. 14, 16; Job xv. 3; cf. xiv. 6, xlii. 3. e Isa. xxii. 13. f Adv., Jas. iv. 13; Acts xxiii. 20, xxv. 22; Lk. xii. 28, xiii. 32 f.; Mt. vi. 30; Exod. viii. 29.

Cor. (see Acts xviii. 9 f.), and his readers might think the description overdrawn; so he exclaims, *ὡς τ. ὑμετέραν καύχῃσιν κ.τ.λ.* "Yea, by the glorying over you, brothers, which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord!" cf. the protests of 2 Cor. i. 18, 23, xi. 10 f., 31, Rom. ix. 1. He protests by this *καύχῃσιν* as by that which is dearest to him: cf. i. 4 ff., iv. 14, 2 Cor. vii. 3, 14 ff.; similarly in 1 Thess. ii. 19 f., 2 Thess. i. 4, Phil. iv. 1, etc. For this rare use of the pron., cf. xi. 24, τ. ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν (and note), 2 Cor. ix. 3. *ὡς* (= *ὡς*) with acc. of adjuration, a cl. idiom.—Paul's "glorying" he "holds in Christ Jesus our Lord" (cf. i. 7); it is laid up with Christ as a *καύχημα εἰς ἡμέραν* X. (Phil. ii. 16; cf. iii. 8, iv. 3 ff. above, 1 Thess. ii. 19, Col. i. 4, etc.).—"If in the manner of men I have fought with wild beasts in Ephesus, what is the profit?" *κατὰ ἀνθρώπων* bears the stress, "humanitas—spe vitæ præsentis duntaxat" (Bg.: cf. iii. 3 f.); seeking the rewards—applause, money, etc.—for which men risk their lives. Instead of these, P. earns poverty and infamy (iv. 9 ff., Phil. iii. 7 f.); if there is no "day of Christ" when his "glorying" will be realised, he has been befooled (cf. 19 and note, Phil. iii. 14, 2 Tim. iv. 8; Matt. xix. 27 ff., Luke xiv. 14, xxii. 28 ff.).—*ὄφελος* (from *ὀφέλλω*, to increase; nearly syn. with *μισθός*, iii. 8, etc.; or *κέρδος*, Phil. i. 21) signifies the consequent advantage accruing to P. from his fight; that it brings present moral benefit is obvious, but this is not the point (cf. ix. 24-27; see Ed. *ad loc.*, touching the diff. of pagan and Christian morality).—*θηριομάχησα* is probably figurative, though Gd., Weizsäcker (*Apost. Zeitalter*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 325 f.), McGiffert (*Christianity in the Apost. Age*, pp. 280 f.), with some older expositors, take it that P. had been actually a *θηριομάχος* in the Ephesian amphitheatre, despite his Roman citizenship. But no such experience is recorded in the list of his woes in 2 Cor. xi.; moreover it appears from Acts xix. 31-40 that P. had friends in high quarters at Eph., who would have prevented this outrage if attempted. Ignatius (*ad Rom.*, v.; cf. *ad Smyrn.*, iv.) applies the figure to his guards, borrowing it probably from this place. The metaphor is

in the strain of iv. 9 (see note); cf. also Ps. xxii. 12, 16, etc., and the use of *θηρίον* in the Rev.—In view of this last parl. and of 2 Tim. iv. 17, Krenkel in his *Beiträge*, V., finds the "wild beast" of Paul's struggle in the *Imperial Power*, which K. thinks was already so designated "in the secret language of Christians" (cf. 2 Thess. ii. 5 f.). But nothing in Acts xix. indicates conflict on P.'s part with the magistrates of Eph. (and Lk. habitually traces with care his relations with Roman authorities); it was the *city-mob*, instigated by the shrine-makers, which attacked him; before the riot he had been probably in danger of assassination from this quarter, as well as from "the Asian Jews," who set upon him afterwards in Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 27 ff.). Bt. observes the climax: *κινδυνεύω, ἀποθνήσκω, θηριομαχῶ*.

Ver. 32b states in words of Scripture the desperation that ensues upon loss of faith in a future life: "If (the) dead are not raised (the Sadducean dogma repeated a sixth time), 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die!'" *εἰ νεκροὶ κ.τ.λ.* is rightly attached by the early Gr. and most modern comment. to the following clause. Paul is not drawing his own conclusion in these words, nor suggesting that the resurrection supplies the only motive against a sensual life; but he points out (cf. 33 f.) the patent fruit of the unbelief in question. This is just *what men were saying* on all sides; the words quoted voice the moral recklessness bred by loss of hope beyond death. Gr. and Rom. literature teem with examples of this spirit (see Wisd. ii. 6; Herod., ii., 78, Thuc., ii., 53, and other reff. furnished by Ed. *ad loc.*); indeed Paul's O.T. citation might have served for the axiom of popular Epicureanism. Hn. describes ancient drinking-cups, recently discovered, ornamented with skeleton figures wreathed in roses and named after famous philosophers, poets, and gourmands, with mottoes attached such as these: *τὸ τέλος ἡδονή, τέρπε ζῶν σεαυτὸν, σκηνὴ βίος, τοῦτ' ἀνθρώπος* (written over a skeleton holding a skull), *ζῶν μετὰ λαβὴ τὸ γὰρ αὐρίον ἀδηλὸν ἐστίν*. Cf. our own miserable adage, "A short life and a merry one!"

Vv. 33, 34 deliver Paul's judgment

33. "μὴ \*πλανᾶσθε· "ἡ φθείρουσιν ἡ ἴθι \*χρήσθ' ἡ δὲ μιλήται κακά". <sup>g</sup> See vi. 9.

34. "ἐκνήψατε ἡ δικαίως καὶ μὴ ἁμαρτάνετε, ἡ ἀγνωσίαν γὰρ \* Θεοῦ <sup>i</sup> See iii. 17.  
τινὲς ἔχουσι· πρὸς ἡ ἐντροπήν ὑμῖν λέγω." <sup>i</sup> N.T. h.l.;  
Sir. xx.  
26.

35. "Ἀλλ' ἡ εἰρεῖ ἡ τις, "Πῶς ἡ ἐγείρονται οἱ ἡ νεκροί; ἡ ποίῳ δὲ <sup>k</sup> Else-  
where in  
N.T. of  
persons

(cf. Jer. xxiv. 2); Rom. ii. 4; Eph. iv. 32, etc. -νομαι, xlii. 4; -οτης, 2 Cor. vi. 6, and eight times  
besides in P. 1 N.T. h.l.; Ex. xxi. 10; Prov. vii. 21; Wisd. viii. 18. m N.T. h.l.; Gen. ix.  
24; 1 Ki. xxv. 37; Joel i. 5, ἀναψω. n 1 Th. ii. 10; Tit. ii. 12; 1 Pet. ii. 13; Lk. xxiii. 41; Deut.  
xvi. 20. o Wisd. xlii. 1. ἀγνωσ., 1 Pet. ii. 15; Job xxxv. 16. p See vi. 5. q Jas. ii. 16.  
r See ver. 15. s Rom. iii. 27; Jas. iv. 14; 1 Pet. i. 11, ii. 20; Rev. iii. 3; oftener in GG. and Acta.

ἡ χρηστὰ, all uncc., many minn., and nearly all Ff. Printed *χρησθ'* for sake of metre. Read, doubtless, with elision of the *a*.

ἡ λαλῶ, ἡ BDP. *λεγω*, AGL, etc. A freq. variation; cf. vi. 5.

upon the situation: the disbelief in the Resurrection declared in the Cor. Church is of a piece with its low ethics (iii. 1 ff., iv. 18-v. 2) and its heathen intimacies (viii. 10, x. 14-22, 2 Cor. v. 14-vii. 1); it springs from ἀγνωσία Θεοῦ, from a feeble religious consciousness.—μὴ πλανᾶσθε (see parls.). "Be not misled (seduced)": the seduction lay in the specious philosophy under which sceptical tenets were advanced, concealing their demoralising tendency. The line the Ap. quotes (an ordinary senarius of the dialogue in the Attic drama: *χρηστά*, so written in the best copies, was probably read *χρήσθ'*, Wr., Hn.) is attributed to Menander (322 B.C.), of the New Comedy and an Epicurean, by Tert. and Hier., followed by most others. But this was a proverbial *gnomé*, and probably current long before Menander. ὁμιλήται bears the narrower sense of *conversations* (A.V.; *colloquia*, Vg.), or the wider sense, more fitting here, of *intercourse*, *companionships* (R.V.).—ἐκνήψατε δικαίως κ.τ.λ. (cf. 32b, xi. 21; and parls. for ἐκνήψω): "Rouse up to soberness in righteous fashion, and cease to sin" (the first impv. is *aor.*, of a single action; the second *pr.*, of a course of action)—a startling call, to men fallen as if into a drunken sleep under the seductions of sensualism and heathen society and the fumes of intellectual pride. δικαίως signifies the *manner* of the awaking; it is *right* the Cor. should rouse themselves from self-delusion; P. assails their conscience.—ἀγνωσίαν γὰρ Θεοῦ *τινὲς* (cf. 12) ἔχουσιν, "For some have (maintain) an ignorance of God" (cf. the use of ἔχω in 31, viii. 1, Rom. iv. 2, v. 1, respecting *states* of mind); this asserts, beyond τὸν Θεὸν ἀγνοοῦσιν, a characteristic, a persistent condition, in which the Cor. *τινὲς* share with the heathen (xii. 2, Rom. i. 19 ff., etc.).—πρὸς ἐντροπήν ὑμῖν λαλῶ, "I say

(it) for a shame to you," otherwise than in iv. 14. "Ignorance of God" is a deeper evil than the ingratitude toward the Ap. which he censured earlier; this can only be remedied by a thorough inward reaction—"ad pudorem vobis incutendum dico" (Cv.). That these wise Cor. should be taxed with "ignorance," and "*of God*" on the knowledge of whom they flattered themselves above all (viii. 1, 4), was humiliating indeed.

§ 54. THE MANNER OF THE RESURRECTION, xv. 35-42a. We enter on the second part of the Apostle's argument touching the Resurrection: see the analysis, *Introd.* to Div. V. He has established the truth of the doctrine and the certainty of the event, and proceeds consequently to set forth the manner of its occurrence and the nature of the new body to be assumed. P. has still in view the unbelieving "some," and pursues the dialectical and apologetic vein of the foregoing context. The deniers found in the inconceivability of the process (35) a further and, in their eyes, decisive objection against the reality of the fact. In vindicating his doctrine upon this side, P. therefore confirms its truth; he traces its analogies in nature, and its harmony with the order of Divine revelation; and the first half of his grand argument culminates in the second. See Edwards' subtle analysis of vv. 35-44.

Ver. 35. Ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ *τις*: this form of interlocation belongs to Jewish dialectic (see parls.); cf. ver. 12, also ἐπεὶς μοι, Rom. ix. 19, and the familiar Pauline challenge, τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν;—"How are the dead raised up? With what sort of (ποίῳ δὲ) body moreover do they come?"—two distinct questions. δὲ might indeed introduce the same question in an altered form (Mr., Bt., El., Sm.), but the vbs. and the interr. prons. are both different. The first (cf. Luke i. 34, John iii. 9, vi. 52, Heb. ii. 3, 1 John iii. 17)



Thus in σώματι ἔρχονται; 36. ἄφρων,<sup>1</sup> σὺ δὲ σπείρεις οὐ ἡζωποῖται  
 Lk. xi. 40, ἐὰν μὴ ἂποθάνῃ. 37. καὶ δὲ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον  
 xii. 20; Ps. xciii. σπείρεις, ἀλλὰ ἡ γυνὸν ἡ κόκκον, ἡ εἰς τὸ τῶν  
 8; five times in σπείρεις, ἀλλὰ ἡ γυνὸν ἡ κόκκον, ἡ εἰς τὸ τῶν  
 2 Cor. ἡ λοιπῶν. 38. ὁ δὲ Θεὸς αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup> δίδωσι<sup>2</sup> σῶμα ἡ καθὼς ἡθέλησε,  
 xi., xii. (ref. to P. himself); Rom. ii. 20; Eph. v. 17; 1 Pet. ii. 15. u See ver. 22. v Cf. Jo. xii. 24. w H.J. in this  
 usage. For common use, see 2 Cor. v. 3, etc. x Jo. xii. 24. κοκ., Mt. xiii. 31, xvii. 20. y See  
 xiv. 10. z In like connexion, Mt. xiii. 25, 29 f.; Mk. iv. 28. a See vii. 12, xi. 34. b See xii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> ἀφρων, all uncc. but KL.

<sup>3</sup> διδωσιν αὐτῷ: NABP, 17—chief pre-Syrian and non-Western witnesses.

intimates the impossibility of the thing, and is answered in ver. 36; the latter, the inconceivability of the manner, answered in vv. 37 ff. (so Cm., Cv., D.W., Hf., Ed.). The sceptics advance their second question to justify the first: they say, "The resurrection P. preaches is absurd; how can any one imagine a new body rising out of the perished corpse—a body suitable to the deathless spirit?" The vbs. are logical pr., as concerned with general truths (cf. 26); "actio rei declaratur absque significatione temporis" (Er.).—ἔρχονται (cf. John v. 29; 1 Thess. iv. 14, ὁ Θεὸς ἔξει) graphically represents the difficulty of the objectors: "In what bodily form do we picture the dead coming on the scene?"

Ver. 36. ἀφρων (opposite of φρόνιμος, iv. 10, x. 15) taxes the propounder of these questions not with moral obliquity, but with mental stupidity (see parls.). Wanting the art. (cf. Luke xii. 20), the word is an assertion rather than an exclamation: "Insensé que tu es, toi qui te crois si sage!" (Gd.). Some attach σὺ as subject to ἀφρων, but this weakens the adj., and the pron. is required to give due emphasis to δὲ σπείρεις following. With a little sense, the questioner might answer himself: every time he sows his garden-plot, he assumes the principle denied in regard to man's material form, viz., that death is the transition to a further life—"that which thou thyself sowest, is not made alive except it die." This answers πῶς ἐγέρσεται; by ref. to the analogy of nature. P. does not explain, any more than Jesus, the *modus operandi* of the Resurrection; what he shows is that the mystery raises no prejudice against the reality, for the same mystery is wrapped up in every vegetating seed.—ἐγέρσεται in the question is substituted by ἡζωποῖται in the answer (see note on 22; cf. other parls.), since it is life that rises out of the dying seed, and the Resurrection is an evolution, not a reinstatement. Our Lord uses the same figure with the

like implication, but another application, in John xii. 23 f.

Vv. 37, 38 make answer to the second branch of the question of ver. 35, by the aid of the same profound analogy.—καὶ δὲ σπείρεις, οὐ τὸ σῶμα τὸ γενησόμενον σπείρεις, "And what thou sowest—not the body that will come to be dost thou sow". It is the object of the sower to realise a new ποιότης in his seed. If any one interrupted him with the question, "What sort of a body can the grain take that you drop in the earth to rot?" the sower would dismiss him as a fool; he has seen in this case "the body that is to be". Now the actuality of the lower resurrection vindicates the conceivability of the higher.—τὸ γενησόμενον states not merely a future certainty (*that shall be*; *quod futurum sit*, Vg.), but a normal process (*oriturum*, Bz.: *quod nascetur*, Cv., Bg.).—ἀλλὰ γυνὸν κόκκον, "but a naked grain"—unclothed with any body, wanting the appearance and furnishing of life (cf. 2 Cor. v. 3, ἐνδυσόμενοι, οὐ γυμνοί).—For εἰ τῶν (if it should chance, of wheat"), see note on xiv. 10: the kind of grain is indiff.—"or of any of the rest (of the seeds)". The grain of wheat gives to the eye no more promise of the body to spring from it than a grain of sand.—ὁ δὲ Θεὸς stands in opposition to σὺ δὲ σπείρεις—God the life-giver responding to the sower's trustful act. "But God gives it a body, according as He willed" (ἡθέλησεν)—not "as He wills" (according to His choice or liking), but in accordance with His past decree in creation, by which the propagation of life on the earth was determined from the beginning (Gen. i. 11 f.; for the vb., cf. note on xii. 18). To allege an impossibility in the case is to impugn the power and resources of the Creator (cf. Acts xxvi. 8), manifested in this very way every spring-time. The Divine will is the efficient nexus between seed and plant (cf. xii. 6).—"And (He gives) to each of the seeds a body of its own

καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν σπερμάτων τὸ <sup>1</sup> ἴδιον σῶμα. 39. οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ <sup>c</sup> Ver. 23.  
 ἢ αὐτὴ σὰρξ· ἀλλὰ <sup>d</sup> ἄλλη <sup>d</sup> μὲν σὰρξ <sup>2</sup> ἀνθρώπων, <sup>d</sup> ἄλλη <sup>d</sup> δὲ σὰρξ <sup>3</sup> Anarth-  
 ὁ κτηνῶν, <sup>d</sup> ἄλλη <sup>d</sup> δὲ ἰχθύων, <sup>5</sup> ἄλλη <sup>d</sup> δὲ <sup>6</sup> πτηνῶν. <sup>5</sup> 40. καὶ Tim. ii. 6.  
 σώματα <sup>h</sup> ἐπουράνια, καὶ σώματα <sup>h</sup> ἐπίγεια· ἀλλ' <sup>k</sup> ἑτέρα <sup>k</sup> μὲν ἢ vi. 15;  
 Tit. i. 3,  
 12, ii. 19;  
 2 Pet. i.

20, ii. 16; Acts xxviii. 30; Jo. x. 12. d Phrase, N.T. h.l. e Lk. x. 34; Acts xxiii. 24; Rev.  
 xviii. 13; Numb. xx. 4, etc. f N.T. h.l.; Job v. 7. Prose for πετεινός (Rom. i. 23, etc.), which is  
 poetical in cl. Gr. g Freq. in GG.; h.l. in Epp. h The antith. in Phil. ii. 10 and Jo. iii. 12.  
 εἰς, vv. 48 f.; five times in Eph.; 2 Tim. iv. 18; six times in Heb.; Mt. xviii. 35. Cf. Eph. i.  
 10; Mt. vi. 9, etc. i 2 Cor. v. 1; Phil. iii. 19; Jas. iii. 15. Cf. καὶ αὐτὴ τῆς γῆς, Eph. i. 10, etc.  
 k This form of antith., h.l. in N.T. For ετερος, see xii. 9.

<sup>1</sup> Om. τὸ all pre-Syrian codd.

<sup>2</sup> Om. σαρξ all uncc., and very many minn.

<sup>3</sup> Om. σαρξ (before κτηνῶν): the Western witnesses.

<sup>4</sup> κτηνοῦς, Western. K, 37, 47, om. this clause altogether, skipping to πτηνῶν, through homœoteleuton.

<sup>5</sup> πτηνῶν . . . ἰχθυῶν (in this order): all uncc. but GKL; 17, cop. vg. syr<sup>sch</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Ins. σαρξ (before πτηνῶν) all uncc. but AKLP. Ver. 39b, corrected, reads: ἀλλὰ ἄλλη μὲν ἀνθρώπων, ἄλλη δὲ σαρξ κτηνῶν, ἄλλη δὲ σαρξ πτηνῶν, ἄλλη δὲ ἰχθυῶν.

(ἴδιον)". This added clause meets the finer point of the second question of ver. 35; God will find a *fit* body for man's redeemed nature, as He does for each of the numberless seeds vivified in the soil. "How unintelligent to think, as the Pharisees did, that the same body that was buried must be restored, if there is to be a resurrection! Every wheat-stalk contradicts thee!" (Mr.)

Ver. 39. The rest of the § goes to sustain ver. 38b, showing the inexhaustible variety of organic forms in the Divine economy of nature and the fitness of each for the life it clothes. This is manifest, to begin with, in the varied types of animal life: οὐ πᾶσα σὰρξ ἢ αὐτὴ σὰρξ, "All flesh is not the same flesh"—in the zoological realm there is no uniformity, but endless differentiation. (Ed. makes πᾶσα σὰρξ predicate—"the same flesh is not all flesh," i.e., physical assimilation means differentiation—getting out of the sentence a physiological idea obscure in itself and not very relevant to the context). Instead of *men, cattle, birds, fishes*, with their heterogeneous natures, being lodged in the same kind of corporeity, their frame and organs vary with their inner constitution and needs. If God can find a body for beast and fish, in the lower range, no less than for man, why not, in the higher range, for man immortal no less than for man mortal?—κτηνός (from κτάσκατ), denoting cattle as beasts of purchase in the first instance, is applied to four-footed beasts at large: cf. Gen. i. 25 ff., ii. 20.

Ver. 40. The possibility of a futura body unimaginably diff. from the present is indicated in the contrast suggested by the diff. *regions* of the two: "Bodies also heavenly there are, and bodies earthly". The σὰρξ of ver. 39 is now dropped, for it belongs only to the σῶμα ἐπίγειον. What does P. mean by his σώματα ἐπουράνια? The previous context and the tenor of the argument lead us to think of *bodies for celestial inhabitants, sc. the angels* (Luke xx. 36, Matt. xxviii. 2, etc.), as suitable to their condition as the σώματα ἐπίγεια are for the forms of terrestrial life just enumerated (so Mr., D.W., Al., El., Sm.); moreover σῶμα is never used elsewhere in Bib. Gr., and rarely in cl. Gr., of inorganic bodies. On the other hand, ver. 41 in connexion with ver. 40b strongly suggests the *sun, moon, etc.*, as the "heavenly bodies" in Paul's mind (so Bg., Hf., Hn., Ed., Bt., Gd., and most moderns). The former considerations preponderate, esp. when we find P. in vv. 47 ff. (see notes) resuming the same contrast in the antithesis between "the earthly man" and "the heavenly". Paul is thinking of the *risen Christ* whom he had seen, more than of the angels, as supplying the type of the σῶμα ἐπουράνιον; cf. Phil. iii. 20 f. Gm., Hilgenfeld, Holsten, Everling (*Die paul. Angelologie* u.s.w., pp. 46 ff.) combine the above interpretations by attributing to P. the belief of Philo and the Jewish mystics that the stars are animated, and are to be identified with the O.T. "angels," as by the heathen with their gods. This



- <sup>l</sup> Thus in <sup>a</sup> τῶν ἁπυρανίων ἰδόξα, <sup>k</sup> ἑτέρα <sup>k</sup> δὲ ἡ τῶν ἁἰπιγείων. 41. ἄλλη ἰδόξα ἡλίου, καὶ ἄλλη ἰδόξα σελήνης, καὶ ἄλλη ἰδόξα ἀστέρων. <sup>ix</sup> 31 f.; <sup>Ex</sup> xvi. <sup>10</sup> Cf. ii. <sup>7</sup> above. <sup>m</sup> αὐτὴ γὰρ ἀστέρος ὁ διαφέρει ἐν ἰδόξῃ. 42a. οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἀναστασις τῶν νεκρῶν. <sup>n</sup> Acts ii. 20; Mt. xxiv. 29; Lk. xxi. 25; 4 exx. in Rev. 42b. ὁ σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ, ὁ ἐγείρεται ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ. 43. ὁ σπείρεται ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ, ὁ ἐγείρεται ἐν δόξῃ. ὁ σπείρεται ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, ὁ ἐγείρεται ἐν ἰσχύϊ. <sup>o</sup> In this use, Gal. iv. 1; Dan. vii. 3 (Theod.). Cf. Rom. ii. 18, etc.; also iv. 7 above. <sup>p</sup> See ver. 12. <sup>q</sup> Ver. 36; see note below. <sup>r</sup> Ver. 50; Rom. viii. 21; Gal. vi. 8; Col. ii. 22; 2 Pet. i. 4, ii. 12, 19; Jonah ii. 7. <sup>s</sup> See vi. 14. <sup>t</sup> Rom. ii. 7; Eph. vi. 24; 2 Tim. i. 10; Wisd. ii. 23, vi. 18 f. <sup>u</sup> See xi. 14. <sup>v</sup> See ii. 3; and for antith., 2 Cor. xii. 9 f., xiii. 4 f., Heb. xi. 34.

notion is wanting in Biblical support. P. asserts that there are "bodies" for heavenly beings, just as there are for earthly (cf. 49); the adj. ἁπυράνια supplies the ποιότης desiderated in ver. 35. The heavenly and earthly bodies, alike as being "bodies," are far diff. in "glory". —ἀλλὰ ἑτέρα κ.τ.λ. traverses the mistaken inference as to the identity of nature in the two kinds of organism, which might be hastily drawn from ver. 39b: "But the glory of the heavenlies is indeed one (glory), and the (glory) of the earthlies another". —ἑτέρα (cf. note on xii. 8 ff.) implies a diff. wider, or at least more salient, than that connoted by the ἄλλη of vv. 39 and 41; where the two are distinguished in cl. Gr., ἄλλος marks a generic, ἕτερος a specific diff. How utterly diff. was the glory of the risen Lord, who appeared to P. (Acts xxvi. 13), from that of any earthly Potentate!

Ver. 41. Even amongst the σῶματα ἁπυράνια there are varieties, just as amongst the ἐπίγεια (39), such as are indicated by the diff. of aspect in the visible celestial objects: "There is one glory of sun, and another glory of moon, and another glory of stars—for star differs from star in glory". While these luminous orbs are not to be identified with the "heavenly bodies" of ver. 40 (see note), they serve to symbolise the diversity of glory amongst them; all are glorious, but in degrees.—ἀλλῃ, as in ver. 39 (contrast 40), indicates diff. within the same order. The frequent symbolic association of sun and stars with God, the angels, the righteous, and with the glorified Jesus, may account for the asyndetic transition from ver. 40b (signifying persons) to 41. From the distinctions manifest amid the common glory of the visible heavens we may conjecture corresponding distinctions in the heavenly Intelligences and in the bodies appropriate to them.

Ver. 42a sums up what has been advanced in vv. 36-41, and presents it in

six words: οὕτως καὶ ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν νεκρῶν, "So indeed is the resurrection of the dead". It is as possible as that plants of wholly diff. form should shoot from the seed sown by your own hand; and the form of each risen body will be determined by God, who finds a suitable organism for every type of earthly life, and can do so equally for every type and grade of heavenly life, in a region where, as sun, moon, and stars nightly show, the universal splendour is graduated and varied infinitely.

§ 55. THE FIRST ADAM AND THE LAST, xv. 42b-49. The Ap. has now removed *a priori* objections, and brought his theory of bodily resurrection within the lines of natural analogy and probability of reason. He has at the same time largely expounded it, intimating (1) that the present is, in some sense, the seed of the future body, and (2) that the two will differ as the heavenly must needs differ from the earthly. He goes on to show that this diff. has its basis and pattern in the diff. between the primitive Adam and the glorified Christ, who are contrasted in condition (42b, 43), in nature (44 ff.), and in origin (47 ff.).

Vv. 42b, 43. Σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ . . . ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ . . . ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ: "The sowing is in corruption (perishableness) . . . in dishonour . . . in weakness". It is better, with Cv., Wr. (p. 656), and Hn., to regard σπείρεται and ἐγείρεται as *impersonal*, since no subject is supplied; the vbs., thrice repeated with emphasis, are contrasted in idea; the antithesis lies between two opp. stages of being (cf., for the mode of expression, Luke xii. 48). σπείρεται recalls, and applies in the most general way, the δ σπείρεις and σπέρματα of vv. 36 ff. To interpret this vb. as figuring the act of burial ("verbum amoenissimum pro sepultura," Bg.; so Cm., Gr., Mr., Bt., El., and many others) confuses the analogy (the "sowing" is expressly distinguished from the "dying")

ἔγείρεται ἔν ᾧ δυνάμει. 44. ὁσπεύεται σῶμα <sup>1</sup>ψυχικόν, ἔγει- <sup>w</sup> See iv. 20.  
 ρεται σῶμα <sup>2</sup>πνευματικόν. ἔστι <sup>1</sup>σῶμα <sup>2</sup>ψυχικόν, καὶ <sup>2</sup>ἔστι <sup>2</sup>πνευματικόν. 45. οὕτω καὶ <sup>3</sup>γέγραπται, “Ἐγένετο ὁ <sup>x</sup> See ii. 14.  
 πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος <sup>4</sup>Ἀδὰμ <sup>5</sup>εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν.” ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ <sup>y</sup> See ii. 15.  
<sup>z</sup> Mt. ii. 5;  
<sup>46.</sup> Cf.  
<sup>Acts xiii.</sup>  
<sup>47; and ix.</sup>  
<sup>14 above.</sup>  
 a Gen. ii. 7; Rom. xi. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 7; Mt. xxi. 42 and Acts iv. 11 (Ps. cxvii. 22); Acts v. 36; Lk. xiii. 19.

<sup>1</sup> εἰς εἶναι: all pre-Syrian codd., and all ancient verss. exc. syrr.

<sup>2</sup> εἶναι καὶ: all uncc. but KL.

<sup>3</sup> Om. σῶμα pre-Syrian codd.

<sup>4</sup> BK, and several minn., om. ἄνθρωπος.

of the seed, 36), and jars with ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ (a sick man, not a corpse, is called *weak*), and with ψυχικόν in ver. 44; cf. also vv. 50-54, where ἡ φθορά, τὸ φθαρτόν, τὸ θνητὸν τοῦτο are identified with the *living* ἡμῖς. Our *present life* is the seed-time (Gal. vi. 7 ff.), and our “mortal bodies” (Rom. viii. 10 f.) are in the germinal state, concluding with death (36), out of which a wholly diff. organism will spring. The attributes φθορά (cf. δουλεία τ. φθορᾶς, Rom. viii. 21), ἀτιμία (cf. Phil. iii. 21), ἀσθενεία (cf. 2 Cor. xiii. 4)—summed up in the θνητὰ σώματα of Rom. viii. 11 and μορφὴ δούλου of Phil. ii. 7—are those that P. is wont to ascribe to man’s actual physique, in contrast with the ἀφθαρσία, δόξα, δύναμις of the post-resurrection state: see 2 Cor. iv. 7, 10, 16, v. 1, 4, Rom. i. 4, viii. 18-23. Thus, with variety in detail, Est. (“mortal corpus multis ante mortem miseriis et foeditatibus obnoxium, suscitabitur idem corpus omni ex parte gloriosum”), Cv., Hf., Hn., Ed. Gd. refers the three-fold σπεύρεται to the three moments of *burial*, *mortal life*, and *birth* respectively; van Hengel identifies it with *procreation*, quite unsuitably.

Ver. 44. “There is sown a psychic body; there is raised a spiritual body.” This dictum grounds the antithesis unfolded in vv. 42 f. upon its proper basis; the diff. is not a matter of condition merely, but of *constitution*. Corruption, dishonour, feebleness are, in great part, penal inflictions (Rom. v. 12 ff.), signalling not a natural defect, but a positive subjection to the power of sin (53-56); man, however, is essentially ψυχή under the present order (45), and his body therefore is essentially ψυχικόν as determined by that order (cf. vi. 13, and note; Col. ii. 20 ff., Matt. xxii. 30, etc.), being fitted to and expressive of the “soul” wherein his earthly being centres; see the note on ψυχικός, ii. 14. Though inadequate, “natural” is the best available rendering of this adj.; it indicates the moulding

of man’s body by its environment and its adaptation to existing functions; the same body is χοϊκόν in respect of its material (47).—ψυχικόν is only relatively a term of disparagement; the “psychic body” has in it the making of the “spiritual”; “its adaptation for the present service of the soul is the *sowing* of it, that is the initial step in its adaptation for the future uses of the spirit. An organism fitted to be the seat of mind, to express emotion, to carry out the behests of will, is in process of being adapted for a still nobler ministry” (Ed.): “he that sows to the Spirit (in the natural body), will reap of the Spirit (in the spiritual body),” Gal. vi. 8.—“If there is a psychic body, there is also a spiritual”: a frame suited to man’s earthly life argues a frame suited to his heavenly life, according to the principle of ver. 38b (cf. the argument from lower to higher in Matt. vi. 30); and the σῶμα πν. lies, in some way, germinally hidden in the σῶμα ψ., to be unfolded from it under “the universal law of progress” (Ed.).—ἔστιν (*existit*) bears emphasis in each clause; from the *fact* of sense P. argues to the *fact* of faith. Observe txtl. notes 1-3.

Ver. 45 puts into words of Scripture the law of development affirmed, thereby showing its agreement with the plan of creation and its realisation in the two successive heads of the race. Into his citation of Gen. ii. 7 (LXX) P. introduces πρῶτος and duplicates ἄνθρωπος by Ἀδὰμ (*ha’adam*), to prepare for his antithetical addition ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδὰμ εἰς πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν. On the principle of ver. 44b, the Adam created as ψυχή was the crude beginning of humanity (the pred. ψυχή ζῶσα is shared by A. with the *animals*, Gen. i. 20, 24)—a “first” requiring a “last” as his complement and explanation. The two types differ here not as the sin-committing and sin-abolishing (Rom. v. 12 ff.), but as the rudimentary and finished man respectively, with their physique to match.—



b See ver. 22. εἰς πνεῦμα ὁ ζωοποιούν. 46. ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὸ ὑπνευματικόν  
 c Jo. iii. 37. ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν, ἔπειτα τὸ ὑπνευματικόν. 47. ὁ πρῶτος ἀνθρω-  
 —same antith. πος ἕκ ἡγῆς, ἡχοϊκός. ὁ δεύτερος ἀνθρώπος ὁ Κύριος<sup>1</sup> ὁ ἐξ  
 d H.L.; see note below.  
 e e Cor. v. 2; Gal. i. 3; 1 Th. i. 10; 2 Pet. i. 18; freq. in Rev.; Mt. xxviii. 2; Lk. iii. 22, x. 18, xl. 13; Jo. i. 32, xii. 28; Acts ii. 2. Ref. to Chr., Jo. iii. 13, etc., vi. 37 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Om. ο Κυριος B\*BCD\*G, 17, 67\*\*, latt. vg. cop., many Ff.

Ins. ο Κυριος B<sup>c</sup>ADb<sup>c</sup>KLP, and syrr. Tert. censures this reading in Meion. An instance of the Syrian readings followed by A, even in Paul.

Αἰδῶν is repeated in the second clause by way of maintaining the humanity of Christ and His genetic relation to the protoplast (cf. Luke i. 23-38), essential as the ground of our bodily relationship to Him (48 f.; cf. Heb. ii. 14 ff.).—The time of Christ's γενέσθαι εἰς πν. ζωον., in view of the context and esp. of vv. 42 ff., can only be His resurrection from the grave (Est., Gr., Mr., Hn., Hf., El.), which supplies the hinge of Paul's whole argument (cf. Rom. i. 4, vi. 4 ff., x. 9, etc.); not the incarnation (Thp., Bz., Baur, Ed.), for His pre-resurrection body was a σῶμα ψυχικόν (Rom. viii. 3, etc.; 2 Cor. xiii. 4, Phil. ii. 7, etc.). By rising from the dead, Christ ἐγενήθη εἰς πνεῦμα—He entered on the spiritual and ultimate form of human existence; and at the same time, ἐγενήθη εἰς πν. ζωοποιούν—He entered this state so as to communicate it to His fellows: cf. vv. 20-23, Col. i. 18, Rev. i. 5; also Rom. viii. 10 f., 2 Cor. iv. 14; John vi. 33, xi. 25, xiv. 19, etc. The action of Jesus in "breathing" upon His disciples while He said, "Receive the Holy Spirit" (John xx. 22 f.), symbolised the vitalising relationship which at this epoch He assumed towards mankind; this act raised to a higher potency the original "breathing" of God by which man "became a living soul". "Spirit is life-power, having the ground of its vitality in itself, while the soul has only a subject and conditioned life; spirit vitalises that which is outside of itself, soul leads its individual life within the sphere marked out by its environment" (Hf.); cf. John iii. 34, iv. 14, v. 25 f.; Heb. vii. 25.—ὁ ἔσχατος ἀνθρώπος recalls the Rabbinical title, *ha'adam ha'acharon*, given to the Messiah (*Neve Shalom*, ix. 9): Christ is not, however, the later or second, but the last, the final Adam. The two Adams of Philo, based on the duplicate narrative of Gen. i., ii.—the ideal "man after the image of God" and the actual "man of the dust of the earth"—with which Pfeiderer and others identify Paul's πρῶτος and ἔσχατος, χοϊκός

and ἐπουράνιος Ἀδάμ, are not to be found here. For (a) Philo's *first* is Paul's *last*; (b) both Paul's Adams are equally concrete; (c) the resurrection of Christ distinguishes their respective periods, a crisis the conception of which is foreign to Philo's theology; (d) moreover, Gen. i. 26 is referred in xi. 7 above to the *historical*, not the ideal, First Man.

Ver. 46 might have been expressly aimed at the Philonian exegesis; it affirms a development from lower to higher, from the dispensation of ψυχῇ to that of πνεύμα, the precise opp. of that extracted from Gen. i., ii. by Philo. (ἀλλ' οὐ) "Nay, but not first is the spiritual, but the psychic—after that (ἔπειτα: cf. 23) the spiritual". P. states a general law (σῶμα is not to be understood with the adjs.): the ψυχικόν as such demands the πνευματικόν to follow it (44); they succeed in this order, not the reverse. "The Ap. does not share the notion, long regarded as orthodox, that humanity was created in a state of moral and physical perfection. . . . Independently of the Fall, there must have been progress from an inferior state, the psychic, which he posits as man's point of departure, to a superior state, the spiritual, foreseen and determined as man's goal from the first" (Gd. *ad loc.*: see the whole passage).

Vv. 47-49 draw another contrast between the two "men," types of the two eras of humanity, which is suggested by the words χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (*aphār min ha'adamāh*) of Gen. ii. 7. The first is ἕκ γῆς, χοϊκός (*terrenus*, Vg.; more literally, *pulvereus*, Bz.); the second is ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (om. ὁ Κύριος). The former epithets, and by antithesis the latter, point to bodily origin and substance (cf. 40, also 2 Cor. iv. 7, ἐν ὀστροφάνοις σκεύεσιν), but connote the whole quality of the life thus determined.—The expression ἐξ οὐρανοῦ (*e caelo*, Bz.; not *de caelo*, Vg.) has led to the identifying of the δεύτερος ἀνθρ. with the incarnate Christ (see Ed.), to the confusion of

“οὐρανοῦ· 48. ὁ ὅς δ’ αὖ χοῖκός, ὁ τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ αὖ χοῖκοί· καὶ f In this order, 2  
οἷος δ’ ἐπουράνιος, ὁ τοιοῦτοι καὶ οἱ ἐπουράνιοι· 49. καὶ καθὼς  
ἡ ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ αὖ χοῖκου, ἡ φορέσομεν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα  
τοῦ ἐπουραίνου.

50. Τοῦτο δέ<sup>2</sup> κ’ φημι, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι ἰσὰρξ καὶ αἷμα βασιλείαν  
θεοῦ κληρονομήσαι οὐ δύνανται,<sup>3</sup> οὐδὲ ἡ φθορὰ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν

Mk. ix. 3. g See ver. 40. h Rom. xiii. 4; Mt. xi. 8; Jo. xix. 5; Jas. ii. 3; Prov. xvi. 23.  
i See xi. 7. k See vii. 29. l Eph. vi. 12; Heb. ii. 14; Mt. xvi. 17; Sir. xiv. 18; cf. Lk. xxiv. 39.  
m See vi. 9 (with κληρονομ.). n δύναται, for the compound subj. and sing. vb., cf. Mt. v. 18; there  
the pred. precedes. N.T. h.h. for such a constr. ad sensum, in this order. o, p See ver. 42.

<sup>1</sup> φορέσομεν, all uncc. but B, with 46, and many minn. W.H. retain -ομεν  
in marg., R.V. and Weiss in txt., referring -ομεν to marg.; other crit. edd., -ομεν.

<sup>2</sup> γαρ, DG, Tert.

<sup>3</sup> δύναται, ΞBP, 73, Or.

Paul's argument (cf. note on 45). This phrase is suggested by the antithetical ἐκ γῆς: the form of existence in which the risen Jesus appeared was super-terrestrial and pneumatic (cf. 2 Cor. v. 2); it possessed a life and attributes imparted "from heaven"—by an immediate and sovereign act of God (Rom. i. 4, vi. 4, 2 Cor. xiii. 4, Eph. i. 19 f., 1 Peter i. 21, etc.). This transformation of the body of Jesus was foreshadowed by His Transfiguration, and consummated in His Ascension; P. realised it with the most powerful effect in the revelation to himself of the risen Christ "from heaven". The glorious change attested, indeed, the origin of Christ's personality, but it should not be confused with that origin (Rom. i. 4; cf. Matt. xvii. 5). From His resurrection onwards, Christ became to human faith the ἀνθρώπος ἐπουράνιος (Rom. vi. 9 f., Rev. i. 17 ff.), who was taken previously for a θνητός and χοῖκός like other men.—Baur, Pfeiderer, Bey-schlag (N.T. Theology), Sm., and others, see in the ἀνθρώπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ the pre-existent Christ, whom they identify with Philo's ideal or "heavenly man" of Gen. i. 26 (see note on 45 above); on this interpretation an entire Christology is based—the theory that Christ in his pre-incarnate state was simply the *Urmensch*, the prototype of humanity, existing thus, either in fact or in the Divine idea, with God from eternity, and being in this sense the Eternal Son. Doubtless the "second man" is ideally first and reveals the true end and type of humanity, and this conception is, so far, a just inference from Paul's teaching. But what P. actually sets forth is the historical relation of the two Adams in the development of mankind, Christ succeeding and

displacing our first father (46, see note; 49), whereas the Baurian *Urmensch* is antecedent to the earthly Adam.

The above χοῖκός and ἐπουράνιος have severally their copies in χοῖκοί and ἐπουράνιοι (48). Is this a purely physical distinction, between pre- and post-resurrection states of the same men (cf. 44)? or is there a moral connotation implied, as Hf. and Ed. suggest? The latter seems likely, esp. on comparison of Phil. iii. 18 ff., Col. iii. 1-4, Rom. vi. 4, and in transition to the exhortation of ver. 49. Those who are to be "heavenly" in body hereafter already "sit in heavenly places" (Eph. ii. 6), while those are "earthly" in every sense "whose flesh hath soul to suit," οἱ τὰ ἐπίγεια φρονοῦντες.—Admitting the larger scope of ver. 48, we accept the strongly attested hortatory φορέσομεν of ver. 49: "Let us wear also the image of the Heavenly One". The εἰκὼν embraces the entire "man"—not the body alone, the σχῆμα and σκεῦος ἀνθρώπου (Phil. ii. 7, 2 Cor. iv. 7, 1 Thess. iv. 4)—in Adam and Christ respectively (cf. xi. 7, 2 Cor. iii. 18, Rom. viii. 29, Col. i. 15 iii. 10); and we are exhorted to "put on Christ" (Rom. xiii. 14, Gal. iii. 27), realising that to wear His moral likeness here carries with it the wearing of His bodily likeness hereafter: see vv. 20-23, Rom. viii. 11; 1 John iii. 2 f.

§ 56. VICTORY OVER DEATH, xv. 50-58. The second part of the argument of this chapter has now reached the same platform as the first (cf. §§ 51 and 54). The Resurrection of the Body, it has been shown, is an essential part of the Divine world-plan and necessary to the fulfilment of God's kingdom through Christ (20-27); and the transformation of the



q See ii. 7. <sup>m</sup> κληρονομή. <sup>1</sup> 51. ἰδοὺ <sup>a</sup> μυστήριον ὑμῖν λέγω· πάντες μὲν <sup>2</sup> οὐ <sup>3</sup>  
 r See vii. 39.  
 s Rom. i. 23 <sup>r</sup> κοιμηθῆσόμεθα, <sup>3</sup> πάντες δὲ <sup>a</sup> ἀλλαγησόμεθα, <sup>3</sup> 52. ἐν <sup>a</sup> ἀτόμῳ, ἐν  
 (Ps. cv.  
 20); Gal.  
 iv. 20; Heb. i. 12 (Ps. cl. 26); Acts vi. 14; Lev. xxvii. 33. t Bibl. h.l.

<sup>1</sup> κληρονομήσει: C<sup>o</sup>D<sup>o</sup>G, vg. cop. syrr.

<sup>2</sup> Om. μὲν BC<sup>o</sup>D<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> πάντες οὐ κοιμηθῆσόμεθα πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα (as in T.R., om. only μὲν): BD<sup>o</sup>bcKLP, etc., cop. syrr., Or., Cyr., Greg.-Nyssa, Chr., Thdrt. So Tisch., Tr. txt., Al., R.V., W.H., El., Nestle.

πάντες κοιμηθῆσόμεθα οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγησόμεθα: R(A)CG, 17, Gr. codd. mentioned by Hier. and by Aug. So Lachm. and Tr. marg. A<sup>o</sup> reads πάντες κοιμηθ. οἱ πάντες κ.τ.λ., afterwards correcting οἱ to οὐ, but then inserting οὐ before κοιμηθ. as well.

πάντες ἀναστήσόμεθα οὐ πάντες δὲ ἀλλαγ.: D<sup>o</sup>, d e f, vg. (*omnes quidem resurgemus* [or *resurgimus*], *sed non omnes immutabimur*); latt. codd. mentioned by Hier., by Aug. and Pelag., Hil. Hier. writes (*Ep.* 119): "Quæritis quo sensu dictum sit et quomodo in 1 ad Cor. ep. Pauli apost. sit legendum: *Omnes quidem dormiemus, non autem omnes immutabimur*, an juxta quædam exemplaria: *Non omnes dormiemus, omnes autem immutabimur*; utrumque enim in Græcis codd. invenitur". The Patristic authorities from the 3rd to the 5th century stood in doubt as to the true reading, and the Gr. MSS. then presented great confusion. Intrinsic considerations are decisive in favour of the T.R., in adopting which the Syrian edd. showed excellent judgment. The unusual position of οὐ (after πάντες), and the fact that οὐ κοιμηθῆσ. appear to express an anticipation that failed of fulfilment, led to the shifting of the οὐ. ἀναστήσόμεθα is a bold Western paraphrase. The reading of B and the T.R. alone agrees with Paul's situation (*cf.* 1 Th. iv. 15), and with the tenor of this passage. See note below. For full textual evidence and discussion, see Tisch.<sup>8</sup>, *ad loc.*, also W.H., vol. ii., p. 118.

earthly into the heavenly, of the psychic into the pneumatic form of being, is involved in the present constitution of things and accords with the lines of development traceable in nature and revelation (36-49). In a word, P. holds the Christian resurrection to be grounded in the person and mission of Christ, as He is on the one hand the Son of God and mediatorial Head of His kingdom (24-28), and on the other hand the Second Adam and Firstborn of a spiritual humanity (22 f., 45-49). He finds the key to this great controversy, as to so many others, in the supremacy of Christ, the "one Lord, through whom are all things and we through Him" (viii. 6). It remains for him only to state the practical conclusion of this reasoning (50), to describe our anticipated transformation and victory over death (51-57), and to urge his readers in this confidence to accomplish worthily their life's work (58).

Ver. 50. Τοῦτο δὲ φημι, ἀδελφοί (see note, vii. 29) introduces, with a pause, an emphatic reassertion of the ruling thought of the previous §—that of the opposition between the psychic body of the First Adam and the spiritual body of the Second; manifestly the former is unfit for God's heavenly kingdom—with the latter, it is assumed (48b; *cf.* Luke xx.

34 ff., 1 John iii. 2 f.), we must be clothed to enter that diviner realm: "Flesh and blood cannot inherit God's kingdom; nor indeed doth corruption (perishableness) inherit incorruption (imperishableness)". The second assertion explicates the first: σὰρξ κ. αἷμα = φθορά (*cf.* 42, and note), since decay is inherent in our bodily nature; ὁ ἔξω ἀνθρώπος διαφθείρεται (2 Cor. iv. 16; *cf.* Rom. viii. 10 f.). "Flesh" is the matter and "blood" the essence and life-vehicle of man's present corporeity. *Nature* forbids eternal life in this earthly dress (*cf.* note on 46). "Inherit" points to the kingdom as the *right* of the sons of God (Rom. viii. 17, etc.; *cf.* Matt. xxv. 34), but a heritage unrealised during the "bondage of corruption" (see Rom. viii. 21 ff.). Another, but removable, disability of "flesh and blood" appears in Matt. xvi. 17.

Vv. 51, 52. This bodily change, indispensable in view of the incompatibility just affirmed, is the object of a momentous revelation communicated to P., to which he calls our earnest attention: "Lo, I tell you a mystery!" Ὁ μυστήριον, see note to ii. 1. P. began by demonstrating the historical fact of Christ's resurrection (1-11); he then reasoned upon it, in its bearings on religion and nature (12-49); now he adds a new specific

ῥίπη<sup>1</sup> ὀφθαλμοῦ, ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ὀσάλπιγγι· ὀσάλπίσει γάρ, καὶ οἱ νεκροὶ ἔγερθῇσονται<sup>2</sup> ὀσάφθαρτοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀσάλλαγησόμεθα.

53. ὀδεῖ γὰρ τὸ ὀφθαρτὸν τοῦτο ὀἐνδύσασθαι ὀἀφθαρσίαν καὶ τὸ

Rev. ten times. x See ver. 15. y See ix. 25. z See viii. 2. a See ix. 25. b 2 Cor. v. 3; Rom. xiii. 12, 14; Eph. iv. 24, vi. 11; Col. iii. 10; Ps. cxxxi. 9.

<sup>1</sup> D\*G, 67\*\*, and some others, read ὀσπη. Hier.: "ἐν ὀσπη sive ἐν ὀσπη ὀφθαλμου, utrumque enim legitur, et nostri interpretati sunt in momento et in ictu oculi".

<sup>2</sup> ἀναστήσονται, ADGP.

revelation to crown his teaching. In doing so, P. challenges his opponents in the right of his inspiration and authority, hitherto in the background in this chap. Ver. 15 only vindicated his honesty.

In ver. 51b ὀλλαγησόμεθα (required by 50 and repeated in 52) bears the stress; to it the first πάντες (reiterated with emphasis) looks forward; οὐ κοιμηθσόμεθα is parenthetical: "We shall all—not sleep, but—we shall all be changed". ὀλλάσσω is interpreted by ἐνδύσασθαι of ver. 53 and μετασχηματίζω of Phil. iii. 21. As much as to say: "Our perishable flesh and blood, whether through death or not, must undergo a change". That such a change is impending for the dead in Christ is evident from the foregoing argument (see esp. 22 f., 36, 42 f.); P. adds to this the declaration that the change will be universal, that it will extend to those living when the Last Trumpet sounds (52), amongst whom he then hoped that many of the present generation would be found: cf. i. 7; also 1 Thess. iv. 15 ff., where the like is affirmed ἐν λόγῳ Κυρίου. This hope dictates the interjected οὐ κοιμηθσόμεθα, which disturbs the grammar of the sentence and necessitates the contrastive δὲ attached to the repeated πάντες (see txtl. note; Wr., p. 695; also El. ad loc.). There is no need to suppose a trajection of οὐ (as if for οὐ πάντες, or οὐ μὲν πάντες κοιμηθσ.) nor any diff. between the sense of ὀλλαγησ. in vv. 51 and 52: the certainty of change in all who shall "inherit incorruption" is declared (51), and the assurance is given that while this change takes place in "the dead" who are "raised incorruptible," at the same time "we" (the assumed living) shall undergo a corresponding change (52; cf. 2 Cor. v. 2 ff.). Thus in "all" believers, whether sleeping or waking when Christ's trumpet sounds, the necessary development will be effected (53 f.).—The critical moment is defined by three vivid phrases: ἐν

ὀτόμῳ (cl. Gr., ἐν ὀκαρῇ), ἐν ὀρίπῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ (in ictu oculi, Vg.; in a twinkling), ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ὀσάλπινγι—the first two describing the instantaneousness, and the last (with allusion perhaps to the saying of Matt. xxiv. 31: cf. 1 Thess. iv. 16) the solemn finality of the transformation. The former idea is emphasized, possibly, to preclude the fear of a slow painful process. The ὀσάλπιγγς was the war-trumpet, used for signals and commands (cf. ἐν κελεύσματι, 1 Thess. iv. 16); and ὀσάλπίσει (sc. ὀσάλπιγκτής) is indef. in subject, according to military idiom (cf. Xen., Anab., I, ii., 17). 1 Thess. iv. identifies the "trumpet" with the "archangel's voice": any such description is of course figurative.

Vv. 52, 53. The necessity for change, negatively declared in ver. 50, is now reaffirmed positively, as a necessity lying in the nature and relations of the changed: "For this corruptible (perishable) is bound (δεῖ: cf. xi. 19) to put on incorruption (imperishableness), and this mortal to put on immortality". The double τοῦτο speaks, as in 2 Cor. v. 2, Rom. vii. 24, out of P.'s painful self-consciousness: cf. 2 Cor. iv. 10, Gal. vi. 17.—τὸ θνητὸν and τὸ φθαρτὸν (concrete, of felt necessity: ἡ φθορά, 50, abstract, of general principle) relate, as in vv. 42 ff., to the present, living body of the ἡμεῖς, not to the dead body deposited in the grave. The aforesaid "change" is now represented as an investiture (ἐνδύσασθαι) with incorruption and immortality; the two ideas are adjusted in 2 Cor. v. 4, where it is conceived that the living Christian will "put on" the new, spiritual body "over" (ἐπ-ἐνδύσασθαι) his earthly frame, which will then be "absorbed" (καταποθῇ) by it.

Ver. 54. This clothing of the saints with immortality fulfils a notable O.T. word respecting the Day of the Lord: "Then will be brought to pass the word that is written, Death has been swallowed up (κατεπόθη, the vb. adopted in 2 Cor.



c 2 Cor. iv. <sup>11, v. 4;</sup> \*θητὸν τοῦτο <sup>Rom. vi. 12, viii. 11.</sup> ἐνδύσασθαι <sup>d 1 Tim. vi. 16; Wisd. viii. 13, etc.</sup> ἀθανασίαν. <sup>e Ver. 28, xvi. 2; 2</sup> 54. \*ὅταν δὲ <sup>Cor. xii. 10; Col. iii. 4; 1 Th. v. 3; Lk. v. 35; Jo. viii. 28.</sup> τὸ \*φθαρτὸν <sup>f Mt. v. 18; Mk. xli. 23.</sup> τοῦτο <sup>g Isa. xxv. 8 (see note below); in this sense, 2 Cor. v. 4, also ii. 7; Mt. xxiii. 24; Heb. xi. 29; 1 Pet. v. 8; Rev. xii. 16.</sup> ἐνδύσῃται <sup>h Mt. xii. 20; 2 Kl. ii. 26; Job xxxvi. 7.</sup> ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ <sup>i Hos. xiii. 14; Acts xxvi. 14; Rev. ix. 10.</sup> τὸ \*θητὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσῃται ἀθανασίαν, <sup>2</sup> τότε <sup>1</sup> γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος, “<sup>2</sup> Κατέπαθῃ ὁ θάνατος <sup>h</sup> εἰς <sup>h</sup> νίκος”. 55. ποῦ σου, θάνατε, τὸ <sup>1</sup> κέντρον <sup>3</sup>; <sup>2</sup> ποῦ σου, <sup>4</sup> ᾧ, τὸ <sup>h</sup> νίκος <sup>2</sup>; 56. τὸ δὲ <sup>1</sup> κέντρον τοῦ θανάτου ἢ ἀμαρτίας,

<sup>1</sup> Ν\*С\*IM, cop. vg., and several Ff., om. το φθαρτον . . . και, reducing the two *otan* clauses to one—*otan δε το θητην τουτο κ.τ.λ.* G om. the entire double *otan* clause, skipping from *athanasian* in ver. 53 to *athanasian* in ver. 54.

<sup>2</sup> την αθανασίαν: ΝΑΙ, 17; so I in ver. 53.

<sup>3</sup> νίκος . . . κέντρον (in this order): ΝBCIM, 17, cop. vg. (BD\* I: νεικος, vv. 54 f.).

<sup>4</sup> θανατε *twice*: Ν\*BCDGI, 67\*\*, cop. vg., and many Ff.; ᾧ in Hosea.

v. 4 as above) *unto victory!*” *otan*, with its double clause, recalls the double *otan* of ver. 24 and of vv. 27 f. (see notes), which are parl. to each other and to this, alike marking the great “when,” the epoch of the consummation. The destruction of the “last enemy” secures absolute “victory” for Christ and His own. Paul corrects the LXX txt. of Isa. xxv. 8, which makes Death the victor, *κατέπεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας*; he appears to have read the Heb. passively *bullā*, for Massoretic *billā*: Theodotion’s translation is identical with Paul’s. *lanetsach* (for ever) is often rendered *eis nīkos* (later Gr. form of *nīkē*) by the LXX, according to the Aramaic sense of the noun; its Heb. sense implies a final and unqualified overthrow of the King of Terrors, and therefore admits of P.’s application. “This is the farthest reaching of all O.T. prophecies; it bears allusion to Gen. iii.” (Dillmann; see also Delitzsch, on the Isaianic txt.), and reverses the doom there pronounced.

Vv. 55-57. At this climax P. breaks into a song of triumph over Death, in the strain of Hosea’s rapturous anticipation of Israel’s resurrection from national death. [Many interpreters, however, put the opp. sense on Hos. xiii. 14, as though God were summoning Death and the Grave to play all their forces for Israel’s annihilation, and this accords with the prophet’s context; but violent alterations of mood are characteristic of Hosea: see Nowack *ad loc.* in *Handkom. z. A.T.*, also Orelli’s *Minor Prophets*, or Cheyne in C.B.S.] The passage has the Hebra-

istic lilt of Paul’s more exalted passages; cf. xiii. 4 ff., and parls. there noted.

“Where, O Death, is thy victory?  
Where, O Death, is thy sting?  
Now the sting of Death is Sin, and the strength  
of Sin is the Law;  
But to God be thanks, who gives to us the  
victory  
Through our Lord Jesus Christ!”

P. freely adapts the words of Hosea, repeating *θανατε* in the second line, where Hosea writes *sh’ol* (LXX ᾧ), since death is the enemy he pursues throughout (Ed. notes that ᾧ never occurs in Paul’s Epp.); and he substitutes syn. terms for each of the other nouns to suit his own vein, *nīkos* being taken up from ver. 54, and *κέντρον* preparing for the thought of ver. 56.—τὸ δὲ κέντρον κ.τ.λ. throws into an epigram the doctrine of Rom. iv.-viii. and Gal. iii. respecting the inter-relations of Sin, Law, and Death: “Mors aculeum quo pungat non habet nisi peccatum; et huic aculeo Lex vim mortiferam addit” (Cv.). *Sin* gives to death, as we mortals know it, its poignancy, its penal character and humiliating form, with the entire “bondage of corruption” that attaches to it: see esp. Rom. v. 12, 17, vi. 10, 23, vii. 24, viii. 10, 20 ff., Heb. ii. 14 f. Apart from sin, our present bodily existence must have terminated in the course of nature (44-46); but the change would have been effected in a far diff. way, without the horror and anguish of dissolution—as indeed it will be for the redeemed who have the happiness to be alive at the Second Advent (see 51 f., and parls.).

ἡ δὲ δύναμις τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ νόμος· 57. τῷ δὲ Θεῷ <sup>k</sup> χάρις τῷ <sup>l</sup> <sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup> <sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> 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<sup>729</sup> <sup>730</sup> <sup>731</sup> <sup>732</sup> <sup>733</sup> <sup>734</sup> <sup>735</sup> <sup>736</sup> <sup>737</sup> <sup>738</sup> <sup>739</sup> <sup>740</sup> <sup>741</sup> <sup>742</sup> <sup>743</sup> <sup>744</sup> <sup>745</sup> <sup>746</sup> <sup>747</sup> <sup>748</sup> <sup>749</sup> <sup>750</sup> <sup>751</sup> <sup>752</sup> <sup>753</sup> <sup>754</sup> <sup>755</sup> <sup>756</sup> <sup>757</sup> <sup>758</sup> <sup>759</sup> <sup>760</sup> <sup>761</sup> <sup>762</sup> <sup>763</sup> <sup>764</sup> <sup>765</sup> <sup>766</sup> <sup>767</sup> <sup>768</sup> <sup>769</sup> <sup>770</sup> <sup>771</sup> <sup>772</sup> <sup>773</sup> <sup>774</sup> <sup>775</sup> <sup>776</sup> <sup>777</sup> <sup>778</sup> <sup>779</sup> <sup>780</sup> <sup>781</sup> <sup>782</sup> <sup>783</sup> <sup>784</sup> <sup>785</sup> <sup>786</sup> <sup>787</sup> <sup>788</sup> <sup>789</sup> <sup>790</sup> <sup>791</sup> <sup>792</sup> <sup>793</sup> <sup>794</sup> <sup>795</sup> <sup>796</sup> <sup>797</sup> <sup>798</sup> <sup>799</sup> <sup>800</sup> <sup>801</sup> <sup>802</sup> <sup>803</sup> <sup>804</sup> <sup>805</sup> <sup>806</sup> <sup>807</sup> <sup>808</sup> <sup>809</sup> <sup>810</sup> <sup>811</sup> <sup>812</sup> <sup>813</sup> <sup>814</sup> <sup>815</sup> <sup>816</sup> <sup>817</sup> <sup>818</sup> <sup>819</sup> <sup>820</sup> <sup>821</sup> <sup>822</sup> <sup>823</sup> <sup>824</sup> <sup>825</sup> <sup>826</sup> <sup>827</sup> <sup>828</sup> <sup>829</sup> <sup>830</sup> <sup>831</sup> <sup>832</sup> <sup>833</sup> <sup>834</sup> <sup>835</sup> <sup>836</sup> <sup>837</sup> <sup>838</sup> <sup>839</sup> <sup>840</sup> <sup>841</sup> <sup>842</sup> <sup>843</sup> <sup>844</sup> <sup>845</sup> <sup>846</sup> <sup>847</sup> <sup>848</sup> <sup>849</sup> <sup>850</sup> <sup>851</sup> <sup>852</sup> <sup>853</sup> <sup>854</sup> <sup>855</sup> <sup>856</sup> <sup>857</sup> <sup>858</sup> <sup>859</sup> <sup>860</sup> 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<sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup> <sup>1001</sup> <sup>1002</sup> <sup>1003</sup> <sup>1004</sup> <sup>1005</sup> <sup>1006</sup> <sup>1007</sup> <sup>1008</sup> <sup>1009</sup> <sup>1010</sup> <sup>1011</sup> <sup>1012</sup> <sup>1013</sup> <sup>1014</sup> <sup>1015</sup> <sup>1016</sup> <sup>1017</sup> <sup>1018</sup> <sup>1019</sup> <sup>1020</sup> <sup>1021</sup> <sup>1022</sup> <sup>1023</sup> <sup>1024</sup> <sup>1025</sup> <sup>1026</sup> <sup>1027</sup> <sup>1028</sup> <sup>1029</sup> <sup>1030</sup> <sup>1031</sup> <sup>1032</sup> <sup>1033</sup> <sup>1034</sup> <sup>1035</sup> <sup>1036</sup> <sup>1037</sup> <sup>1038</sup> <sup>1039</sup> <sup>1040</sup> <sup>1041</sup> <sup>1042</sup> <sup>1043</sup> <sup>1044</sup> <sup>1045</sup> <sup>1046</sup> <sup>1047</sup> <sup>1048</sup> <sup>1049</sup> <sup>1050</sup> <sup>1051</sup> <sup>1052</sup> <sup>1053</sup> <sup>1054</sup> <sup>1055</sup> 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<sup>1118</sup> <sup>1119</sup> <sup>1120</sup> <sup>1121</sup> <sup>1122</sup> <sup>1123</sup> <sup>1124</sup> <sup>1125</sup> <sup>1126</sup> <sup>1127</sup> <sup>1128</sup> <sup>1129</sup> <sup>1130</sup> <sup>1131</sup> <sup>1132</sup> <sup>1133</sup> <sup>1134</sup> <sup>1135</sup> <sup>1136</sup> <sup>1137</sup> <sup>1138</sup> <sup>1139</sup> <sup>1140</sup> <sup>1141</sup> <sup>1142</sup> <sup>1143</sup> <sup>1144</sup> <sup>1145</sup> <sup>1146</sup> <sup>1147</sup> <sup>1148</sup> <sup>1149</sup> <sup>1150</sup> <sup>1151</sup> <sup>1152</sup> <sup>1153</sup> <sup>1154</sup> <sup>1155</sup> <sup>1156</sup> <sup>1157</sup> <sup>1158</sup> <sup>1159</sup> <sup>1160</sup> <sup>1161</sup> <sup>1162</sup> <sup>1163</sup> <sup>1164</sup> <sup>1165</sup> <sup>1166</sup> <sup>1167</sup> <sup>1168</sup> <sup>1169</sup> <sup>1170</sup> <sup>1171</sup> <sup>1172</sup> <sup>1173</sup> <sup>1174</sup> <sup>1175</sup> <sup>1176</sup> <sup>1177</sup> <sup>1178</sup> <sup>1179</sup> <sup>1180</sup> <sup>1181</sup> <sup>1182</sup> <sup>1183</sup> <sup>1184</sup> <sup>1185</sup> <sup>1186</sup> <sup>1187</sup> <sup>1188</sup> <sup>1189</sup> <sup>1190</sup> <sup>1191</sup> <sup>1192</sup> <sup>1193</sup> <sup>1194</sup> <sup>1195</sup> <sup>1196</sup> <sup>1197</sup> <sup>1198</sup> <sup>1199</sup> <sup>1200</sup> <sup>1201</sup> <sup>1202</sup> <sup>1203</sup> <sup>1204</sup> <sup>1205</sup> <sup>1206</sup> <sup>1207</sup> <sup>1208</sup> <sup>1209</sup> <sup>1210</sup> <sup>1211</sup> <sup>1212</sup> <sup>1213</sup> <sup>1214</sup> <sup>1215</sup> <sup>1216</sup> <sup>1217</sup> <sup>1218</sup> <sup>1219</sup> <sup>1220</sup> <sup>1221</sup> <sup>1222</sup> <sup>1223</sup> <sup>1224</sup> <sup>1225</sup> <sup>1226</sup> <sup>1227</sup> <sup>1228</sup> <sup>1229</sup> <sup>1230</sup> <sup>1231</sup> <sup>1232</sup> <sup>1233</sup> <sup>1234</sup> <sup>1235</sup> <sup>1236</sup> <sup>1237</sup> <sup>1238</sup> <sup>1239</sup> <sup>1240</sup> <sup>1241</sup> <sup>1242</sup> <sup>1243</sup> <sup>1244</sup> <sup>1245</sup> <sup>1246</sup> <sup>1247</sup> <sup>1248</sup> <sup>1249</sup> <sup>1250</sup> <sup>1251</sup> <sup>1252</sup> <sup>1253</sup> <sup>1254</sup> <sup>1255</sup> <sup>1256</sup> <sup>1257</sup> <sup>1258</sup> <sup>1259</sup> <sup>1260</sup> <sup>1261</sup> <sup>1262</sup> <sup>1263</sup> <sup>1264</sup> <sup>1265</sup> <sup>1266</sup> <sup>1267</sup> <sup>1268</sup> <sup>1269</sup> <sup>1270</sup> <sup>1271</sup> <sup>1272</sup> <sup>1273</sup> <sup>1274</sup> <sup>1275</sup> <sup>1276</sup> <sup>1277</sup> <sup>1278</sup> <sup>1279</sup> <sup>1280</sup> <sup>1281</sup> <sup>1282</sup> <sup>1283</sup> <sup>1284</sup> <sup>1285</sup> <sup>1286</sup> <sup>1287</sup> <sup>1288</sup> <sup>1289</sup> <sup>1290</sup> <sup>1291</sup> <sup>1292</sup> <sup>1293</sup> <sup>1294</sup> <sup>1295</sup> <sup>1296</sup> <sup>1297</sup> <sup>1298</sup> <sup>1299</sup> <sup>1300</sup> <sup>1301</sup> <sup>1302</sup> <sup>1303</sup> <sup>1304</sup> <sup>1305</sup> <sup>1306</sup> <sup>1307</sup> <sup>1308</sup> <sup>1309</sup> <sup>1310</sup> <sup>1311</sup> <sup>1312</sup> <sup>1313</sup> <sup>1314</sup> <sup>1315</sup> <sup>1316</sup> <sup>1317</sup> <sup>1318</sup> <sup>1319</sup> <sup>1320</sup> <sup>1321</sup> <sup>1322</sup> <sup>1323</sup> <sup>1324</sup> <sup>1325</sup> <sup>1326</sup> <sup>1327</sup> <sup>1328</sup> <sup>1329</sup>



a H. I.

b See vi. 1,  
and note  
below.

c See xv. 22.

d See vii. 17.

Th. ii. 14; Rev. i. 4.

XVI. 1. Περὶ δὲ τῆς \*λογίας<sup>1</sup> τῆς εἰς ἑτοὺς ἁγίους · ὥσπερ  
διέταξα \*ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε.

e See vii. 17; for pl. in local use, ver. 19; 2 Cor. viii. 1; Gal. i. 2 (τ. Γαλ.), 22; 1

<sup>1</sup> λογίας (?) : B\*or\*\* and I.

dition of all right and virtuous doing. —περισσεύοντες κ.τ.λ. adds the positive to the foregoing negative side of the injunction: "abounding (overflowing: see parls.) in the work of the Lord always". τ. ἔργον τ. Κυρίου (cf. ix. 1; Col. iii. 23 f., Matt. xxi. 28, Mark xiii. 34) is "the work" which "the Lord" prescribes, while "the work of God" (Rom. xiv. 20: cf. iii. 9 above) is "the work" which "God" does: contrast xii. 5 and 6 above. —"Knowing (as you do) that your toil is not empty in the Lord." εἰδότες implies assured knowledge, such as springs from the confirmation of faith given in this chap. On κόπος, see note to iii. 8; and on κενός, ver. 14: the "toil" is "empty" which is spent on illusion; "ce n'est pas là une activité d'apparat, accomplie dans le néant, comme si souvent le travail terrestre, mais un sérieux labeur, accompli dans la sphère de l'éternelle réalité" (Gd.); hence the pr. εἶναι rather than εἶσθαι.—ἐν Κυρίῳ: in the sphere of Christ's authority, wrought under His headship, which supplies the basis of all Christian relations and duties; cf. ver. 36, iv. 17, vii. 22, etc.

**DIVISION VI. BUSINESS, NEWS, AND GREETINGS, xvi.** The Ap. has delivered his mind to the Cor. upon the questions which prompted this great Ep. He had reserved to the last the profound and solemn problem of the Future Life, in its treatment of which the conceit of intellect and the moral levity that spoiled this powerful Greek Church found their most characteristic expression. To the defence and exposition of the Christian hope of the Resurrection of the Body P. has devoted in chap. xv. all his powers of dialectic and of theological construction, bringing his argument to the glorious conclusion with which, in § 56, the thought of the Ep. culminates. He has thus carried his readers far away from the Cor. atmosphere of jealousy and debate, of sensuality and social corruption, infecting their Church, to seat them in the heavenly places in Christ Jesus. There remain a few matters of personal interest, to be disposed of in two or three paragraphs—concerning the collection for

Jerusalem (1-4), his own and Timothy's intended visits, and the invitation declined by Apollos (5-12). These are followed by an energetic final exhortation, into which is woven a commendation of Stephanas and other Cor. now with P. (13-18), and by the epistolary salutations which are full and animated, a word of severe warning being attached to his own affectionate greeting and autograph signature (19-24).

§ 57. CONCERNING THE COLLECTION, xvi. 1-4. During his Third Missionary Journey P. was collecting money for the relief of the Christian poor in Jerusalem. Two chaps. in the middle of 2 Cor. are devoted to this business, which, as it seems, had moved slowly in the interval between the two Epp. The collection had been set on foot some time ago in Galatia (1); in Macedonia it had been warmly taken up (2 Cor. viii. f.); from Acts xx. 4 we learn that "Asians" also (from Ephesus and the neighbourhood) accompanied P. in the deputation which conveyed the Gentile offering to the mother Church. A little later, in writing to Rome (xv. 25-32), the Ap. refers to the collection, with great satisfaction, as completed. Every province of the Pauline mission appears to have aided in this charity, which, while it relieved a distressing need, was prompted also by Paul's warm love for his people (Rom. ix. 3), and by his desire to knit together the Gentile and Jewish sections of the Church, and to prove to the latter the true faith and brotherhood of the converts from heathenism (2 Cor. ix. 11-14). P. had taken part in a similar relief sent from Antioch many years before (Acts xi. f.); and in the Conference of Jerus., when the direction of the Gentile mission was committed to him, the heads of the Judæan Church laid on him the injunction to "remember the poor" (Gal. ii. 10). Foreign Jews were accustomed, as an act of piety, to replenish the poor-funds of the mother city. The Christian community of Jerus. suffered from chronic poverty. With little natural or commercial wealth, the city lived mainly upon its religious character—on the attractions of the Temple and the Feasts

2. ἡ κατὰ ἑμίαν ἡ σαββάτων ἡ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἡ παρ' ἑαυτῷ τιθέτω, <sup>f Distrib.</sup> <sup>see xiv.</sup>  
<sup>k</sup> θησαυρίζων ὅ,τι ἂν <sup>2</sup> εὐδοῶται <sup>3</sup>. ἵνα μή, ἢ ὅταν ἔλθω, ἢ τότε <sup>g Acts xx. 7; Mk. xvi.</sup>  
 2; Lk. xxiv. 1; Jo. xx. 1, 19. <sup>h In this sense, Mk. xvi. 9; Lk. xviii. 12.</sup> <sup>i Mt. xxi. 25.</sup>  
 παρα, cf. 2 Tim. iv. 13; Lk. xix. 7, etc. <sup>k 2 Cor. xii. 14; Rom. ii. 5; Jas. v. 3; 2 Pet. iii. 7; Mt.</sup>  
 vi. 19 f.; Lk. xii. 21; 4 Kt. xl. 17. <sup>l Rom. i. 10; 3 Jo. 2; Gen. xxxix. 3, 23.</sup> <sup>m See xv. 54.</sup>

<sup>1</sup> σαββατου, all uncc. but **Ν\*** (σαββατω), **ΝcKLM**.

<sup>2</sup> εαν (?), **BIM**. So **W.H.**, uniformly. <sup>3</sup> ευοδωθη, **ΝcACIKM**, etc.

thronged by Jews from the whole world; and the Nazarenes, while suffering from the intense bigotry of their compatriots in other ways, would find it esp. difficult to participate in employments connected with religion. 1 Thess. ii. 14 intimates that the Judæan Churches had recently undergone severe persecution.

Ver. 1. "But about the collection that (is made) for the saints" (τῆς εἰς τ. ἁγίους). This clause might be construed as subordinate to the following ὡς διέταξα; it reads more naturally as a detached title to the par.—indicating this, seemingly, as another topic of the Church Letter (cf. vii. 1, viii. 1, xii. 1). The subject is alluded to as one in which the Cor. were already interested (see 2 Cor. ix. 2).—λογία (more correctly spelt λογεῖα) = cl. Gr. συλλογή, or ἔρανος (*club-contribution*); elsewhere in Paul χάρις (3), εὐλογία (2 Cor. ix. 5), λειτουργία (2 Cor. ix. 12), κοινωνία (Rom. xv. 26). Till the other day this word counted as a *h.l.* in Gr. literature; but the Egyptian Gr. papyri furnish instances of it as a business term, denoting, along with λογεύω (from which it should be derived), the collecting of money either in the way of imposts or voluntary assessments: see Deissmann's *Bibelstudien*, pp. 40 ff., Hn. in Meyer's *Kommentar ad loc.*—The Cor. understand from previous communications who are meant by "the saints" (cf. Rom. xv. 31): Hf. thinks that the Christians of Jerus. are so called by *eminence*, but such a distinction is un-Pauline (Gal. iii. 28); rather, the fact that the collection is made for the *saints* commends it to saints (i. 2: cf. 2 Cor. ix. 12 ff.). Such ministry is part of "the work of the Lord" in which the Cor., a moment ago, were bidden to "abound" (xv. 58).—ὡς περ διέταξα κ.τ.λ.: "Just as I gave order to the Churches of Galatia, so also do you act". This direction was either given by P. personally on his last visit to Gal. at the outset of the Third Missionary Journey (Acts xviii. 23), more than two years before, or through letter or mes-

sengers from Ephesus at a later time. This ref. fairly implies that the arrangement made had been successful in Gal.; the business being completed there some while ago, the Ap. makes no observation upon it in the extant Ep. to the Gal., which was probably contemporary with 1 and 2 Cor. (See Lt., *Introd.* to Gal.). On the question as to the *part* of "Galatia" intended, see *Introd.* to Gal. in this Comm., and notes on the relevant passages in Acts.

Ver. 2 rehearses the rule previously laid down for Galatia: "On every first (day) of the week let each of you by himself (= at home) lay up, making a store (of it), whatever he may be prospered in".—μίαν σαββάτου—*echād shabbath* or *bashshabbāth*—according to Hebrew idiom (see parls.) for the days of the week, the term κυριακή ἡμέρα (Rev. i. 10) not being yet current, while the heathen name (*dies solis*) is avoided. The earliest mention of this Christian day, going to show that the First Day, not the Sabbath, was already the Sacred Day of the Church (cf. Acts xx. 7), appropriate therefore for deeds of charity (cf. Matt. xii. 12).—παρ' ἑαυτῷ, *apud se, chez lui* (see parls).—θησαυρίζων, "making a treasure," describes each householder "paulatim cumulum aliquid faciens" (Gr.), till at the end the accumulated store should be paid over.—εὐδοῶται (from εὖ and ὁδός, to send well on one's way) is pr. sbj., with ἂν of contingency and ὅ,τι in acc. of specification: any little superfluity that Providence might throw in a Cor. Christian's way, he could put into this sacred hoard (cf. 2 Cor. viii. 12). Many in this Church were slaves, without wages or stated income. The Vg. renders, "quod si bene placuerit," as though reading ὅ,τι εἰν εὐδοκῇ; and Bg. wrongly, "quod commodum sit".—ἵνα μή, ὅταν ἔλθω, τότε κ.τ.λ.: "that there may not be, when I come, collections going on then". P. would avoid the unseemliness and the difficulty of raising the money suddenly, at the last moment; and he wishes when he comes to be free to devote himself to



<sup>1</sup> Absol., Heb. ix. 11; Acts 11; <sup>2</sup> δι' ἐπιστολῶν<sup>1</sup> τούτους πέμψω ἂπενεγκεῖν τὴν ἡγάριον ὁμῶν εἰς ἱερουσαλήμ. 4. ἔάν δὲ ἡ<sup>2</sup> ἄξιον<sup>3</sup> τοῦ κάμει πορεύεσθαι, σὺν ἐμοὶ πορεύονται.

5. Ἐλεύσομαι δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅταν Μακεδονίαν διέλθω, Μακεδονίαν ὅτι γὰρ διέρχομαι. 6. Ἐπὶ ὑμᾶς δὲ τυχὸν παραμενῶ,<sup>3</sup> ἢ καὶ<sup>4</sup> παραχειμάσω, ἵνα ὑμεῖς με προπέμψητε οὐ ἔάν πορεύωμαι.

<sup>1</sup> Lachm., Tisch., Tr., W.H., R.V. marg., place the comma after δι' ἐπιστολῶν, attaching this adjunct to δοκιμάσητε: see note below.

<sup>2</sup> ἄξιον η: ἤ ABCIMP. So critt. edd., exc. Tisch.

<sup>3</sup> καταμενῶ (?): BM, 67\*\*. So W.H. and Weiss: παραμ. looks like an assimilation to παραχειμάσω; the stronger καταμενῶ is intrinsically fitting, by contrast with ἐν παροδῷ: see note below.

<sup>4</sup> Om. καὶ (?) BM; W.H. txt.—καὶ in marg.

higher matters (cf. Acts vi. 2)—“tunc alia agens” (Bg.).

Vv. 3, 4. The Cor. are to choose delegates to bear their bounty, who will travel to Jerus. with P., if this be deemed fit. Acts xx. 1-4 shows that in the event a large number of representatives of Gentile Churches voyaged with P., doubtless on this common errand.—δι' ἐπιστολῶν may qualify either δοκιμάσητε (Bz., Cv., Est., A.V. and R.V. txt., Ed.) or πέμψω (R.V. marg., with Gr. Ff. and most moderns). Being chosen by the Cor., the delegates surely must have credentials from them (cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1, and Acts xv., for such letters passing from Church to Church; also 1 Clem. ad Corinth.). At the same time, as P. is directing the whole business, he will “send” the deputies and introduce them at Jerus. On δοκιμάζω, see note to iii. 13.—ἔάν δὲ ἄξιον ἦ κ.τ.λ., “But if it be worth while that I should journey too, they shall journey with me”—a hint that P. would only take part in presenting the collection if the character of the aid sent made it creditable; otherwise the delegates must go alone; he will not associate himself with a mean charity. The inf. (in gen. case), τοῦ κάμει πορεύεσθαι, depends on ἄξιον—“worthy of my going,” “si dignum fuerit ut et ego eam” (Vg.); it can hardly be softened into “if it be right (seemly on any ground: as in 2 Thess. i. 3, where ἄξιον is unqualified) that I should go” (Ed.)—as though

the Ap. deprecated being obtrusive; he is guarding his self-respect, being scarcely sure of the liberality of the Cor. “Justa estimatio sui non est superbia” (Bg.).

§ 58. VISITS TO CORINTH, xvi. 5-12. The arrangements for the Collection have led P. to speak of his approaching visit to Cor., and he explains more definitely his plans in this respect (5-9). Timothy's coming, though not certain, may be looked for speedily; and the Ap., with some solicitude, asks for him considerate treatment (10 f.). Apollos is not coming at present, as the Cor. seem to have desired and as Paul had urged upon him; he prefers to wait until circumstances are more favourable (12).

Vv. 5, 6. “But I will come to you, when I have gone through Macedonia.” The Ap. writes from Ephesus some time before Pentecost (8), probably before Easter (v. 8; see note); he intends to traverse Macedonia on his way (διέρχομαι, repeated with emphasis, regularly denotes in the Acts an evangelistic tour: see xiii. 6, xvi. 6, xx. 25, etc.), completing the work of his mission, there so abruptly terminated (Acts xvi. f.). This task will require considerable time (it occupied the months of summer and autumn, during which the Ap. penetrated beyond Mac. into Illyria; Rom. xv. 19), so that P. expects to see Cor. not much before winter (6). He adds therefore in explanation, “For I am going through Macedonia (travelling over the region:

7. ὅδ' ὅθ' ἔλω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἄρτι ἐν ἡμετέρῳ ἰδεῖν· ἐλπίζω δὲ ἰ χρόνον ἕνα ἔπιμεῖναι ὑμᾶς, ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτρέπῃ.<sup>2</sup> 8. ἔπιμενῶν δὲ ἐν ἡμέρῳ ἕως τῆς πεντηκοστῆς· 9. θύρα γάρ μοι ἀνέωγε μεγάλη καὶ ἐνεργής,<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί. 10. ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος,<sup>4</sup> βλέπετε ἵνα ἀφόβως γένηται ὑμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ

Phil. i. 24; Acts six times.

d See xiv. 34. e Acts ii. 1, xx. 16; Tob. ii. 1; 2 Macc. xii. 32.

xiv. 27; Rev. iii. 8, 20, iv. 1; Isa. xiv. 1. For θύρα (fig.), Lk. xiii. 24; Jo. x. 9; Hos. ii. 15. For the vb., 2 Cor. vi. 11; Rom. iii. 13; Rev. iii. 7; Mt. vii. 7 f., etc. g Phm. 6; Heb. iv. 12; γένν, Lk. xiii. 17, xxi. 15; Zech. iii. 1. h Gal. v. 17; Phil. i. 28; 2 Th. ii. 4; 1 Tim. i. 10, v. 14; Lk. xiii. 17, xxi. 15; Zech. iii. 1. i See i. 26. With ἡμετέρῳ, Col. iv. 17; πρὸς, see iii. 10. k Phil. i. 14; Jude 18; Lk. i. 74; Prov. i. 35; Wisd. xvii. 4.

<sup>1</sup> γὰρ, all uncc. but KL, and all anc. verss. but syr<sup>p</sup> æth.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπιτρέψῃ, ὩABC (P -ψαι); -πῃ, Western and Syrian.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνεργής, some latt. and vg., evidens; no extant Gr. codd.

<sup>4</sup> Τιμόθεος, a favourite itacism of B<sup>0</sup>D<sup>0</sup>.

pr., of imminent purpose); but with you haply I will abide (καταμείνω, as in Acts i. 13, signifies, by contrast to διέρχομαι, *keeping to Cor.* instead of touring through the province), or [even] spend the winter". Paul will time his visit, if possible, so as to make his winter-quarters in Cor.; in any case, when he arrives, he will give the Cor. the full benefit of his presence. He did so stay for three months (Acts xx. 3). For πρὸς, in converse with, see vv. 7, 10, ii. 3, and parls.—τυχὼν (acc. abs. of neut. ptp.) = εἰ τύχοι (see parl.)—another of the cl. idioms confined to this Ep.; it indicates the uncertainty of human plans, and is piously replaced by ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος ἐπιτρέψῃ in ver. 7.—In this plan P. has a further aim, which he mentions to show his dependence on the Cor.: "in order that you may send me forward, wheresoever I may go"—i.e. probably, though not certainly, to Jerus. (4); cf. ver. 11, 2 Cor. i. 16, Rom xv. 24. It would help P., whose infirmities required friendly attentions, to have a good "send-off" on his leaving Europe. A generous "collection for the saints" would be a welcome lift (1, 4).

Ver. 7. "For I would not see you now, in passing; for (γὰρ) I hope to stay some length of time (χρόνον ἕνα) with you, if the Lord permit." P. could have crossed by sea and taken Cor. on his way to Mac. (cf. 2 Cor. i. 15 f.); the Cor. had requested his speedy coming, which might have been so arranged. But such a visit could only have been ἐν παρόδῳ (explaining the ἄρτι), "in the way-by," as the summer must be devoted to Mac.; this flying visit would not be of service; there is much to be done at Cor. (xi. 34, etc.),

and when the Ap. does come he means to stay "some time". His recent short visit had been very unsatisfactory (see *Introd.*, chap. ii.).—For ἄρτι, see note on iv. 11; it is in tacit contrast with the future, as in xiii. 12. For ἐπιμεῖναι, "to stay on" (in time)—distinguished from καταμείνω, "to stay fixedly" (in place or condition: 6), see parls.—ἐὰν ὁ Κύριος κ.τ.λ., see parls., also to iv. 19,—*pro conditio* (Bg.): Paul's plans have been repeatedly overruled (Acts xvi. 6 f.; 1 Thess. ii. 18). He says "if the Lord permit," thinking of his visit as a pleasure; but "if the Lord will," in the parl. clause, iv. 18 f., viewing it as a painful duty.

Vv. 8, 9. "But I stay on in Ephesus until the Pentecost"—τῆς πεντηκοστῆς (ἡμέρας), "the fiftieth day" from the 15th Nisan in the Passover Feast (see parls.). This suggests that P. is writing not very long before Whitsuntide; v. 6 ff. indicated a date for the Ep. immediately antecedent to Easter. Ver. 9 explains why the Ap. must remain at Eph. some time longer, although required at Cor.: "for a door is open to me, great and effectual, and (there are) many adversaries". This θύρα is defined in Col. iv. 3 (cf. 2 Cor. ii. 12) as a θύρα τοῦ λόγου—a door open to the preacher; in Acts xiv. 27 it is seen from the other side, as θύρα πίστεως—a door for the entrance of the believing hearer; see parls. for kindred applications of the figure. The door is μεγάλη in respect of its width and the region into which it opens, ἐνεργής in respect of the influence gained by entering it.—ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί (cf. xv. 32): an additional reason for not retreating; cf. Phil. i. 28. The terrible riot that shortly



<sup>1</sup> See xv. 58. <sup>1</sup> ἔργον <sup>1</sup> Κυρίου <sup>1</sup> ἐργάζεται ὡς καὶ ἐγώ<sup>1</sup>. II. μή τις οὖν αὐτὸν  
<sup>m</sup> Acts xiii. 47 (Hab. i. 5); Jo. iii. 21, vi. 28, ix. 4; Mt. xxvi. 10; Ps. xliii. 1. <sup>n</sup> με <sup>n</sup> ἐκδέχομαι γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. 12. Περὶ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ  
<sup>o</sup> See vii. 15. <sup>p</sup> See xi. 33. <sup>q</sup> Adv., ver. 19; Rom. xvi. 6, 12, xv. 22 (τα π.); Jas. iii. 2; ten times in Mk. r See i. 10. s See v. 10.  
<sup>t</sup> Mt. xviii. 14. u Jo. vi. 39 f. Cf. θελω ἡμεῖς, Mt. vii. 12; Mk. vi. 25, x. 35; Lk. vi. 31; Jo. xvii. 24.  
<sup>v</sup> Acts xvii. 21; Mk. vi. 31. -ρος, Heb. iv. 6; Mk. vi. 21; -ρωσι, 2 Tim. iv. 2; Mk. xiv. 11; -ρια, Lk. xxii. 6.

<sup>1</sup> καγω: SACKLP, and some minn.: so most crit. edd. καὶ ἐγω: DG, etc.

εγω (simply): BM. So W.H. text.

The last reading best accounts for the others. It appears to be Neutral; καγω Alexandrian, καὶ ἐγω Western and Syrian. The emphasis given by καὶ is scarcely in keeping here, while it is perfectly suitable in vii. 8 and x. 33 (which may have suggested καγω to copyists here), and in 2 Cor. xi. 12; cf. Gal. iv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> N\*D\*G, with corresponding latt. and some anc. codd. of vg., preface this clause with δηλω ὑμιν ὅτι (πολλά κ.τ.λ.)—an ex. of Western license.

afterwards drove Paul from Eph. verified this statement (Acts xix.). Evangelism flourishes under fierce opposition; "Sæpe bonum et, contra id, malum simul valde vigent" (Bg.).

Vv. 10, 11. εἰ ἂν (not ὅταν) δὲ ἔλθῃ Τιμόθεος: "But if Timothy come"—his coming is not certain. He and Erastus have been before this sent to Macedonia (Acts xix. 21 f.) in advance of P., with instructions to go forward to Cor. (iv. 17 above); he might be expected to arrive about the same time as this letter. But local circumstances, or even the report of the unfriendly attitude of the Cor. (Ed.), might detain him in Mac. He is found in Mac. with P. when some months later 2 Cor. is written: there is no explicit ref. in that Ep. to Timothy's presence at Cor. in the interval; but Titus' visit and report are largely in evidence. Ed. says, "In point of fact he (Tim.) did not come" (cf. Lt., *Journal of Sac. and Cl. Philology*, ii., 198 ff.; also El.). But this assertion is too positive. In iv. 17 above P. announced Tim.'s coming definitely and laid stress upon it. Tim. shares in the Address of 2 Cor., and the fact that he is associated by the Ap. with himself in the significant "we" of vii. 2 ff. (cf. ii. 5-11) points to his being involved in some way in the "grief" which P. had suffered from Cor. subsequently to the writing of 1 Cor. Very possibly Timothy was the ἀδικηθεὶς of 2 Cor. vii. 12, in whose person, seeking as he did to carry out the directions of 1 Cor. iv. 17, Paul had been insulted by

some prominent Cor. Christian (ὁ ἀδικήσας).—If this actually happened, the apprehensions expressed here about the treatment Tim. might receive, proved only too well-founded: "see (to it) that without fear he may be with you" (or *hold converse with you*: γένηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς, see ii. 3, and parls.) . . . "let no one then set him at naught". These words point to Timothy's diffidence, as well as to his comparative youth: see 1 Tim. iv. 12, and the vein of exhortation in 2 Tim. ii. 1-13 and iii. 10-iv. 18. Tim. was P.'s complement, as Melancthon was Luther's—gentle, affectionate, studious, but not of robust or masculine character. The temper of the Cor. Church would be peculiarly trying and discouraging to him. Paul hopes that regard for him will have some restraining effect upon the Cor.—τὸ γὰρ ἔργον Κυρίου (cf. xv. 58) κ.τ.λ. identifies Timothy in the strongest way with P. himself: cf. iv. 17, Phil. ii. 20; similarly respecting Titus, in 2 Cor. viii. 23. For ἐξουθενέω, see parls.—"But send him forward in peace"—for if Tim. attempts the task indicated in iv. 17, a rupture is very possible, such as, we gather from 2 Cor. ii. and vii., actually ensued.—From the following words, "that he may come to me, for I am awaiting him," it appears that P. expects Tim's return before he leaves Eph.: cf., for the vb., xi. 33.—It is doubtful whether μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν qualifies the subject—"I with the brethren"—those of vv. 12-18, the Cor. brethren now in Eph. and interested in Tim's success at

13. Ὡς γρηγορεῖτε, ὥς στήκετε ἐν τῇ πίστει· ὥς ἀνδρίζεσθε,<sup>1</sup> κρα-  
 ταιοῦσθε· 14. ὅτι πάντα ὑμῶν ἐν ἀγάπῃ<sup>2</sup> γινέσθω. 15. Παρακαλῶ  
 δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί—<sup>3</sup>οἴδατε τὴν οἰκίαν Στεφανᾶ,<sup>4</sup> ὅτι ἐστὶν ἄπαρχὴ  
 τῆς Ἀχατίας καὶ εἰς<sup>5</sup> διακονίαν τοῖς ἁγίοις ἔταξαν ἑαυτοὺς—  
 16. ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑποτάσσθητε<sup>6</sup> τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ παντὶ τῷ<sup>7</sup>

Rom. xiv. 4; Gal. v. 1; Phil. i. 27, 34; 1 Th. iii. 8; 2 Th. ii. 12; Jo. viii. 44.  
 Josh. i. 6. z Eph. iii. 16; Lk. i. 80, ii. 40; Neh. ii. 18. -αιος, 1 Pet. v. 6. a This constr. of πας,  
 h.l. b See ix. 15. c See i. 10; ver. 12. d See iii. 20; with οἶδα, 2 Cor. xii. 3 f.; 1 Th. ii. 1.  
 e Phil. iv. 22; Jo. iv. 53; Gen. i. 8. f See xv. 20. g Acts xiii. 48; cf. 2 Macc. vi. 21, προς and  
 dat. For vb., Rom. xiii. 1; Acts xv. 2; Mt. viii. 9, etc. h See xii. 5. i See vi. 1. k See  
 xiv. 32. l See v. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Ins. καὶ AD, cop. vg. syrch.

<sup>2</sup> Στεφᾶνα καὶ Φορτουνάτου: <sup>3</sup>McD and some minn., vg. (oldest codd.), cop., Dam.,  
 Ambrst. C\*G add καὶ Ἀχαῖκον besides.

Cor., who are delaying their return until he brings his report (so Hf., Gd.); or the object—"I await him with (= and) the brethren," i.e. those, including possibly Erastus, whom P. expects to arrive at Eph. from Cor. along with Tim. (so most interpreters). The relevancy of the words on the latter construction is not obvious. On the former view, "the brethren" of vv. 11 and 12 are the same, being the deputies who had brought over the Cor. Church Letter to P., and who are now awaiting Tim's return before they themselves return home. This hints an additional reason why the Cor. should with all speed send Timothy back to Paul "in peace".

Ver. 12. The manner in which the clause *Περὶ δὲ Ἀπολλῶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ* is loosely prefixed to the statement of this ver. ("Now about Apollos the brother") suggests that Apollos' coming had been mentioned in the Church Letter: cf. ver. 1, vii. 1, etc. Respecting *Apollos*, see notes to i. 12, and Acts xviii. 24 ff.—Considering the way in which Ap. had been made a rival to P. in Cor., it shows magnanimity on Paul's side to desire his return, and a modest delicacy on the side of Apollos to decline the request: καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἦν θέλημα ἵνα κ.τ.λ., "And there was no will at all (it was altogether contrary to his will) that he should come now".—*εὐκαιρέω* (see parls.) denotes "to have good opportunity". The present ferment at Cor. affords no *καιρὸς* for Apollos' coming. For πάντως, and θέλημα ἵνα, see parls.

§ 59. CONCLUDING HOMILY, xvi. 13-18. According to the Apostle's wont, at the end of his letter he gathers up the burden of his message into a single concise and stirring exhortation (13 f.). Watch-

fulness, steadfastness, manly vigour, above all *Christian love*, were the qualities in which this Church was lacking. Their "love" they would have a particular opportunity of showing to the family of Stephanas, who had been foremost in works of benevolence (15 f.); for St. is now returning home in charge of this Ep. with his two companions, after they had brought the letter of the Church to P. and cheered him by their society. The deputation has done a timely public service in the best spirit; their kindly offices must be duly acknowledged (17 f.).

Vv. 13, 14. *Γρηγορεῖτε, στήκετε* belong to a class of vbs. peculiar to later Gr.—presents based on older perfects; the former from *ἐγρήγορα* (*ἐγείρω*), the latter from *ἵστηκα* (*ἵστημι*). The first exhortation recalls xv. 33 f., the second iv. 17, x. 12, xv. 2, 11 ff.—*ἀνδρίζεσθε*, "play the man," *viriliter agite* (Vg.), adds an active element to the passive and defensive attitude implied in the previous impvs.; it looks back to xiii. 11 and xiv. 20 (relating to the *glossolalia*), but exhorts in general to the courageous prosecution of the Christian life by the Cor., who were enfeebled by contact with heathen society (x., 2 Cor. vi. 11 ff.). This word is common in cl. Gr.; cf. 1 Macc. ii. 64, *ισχύσατε κ. ἀνδρίζεσθε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ*, also the Homeric *ἀνέρες ἱστέ*.—*κραταιοῦσθε* enjoins manful activity, in its most energetic form (see parls.). *κράτος*, from which, through *κραταῖός* (1 Peter v. 6), the vb. is derived (cl. Gr. *κρατύνω*), signifies *superior power, mastery* (see Col. i. 11, 1 Tim. vi. 16): "be [not merely strong, but] mighty". The four impvs. of ver. 13 are directed respectively against the *heedlessness, fickleness, childishness, and moral enervation* of the



m 2 Cor. vi. <sup>m</sup> συνεργοῦντι καὶ <sup>n</sup> κοπιῶντι. 17. \*Χαίρω δὲ \*ἐπὶ τῇ <sup>p</sup> παρουσίᾳ  
 1; Rom. viii. 28; Στεφανᾶ καὶ Φουρτουνατοῦ <sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἀχαϊκοῦ, ὅτι τὸ <sup>2</sup> ὕμῶν <sup>2</sup> ὑστέρημα  
 Jas. ii. 22; οὗτοι <sup>3</sup> ἀνεπλήρωσαν. 18. ἀνέπαυσαν γὰρ <sup>4</sup> τὸ ἐμὸν <sup>n</sup> πνεῦμα καὶ  
 Mk. xvi. 20; 1 Esdr. vii. 20 ὑμῶν. Ἐπιγινώσκετε οὖν <sup>1</sup> τοὺς <sup>1</sup> τοιοῦτους.  
 2; 1 Macc. xii. 1. γος, see iii. 9. n See xv. 10. o See xiii. 6. p In this use, 2 Cor. vii. 6 f.; Phil. i. 26, ii. 12;  
 2 Macc. viii. 12, xv. 21. Cf. xv. 23. q *υμετερον*, see xv. 31. r 2 Cor. viii. 13 f., ix. 12, xi. 9;  
 Phil. ii. 30; Col. i. 24; 1 Th. iii. 10; Lk. xxi. 4; Judg. xviii. 10. -ω, see i. 7. s See xiv. 16; in  
 this antith., Phil. ii. 30. t 2 Cor. vii. 13; Phm. 7, 20; Mt. xi. 28; 1 Chron. xxii. 9, 18. -σις, Mt.  
 xi. 29, xii. 43; Rev. iv. 8, xiv. 11. u See xiv. 15. v 2 Cor. vi. 9; Deut. i. 17, xxxiii. 9. Cf.  
 1 Th. v. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Φορτουνατον, all uncc. but KMP:

<sup>2</sup> υμετερον, all uncc. but NAKL.

<sup>3</sup> ουτοι, N BCKLP. αυτοι, ADGM, with vg. syrr.; so Lachm., Tr. marg.

<sup>4</sup> Ins. καὶ DG, latt. vg., Ambrst.

Cor.: the fifth—"All your doings, let them be done (or carried on: γινέσθω) in love"—reiterates the appeal of chh. viii. and xiii. touching the radical fault of this Church; see also ii. 3, iv. 6, vi. 1-8, xi. 21 f., xii. 21, etc.

Vv. 15, 16 urge particular instances of the above ἐν ἀγάπῃ γινέσθω. The *ἵνα* clause of ver. 16 is complementary to παρακαλῶ (see note on i. 10), and is suspended to make room for the explanatory οἴδατε . . . ἑαυτοὺς: "you know that the household of Stephanas is the first-fruit of Achaia, and that they set themselves for ministering to the saints"—τὴν οἰκίαν κ.τ.λ., acc. by attraction to οἴδατε, according to the well-known Gr. usage with vbs. of this class (Wr., p. 781). There were earlier individual converts in Achaia (see Acts xvii. 34), but with this family the Gospel took root in the province and the earnest appeared of the subsequent ingathering: cf. Rom. xvi. 5; also i. 16 above, and note. The St. family must have been of independent means; for ἔταξαν ἑαυτοὺς (*they arrayed or appointed themselves*—made this their business) implies a systematic laying out of themselves for service, such as is possible only to those free to dispose, as they choose, of their persons and their time; see this idiom in Plato, *Rep.*, ii., 371C.—"The saints" can hardly be the Jerus. saints of ver. 1, since εἰς διακονίαν is quite general, and the last words of ver. 16 imply manifold Christian labour; the present commission of St. to Eph. is an instance of "service to the saints".—P. "exhorts" his "brethren . . . that you also (in return for their service to you) submit yourselves to such as these (τ. τοιούτους, referring to the interpolated οἴδατε κ.τ.λ.), and to every one that

shares in the work and labours". These persons did not constitute a body of Church officers; we find no traces as yet of an official order in the church of Cor.: the Ap. enjoins spontaneous submission to the direction of those able and disposed to lead in good works. The prp. in συν-εργοῦντι refers not to St. specifically, still less to P., but generally to co-operative labour in the Church, while κοπιῶντι implies labour carried to the point of *toil or suffering* (see note on κόπος, iii. 8; also xv. 58). Loyal and hard work in the cause of Christ earns willing respect and deference in the Church: cf. 1 Thess. v. 12 f.

Vv. 17, 18. "But I rejoice at the presence (or coming) of Stephanas, and Fortunatus, and Achaïcus." The stress lying on παρουσία explains the introductory δέ: "You must show respect to such men, when they reach home; but I am glad that just now they are *here*".—Fortunatus (Lat. name, and common) and Achaïcus (Gr., and rare) are Stephanas' companions in the deputation; the three will speedily return to Cor. Since P. thus commends them at the end of his Ep., written in reply to the Letter they had brought from Cor., perhaps they were to be its bearers also.—On Stephanas, see i. 16. The two latter names are also h. ill. in N.T.; a Fortunatus appears in Clement's list of emissaries from Rom. to Cor. (*ad Cor.* § 65). Ed. supposes all three to be slaves (Achaïcus, at least, resembles a slave-name), and identifies them with οἱ τ. Χλοῆς of i. 11; but this does not comport with the position given to Stephanas in vv. 15 f.; see, further, note on i. 11.—("I rejoice at their presence), because the (or my) lack of you these have filled up". ὑμέ-

19. Ὡς ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς<sup>1</sup> αἱ ἑκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας· ὡς ἀσπάζονται<sup>2</sup> ὑμᾶς ἔν τῳ Κυρίῳ πολλὰ Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα,<sup>3</sup> σὺν τῇ κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἑκκλησίᾳ<sup>4</sup>. 20. ὡς ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες.

Epp., exc. 2 Pet., 1 Jo., Jude. x See ver. 1. y Rom. xvi. 2 ff.; see vii. 22 above, etc. z See ver. 12. a Rom. xvi. 5; Col. iv. 15; Phm. 2. b Acts ii. 46, v. 42; cf. 1 Tim. xi. 34 above.

<sup>1</sup> CP, sy<sup>sch</sup>. ins. πασαι.

<sup>2</sup> ἀσπάζεταιται, ΞCDKP. ἀσπάζονται: BGLM, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Πρίσκα, ΞBMP, 17, vg. (best codd.) cop. See note below.

<sup>4</sup> DG, latt. vg., Clem., Pelag. add παρ' οἷς καὶ ξενίζομαι (*apud quos et hospitor*)—an ancient gloss, contradicting the ἀπο Φιλιππῶν of the Subscription.

τερον represents the *objective* gen. (cf. xv. 31): the presence of the three with P. could not make up any lack in Cor., but it made up to P. for the *absence* of the Cor., supplying him, representatively, with their desired society. El. and others read the poss. pron. *subjectively*—"what you were lacking in (*i.e.*, your want of access) towards me": this constr. is consistent with the usage of ὑπέρημα (see parls.); but the former suits better the antithesis to παρονσία (Ed.), and Paul's fine courtesy.—"For they refreshed my spirit—and yours." ἀναπαύω (see parls.) describes the restful effect of friendly converse and sympathy. Paul adds καὶ ὑμῶν, realising that the comfort of heart received by himself will react upon his friends at Cor.: the Cor. will be cheered to know that their fellowship, in the persons of S., F., and A., has so greatly cheered him at a time of weariness and heavy trial (cf. 2 Cor. ii. 3, vii. 3).

Ver. 18b repeats in another form the advice of ver. 16: "Acknowledge (know well) then such men as these". For τοὺς τοιούτους, see parls., and ver. 16. —ἐπιγινώσκω (see parls.) denotes strictly *accurate knowledge*, of persons or things; but knowledge of personal qualities implies corresponding *regard to and treatment* of those who possess such qualities: cf. 1 Thess. v. 12 f.

§ 60. FINAL GREETINGS, xvi. 19-24. The Ep. closes with three public salutations from the Christians surrounding P. at Ephesus to their brethren at Cor. (19, 20a), followed by a request to the latter, such as appears besides in 1 Thess., 2 Cor., Rom., and Phil., to "salute one another" in token of brotherly union, and of communion with those who now send their greetings (20b). The letter is then sealed with the writer's personal salutation (21-24) penned by his own hand, and stamped with a characteristic double motto peculiar to this Ep., which

expresses the supreme peril and supreme consolation of the Christian calling (22).

Vv. 19, 20a. Three successive clauses, headed by ἀσπάζομαι: "There salute you the Churches of Asia. There saluteth you in the Lord abundantly Aquila and Prisca, with the assembly (church) at their house. There salute you all the brethren". The pl. expression, αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῆς Ἀσίας, accords with what appears elsewhere as to the general diffusion of the Gospel in the province of Asia during Paul's three years' ministry at Eph. (Acts xix. 10, 26; Col. i. 6, ii. 1, iv. 13, 16), and as to the solidarity of the Asian Churches gathered round Eph., to which collectively the Revelation of John, and probably the (so-called) Ep. to the Ephesians, were addressed. While P. had not personally visited all these communities (Col. ii. 1), he was in touch with them and knew their mind towards their brethren in Greece. Desiring a more catholic feeling in the Cor. Church (see note on i. 2), P. makes the most of these Church greetings.—The second salutation has a note of personal warmth, as the first of catholic breadth: Aq. and Prisca "send much greeting" (πολλά—cf. 12, etc.—in requests and wishes, implies *frequency* or *intensity*, or *both*); and "in the Lord"—not as a matter of ordinary friendship, but in the way of love and service to Christ. This worthy pair entertained the Ap. in Cor. when he first came there (Acts xviii. 1 ff.); on some occasion (perhaps about this time at Eph.) they risked their lives for his (Rom. xvi. 4). They had now migrated to Eph., where they reappear some years later in 2 Tim. iv. 19; see notes on Rom. xvi. 3 ff., for their further history. Thrice their names figure in the Acts, and thrice in the Epp.—Prisca first ("Priscilla" only in Acts) four times: see Hort's *Prolegom. to Rom. and Eph.*, pp. 12 ff., Sand.-Headlam, *Romans*, pp.



c 2 Cor. xlii. ἀσπασάσθε ἀλλήλους ἐν ὀφιλήματι ὀγίω. 21. Ὁ ὀσπασμὸς, 12; Rom. xvi. 16; 1<sup>d</sup> τῇ ὀμῇ ὀ χειρί, ΠΑΥΛΟΥ. 22. Ἐεῖ τις οὐ ὀφιλεῖ τὸν ὀ Κύριον 1 Th. v. 26; 1 Pet. v. 14. φιλῆμα besides, Lk. vii. 45, xxii. 48; Prov. xxvii. 6; Cant. i. 2. φιλῶ in this sense, Mt. xxvi. 48, etc.; καταφιλῶ, Acts xx. 37; 5 exx. in GG. d Col. iv. 18; 2 Th. iii. 17. The noun besides. Mt. xxiii. 7; Lk. i. 29, etc. e Gal. vi. 11; Phm. 19. f 2 Tim. iii. 10; Mt. xvi. 24; Rev. xiv. 11. g See vii. 9. h Jo. xxi. 15 ff. Cf. note c above.

418 ff., also Rom. *ad loc.* above, on the conjectures associated with this lady's name. The vb. is sing., the two sending one greeting.—The "ecclesia at their house" can scarcely mean the whole Eph. Church, but some neighbouring part of it accustomed to gather, more or less formally, at Aquila's hospitable hearth. If P. lodged with A. (see txtl. note), as he had done in Cor., the house would be a rendezvous for Ephesian Christians: cf. Rom. xvi. 5, Col. iv. 15, Philem. 2, Acts xii. 12.—οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες comprise the whole body of Ephesian believers, in distinction from the smaller circle of Aquila's house, and from the mass of the Asian Christians.

Ver. 20b. ἐν φιλήματι ὀγίω = ἐν φιλήματι ὀγάτης (1 Peter v. 14). This Heb. custom of the sacred kiss is retained, at Communion, by the Greek and Eastern Churches; it died out in the West from the 13th cent., after having been the subject of many Conciliar limitations, occasioned by its abuse in the decline of Christian simplicity. ὀγίω by position is predicative—"in a kiss that is holy". See Art. Kiss in *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*.

Vv. 21-24. Paul's autograph salutation, which authenticates the letter (cf. 2 Thess. iii. 17), includes the *title* of the greeting (21), the double *motto* (22), and the *greeting* proper—in two wishes (23 f.).

Ver. 21. ὁ ὀσπασμὸς τ. ὀμῇ χειρί.—ΠΑΥΛΟΥ: "the salutation, with my own hand,—of PAUL".—Παύλου apposed to τῇ ὀμῇ, and inscribed with the distinction of a personal signature. Up to this point, the Ep. was presumably written by another hand (cf. Rom. xvi. 22).

Vv. 22, 23. With pen in hand, Paul must needs give expression, in two words, to the pent-up feeling under which he has written—a fiery seal burnt upon the last leaf of the Letter; ch. vi. 12-17 of Gal. occupies a like place in that Ep. The sentiment, or motto, of the ὀσπασμὸς forms two clauses: (a) "If any one loves not the Lord, let him be anathema".—οὐ (instead of μὴ) in hypothetical clauses may rest upon the vb., constituting it a negative term—sc., "hates the Lord" (so Ed.: cf. vii. 9, xi. 6, xv. 13; and Rom.

vii. 20, where οὐ θέλω = *nolo*); but Wr. (pp. 599-602) rightly distinguishes such instances as this and ix. 2 (cf. note) from the above class of combinations, accounting for the οὐ as contradictory to some tacit assertion—"if any one does *not* love the Lord" (as he ought, or pretends, to do): it is a *spurious* love that is accursed—a cold, false heart which, knowing the Lord, does not really love Him (cf. viii. 1 ff., xiii. 1 f.). The use of φιλῶ for ἀγαπᾶω (only in Tit. iii. 15 elsewhere in P.: cf. the interchange in John xxi. 15 ff.) is noticeable: for the distinction, see Gm., s.v. φιλῶ; Cr., s.v. ἀγαπᾶω; Trench, N.T. Syn., § 12.—οὐ φιλεῖ strikes a deep note of accusation; it is a charge of *heartlessness*—human affection to the Master is wanting, to say nothing of higher feeling, as with Judas and his traitor kiss (see Mt., xxvi. 47 f.); perhaps ἐν φιλήματι just above suggested this φιλῶ.—Paul's curse on the Lord's false lovers recalls xii. 3 (see note on ἀνάθεμα): the haters of Jesus outside the Church, inspired by Satan, call Him "anathema" instead of "Lord"; and those who bow the knee to Him with a feigned heart are themselves anathema—this cry a retort to that.—ἦτω for ἔστω (see Wr., p. 85) prevails in N.T.; it is common in later Gr.

(b) The second clause of the motto, Μαράν ἀθά, is Aramaic transliterated into Gr.; the original cannot be quite certainly restored.—Μαράν, it is fairly certain, represents *Marān* (Syrian) or *Maran'a* (Aramaic: the final 'a' of the suffixed noun having coalesced with the initial 'a' of the vb.), and ἀθά the pf. Peal of 'atha', *to come*. But it is doubtful whether 'atha' is strictly *past*—"our Lord hath come" (so Cm. and the ancients, with the Syriac Vers.; and Kautzsch in his *Gramm. d. Bib.-Aramäischen*, pp. 12 and 174; see also Field's *Otium Norvic.*, iii., pp. 110 f.); or whether the pf. should be rendered *proleptically*—"Our Lord cometh," "will come," "is at hand," after the manner of Phil. iv. 5, 1 Thess. iv. 14 ff., James v. 7 ff., Rev. i. 7, iii. 11, xxii. 20. The latter sense accords with the context, with the strain of ch. xv., and with the N.T. attitude towards our Lord's return: see i. 7, xi. 26, 1 Thess. i.

Ἰησοῦν<sup>1</sup> Χριστόν,<sup>1</sup> ἦτω<sup>2</sup> ἀνάθεμα·<sup>1</sup> Μαράν ἀθά.<sup>2</sup> 23. Ἡ<sup>3</sup> χάρις<sup>1</sup> τοῦ<sup>3</sup> Κυρίου<sup>3</sup> Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ<sup>4</sup> μεθ' ὑμῶν. ἡ<sup>3</sup> ἀγάπη<sup>3</sup> μου μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. ἀμήν.<sup>5</sup>

Πρὸς Κορινθίους πρώτη ἐγράφη ἀπὸ Φιλίππων διὰ Στεφανῶ καὶ Φουρτουνατοῦ καὶ Ἀχαικοῦ καὶ Τιμοθέου.<sup>6</sup>

xvi. 20, 24; Gal. vi. 18; Phil. iv. 23; 1 Th. v. 28; 2 Th. iii. 18; Phm. 25; Rev. xxii. 21. Without μεθ' ὑμῶν, 2 Cor. viii. 9; Acts xv. 11. n Subj. gen., Phil. i. 9; Col. i. 8, 13; 1 Th. iii. 6; 2 Th. i. 3; Phm. 5, 7; Rev. ii. 4, 19; Mt. xxiv. 12; Jo. xv. 9 f. H.J. for this form of wish; cf. 2 Cor. xii. 15.

<sup>1</sup> Om. Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν Ὡ\*ABC\*M, 17. KP, syr<sup>sch</sup>, Victorin., Pelag. add ἡμῶν τοῦ Κυρίου. Ἰησ. χρ. is a Western and Syrian addition. The arm. vers., one cod. of vg., and a few Ff., add Ἰησοῦν alone.

<sup>2</sup> Some edd. write μαρναθα as a single word.

<sup>3</sup> ALP, many minn., cop. syr<sup>sch</sup>, several Ff., ins. ἡμῶν.

<sup>4</sup> Om. Χριστοῦ Ὡ\*B, 17, 73, oldest vg. go., Thdr̄t. So the crit. edd., exc. Lachm. and R.V., who retain Χρ.

<sup>5</sup> Om. ἀμήν BFM, 17. So all crit. edd.; only Lachm. brackets. A liturgical addition.

<sup>6</sup> The Subscription, as in other Epp., varies much in form. ὩABC\* read πρὸς Κορινθίους α, as at the beginning of the Ep. The received Subscr., due probably to a misunderstanding of ver. 5 (Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διερχομαι), appears first in the Syrian uncc. KL. B<sup>3</sup>P and a few others have, more correctly, ἐγγραφὴ ἀπὸ Ἐφεσού.

10, etc. So most moderns. Bickell, Gd., and a few others, would read *Maran'a tha*, making the vb. *impr̄v*.—"Our Lord, O come!"—in keeping with Rev. xxii. 20; but this is questionable in grammar, and less appropriate. The exclamation, like 'Αββᾶ (Rom. viii. 15, Gal. iv. 6) and 'Αμήν, was probably caught up by Gentile Christians from the first preachers, who in moments of rapture naturally reverted to their mother tongue; cf. *Ed. ad loc.* Such salient and mystic phrases might serve as watchwords, or on occasion as passwords, amongst the early Christians. In *Didaché*, x. 6, Μαράν ἀθά stands as the closing formula of the Thanksgiving Prayer at the Eucharist, apparently in the sense of xi. 26 above. For other interpretations, numerous and often fanciful, see the digest in Mr.-Hn. *ad loc.*, also N. Schmidt in the *Journal of Bibl. Liter.*, 1894, i., ii., 50 ff.

Vv. 23, 24. Having uttered the great watchword of the waiting Church, Paul has only to add his personal *benediction upon the readers*: (1) in his favourite phrase of farewell, desiring them *Christ's*

*grace*—a wish expanded in 2 Cor. into the Trinitarian blessing of ch. xiii. 13; (2) in the further wish, peculiar to this Ep. and fitting in view of the frequent censures of the letter, which might seem to indicate alienation on the writer's part (cf. iv. 14 f., 2 Cor. xi. 11, xii. 15; Gal. iv. 16 ff.)—"My love be with you all in Christ Jesus". Many Cor. Christians ranged themselves under other leaders, many criticised and opposed the Ap., some he has been obliged to threaten with the "rod" (iv. 21); nevertheless he desires his love to "all"—and that abidingly, "with you all, in Christ Jesus," who is the basis and bond of love amongst His people. Mr., Hn., Bt. read the last sentence as a *matter-of-fact*, not a wish, understanding *ἐστί* instead of *εἴη*—"My love is with you, etc."; but this destroys the parallelism with ver. 23 (see El.). The sentence expresses an *aspiration* rather than an actuality. Paul's "love in Christ Jesus" is not, strictly speaking, *with* those who "love not the Lord" (21), nor with those who "destroy the temple of God" (iii. 17), nor with the culprit of v. 1-5.





















